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AN

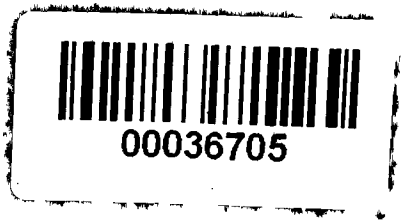
ANECDOTAL HISTORY

OF

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT,

FROM THE

Present Time.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PREFACE.

THE scantiness of available information on the subject of the British Parliament, its history and its leading men, is a surprising fact, in days when historical writing may be said to superabound. Much information was to be found, no doubt, in bulky volumes, or scattered through the material of extensive libraries, but there was nothing for the general reader at once comprehensive and readily accessible. An attempt was made some years back, by two fellow-workers who had experienced the want, to supply it, by bringing together, in anecdotal form, "some of the more striking facts in the history of our Parliaments, and the public lives of distinguished statesmen."* Their work met with a favourable reception, and a cordial appreciation of its purport, not only in this country but abroad. One correspondent—a member of the legal profession in Italy—expressed himself warmly in praise of the book, which he was desirous of translating into his own tongue, as showing compendiously the history of constitutional liberty in the nation which has striven most

* "A Book of Parliamentary Anecdote," by G. H. Jennings and W. S. Johnstone, 1872. The writer takes this opportunity of expressing his satisfaction that in his earlier labours he was aided by the co-operation of his valued friend Mr. William Steven Johnstone. That gentleman, although prevented by arduous engagements from continuing the work, has kindly placed at the disposal of his colleague his own gatherings towards the former book.

successfully for its promotion, and being therefore well adapted as a text-book for the political education of his countrymen.*

The encouragement given to the previous tentative work has led the present writer to follow it up by the expansion and rearrangement of its materials; influenced, as regards the latter point (in the "Personal" section of the volume), in some measure by the suggestion of a competent and courteous critic in the *Quarterly Review*, who has since given his remarks upon the book a more enduring circulation.† As regards expansion, the former work included but a small portion of the material contained in the present; for the vein was found to be more rich as it was further explored. To deal with it in a manner likely to secure a satisfactory result has required the leisure of many years, the difficulty at length having been to confine the gathered material within moderate limits, while not omitting (it is believed) any important or characteristic fact in either the historical or the biographical branch of the subject.

It is hoped that the work, in its present form, may be of practical value in more than one direction. As Mr. Lowe once pointed out, in a celebrated phrase,‡ the power of this country is now, more distinctly than at any former time, vested in the electoral body. Every individual citizen exercises a proportion of that power; and, that he may use it wisely, an acquaintance with the history and the working of our Parliamentary institutions is an essential condition. All have not the opportunity of reference to the works requisite for the information; but all may consult such a digest as will be

* He writes: "Vous avez raconté, dans ses traits plus remarquables, l'histoire d'Angleterre, qui, ancienne ou moderne, est toujours *actuelle* pour nous, parcequ'elle est toujours la même chose, fatale et grande, *l'histoire de la liberté.* L'Italie, si grande dans son histoire ancienne et moyenne, si nouvelle dans l'histoire moderne, trouverait bien dans votre livre un recueil précieux d'exemples et de pratique liberale, qui l'aideraient immensement dans son education civile et politique."—Letter from Sig. Roger Calabrye, avocat à Naples.

† "Selected Essays by A. Hayward, Q.C." London: 1878.

‡ See p. 346.

found here, and the book may therefore claim to possess its educational uses at home. To maintain the standard reached by constant patriotic effort in past times, and so to uphold the dignity and efficacy of the Nation in Council, is a most important object, which it seems as necessary to keep in view at the present day as at any former period. Moreover, to this country the founders of Parliamentary institutions in other lands have been, and are, eagerly looking. Besides nations speaking other tongues, our numerous colonies have their growing Parliaments, all taking the cue from our own, and tracing in its history the foundations of a government at once popular, and regulated by law and order, while

> Freedom broadens slowly down
> From precedent to precedent.

To any of these colonial Assemblies might probably be applied a remark recently made respecting one of them: "It is almost as jealous of any departure from English Parliamentary precedent as could well be the House of Commons itself."*

As to the general subjects of Parliamentary rule and precedent, formally considered, it is scarcely needful to say that no attempt is here made to compete with the claims of such elaborate and exhaustive works as those of Sir T. Erskine May and his predecessors, Elsynge, Hatsell, and the rest. In the following "anecdotal" pages, these matters are necessarily kept less in view than the broad lines of historical fact, personal trait, and oratorical effort or allusion; and in dealing with these, one especial design has been to make the work useful to persons engaged in political and literary pursuits. The occasion of a particular incident, or the use of a certain

* Letter from special correspondent of the *Times* at Melbourne, March 31, 1880.—Since these lines were written, the subject has been enforced in the House of Commons. Mr. Speaker Brand, on his re-election to the chair in 1880, said, "The power and consequent responsibility of this House are constantly increasing. It is looked up to, not only by our colonial fellow-subjects as the parent of their popular Assemblies, but every nation in the world now treading in the path of Parliamentary Government watches our proceedings with the greatest attention and interest. It is, then, the more incumbent on us to set an example of freedom and order in debate, which constitute the life-blood of Parliamentary Government."

phrase, is often matter of dispute and requires verification, both in Parliament and out of it. A circumstance which occurred in the session of 1876 will show that the want of a ready means of authenticating such facts and phrases is felt, at times, by persons even of great eminence in active political life. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in the House of Commons of an expression used by a former colleague (the Earl of Clarendon) in an important crisis, said he had been at some pains to find out in "Hansard" what were the actual meaning and connection of that expression ("drifting into war"), and he gave the correct version. If, however, the right honourable gentleman had had before him the small work of which this is a development, it would have saved him the labour, for the expression would there have been found, among many others of like interest, with the context as given in "Hansard's" pages.

The process of "mythical accretion" to which Mr. Gladstone referred on that occasion is constantly going on with regard to the celebrated dicta of our public men, and this makes it the more desirable to trace, as has here been done, the original occasion and precise sense of such expressions. Another instance in point will be found on page 334. Mr. Cobden is frequently credited with the saying that we could "crumple up Russia like a sheet of paper." What he really did say, and the "accretion" which followed, will there be found recorded; and many similar instances appear in other places. One of the express objects of this book is to prevent, on many occasions in future, the need of such laborious research as that instanced by Mr. Gladstone; and the number of political proverbs and sayings which will be found included here, with an account of the circumstances under which they arose, is very considerable. For many of these, recourse has necessarily been had, not only to the voluminous pages of "Hansard," and the similar records, such as they are, of former days, but to the deeper depth of ancient newspaper files, where alone some of the celebrated sayings of distinguished statesmen could be found,—often uttered on "extra-parliamentary" and slight occasions, but destined, by some

happy conjuncture of thought and phrase, to live as long in memory, or longer, than anything that fell from them in elaborate orations. To these, as well as some other portions of the book, gathered from voluminous histories and lengthy biographies, the words of the elder Disraeli, when speaking of some of his own labours, may not inappropriately be applied:—"There are articles in the present work, occupying but a few pages, which could never have been produced had not more time been allotted to the researches they contain than some would allow to a small volume."

It may be thought that anecdotes of a humorous nature occur in the book to an extent not to have been anticipated. They have, however, arisen from the nature of the subject. Humour has always played an important part in the proceedings of the British Parliament, whether it be the greater Parliament of the platform and the polling-booth, or the select body which assembles at St. Stephen's. As a worthy member of the House of Commons once remarked, it "loves good sense *and* joking."* This book, therefore, could not faithfully mirror Parliamentary life, as it attempts to do, unless both qualities were fairly represented.

Reference to authorities is given throughout the work, wherever it seemed likely to be useful to the reader, or of any importance for verification. It is scarcely necessary to add that in many cases the authorities cited indicate only the sources from which the principal facts or reports are derived; such additions and explanations as may have been requisite to complete the information having, of course, been supplied from other sources.

Of one thing the reader may be assured,—that the work before him has been prepared without undue leaning or partiality in favour of any of the great parties in the State, whether in past or present time. The historical student frequently cares little for the differences of passing politics, seeing rather, in the calmness of private study, that the adversaries and opponents of a particular time have been, in the main, men working with different views towards common

* P. 490.

objects, and that there has been much on both sides worthy of admiration and respect. The familiar illustration of the knights and the shield is as applicable in political as in any other affairs, and it has required many chivalrous men of opposing views to build worthily upon the foundations of the British Parliament. It is believed that all sides alike are here fairly represented; for the historical spirit, as distinguished from that of party, in the main pervades the principal sources of information referred to, and in the collection of material from these quarters there has been no such endeavour as that of Dr. Johnson,* to "take care that the Whig dogs did not get the best of it."

* P. 424.

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„ Annual and Weekly Registers.
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AN

ANECDOTAL HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

PART I.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS.

Antiquity of Parliaments.—Parliaments or General Councils (writes Blackstone) are coeval with the kingdom itself. How those Parliaments were constituted and composed is another question, which has been matter of great dispute among our learned antiquaries, and, particularly, whether the Commons were summoned at all; or, if summoned, at what period they began to form a distinct assembly. In the main, the constitution of Parliament, as it now stands, was marked out so long ago as the seventeenth year of King John, A.D. 1215, in the great charter granted by that prince; wherein he promises to summon all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, personally; and all other tenants-in-chief under the Crown, by the sheriff and bailiffs, to meet at a certain place, with forty days' notice, to assess aids and scutages when necessary. And this constitution has subsisted in fact at least from 49 Henry III., there being still extant writs of that date to summon knights, citizens, and burgesses to Parliament.

The "Omnipotence of Parliament."—The power and jurisdiction of Parliament (says Sir Edward Coke) is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. Parliament can regulate or new model the succession to the Crown; as was done in the reigns of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land; as was done in a variety of instances in the reigns of King Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom and of Parliaments themselves; as was done by the Act of Union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short,

do everything that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call its power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of Parliament. True it is, that what the Parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo. So that it is a matter most essential to the liberties of this kingdom that such members be delegated to this important trust as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge.—*Blackstone's Commentaries.*

"England can never be Ruined but by a Parliament."—It was a known apothegm of the great Lord Treasurer Burleigh that "England could never be ruined but by a Parliament;" and, as Sir Matthew Hale observes, this being the highest and greatest court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should any way fall upon it, the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy. To the same purpose Montesquieu—though, I trust, too hastily—presages that as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have lost their liberty and perished, so the constitution of England will, in time, lose its liberty—will perish: it will perish whenever the legislative power shall become more corrupt than the executive.—*Ibid.*

Constitution of the Early Councils.—Hume thus classifies the various orders which composed the great councils of the nation under the Norman kings. "The supreme legislative power of England was lodged in the king and great council, or what was afterwards called the Parliament. It is not doubted but the archbishops, bishops, and most considerable abbots were constituent members of the council. They sat by a double title; by prescription, as having always possessed that privilege, through the whole Saxon period, from the first establishment of Christianity; and by their right of baronage, as holding of the king *in capite* by military service. The barons were another constituent part of the great council of the nation. These held immediately of the crown by a military tenure; they were the most honourable members of the state, and had a right to be consulted in all public deliberations; they were the immediate vassals of the crown, and owed as a service their attendance in the court of their supreme lord. But there was another class of the immediate military tenants of the crown, no less, or probably more, numerous than the barons—the tenants *in capite* by knight's service; and these, however inferior in power or property, held by a tenure which was equally honourable with that of the others. Where a man held of the king only one or two knight's fees, he was still an immediate vassal of the crown, and as such had a title to have a seat in the general councils. The only question seems to be with regard to the commons, or the representatives of counties or boroughs, whether they were also, in more early times, constituent parts of Parliament. It is now agreed that the commons were no part of the great council till some ages after the Conquest, and that the military tenants alone of the crown composed that supreme and legislative assembly."

The First Council after the Conquest.—The principle of election appears to have operated in this council, which was called together

in the fourth year of William I. (1070). Twelve representatives (says Oldfield) were elected in each county in the whole kingdom, and were sworn before the King. In this Parliament or council the laws of Edward the Confessor (by which is probably meant the common law as it prevailed during his reign) were adopted and confirmed.

The Name of "Parliament."—Professor Stubbs remarks that "the name given to the sessions of council (under the early Norman kings) was often expressed by the Latin *colloquium*; and it is by no means unlikely that the name of Parliament, which is used as early as 1175 by Jordan Fantosme ('sun plenier parlement'), may have been in common use. But of this we have no distinct instance in the Latin Chroniclers for some years further, although when the term comes into use it is applied retrospectively; and in a record of the twenty-eighth year of Henry III., the assembly in which the Great Charter was granted is mentioned as the 'Parliamentum Runimedæ.' . . It is first used in England by a contemporary writer in 1246, namely, by Matthew Paris. It is a word of Italian origin, and may have been introduced either through the Normans, or through intercourse with the French kingdom."

The Earliest Recorded Parliaments.—In a return presented to the House of Commons by order in 1879, giving the names of members of the Lower House and their constituencies "from so remote a period as it can be obtained," the earliest Parliaments mentioned are the following: 1. 15th John (1213), summoned to meet at Oxford. Writs addressed to all the sheriffs, requiring them each to send all the knights of their bailiwicks in arms; and also four knights from their counties "ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni nostri." 2. 10th Henry III. (1226), summoned to meet at Lincoln. Writs addressed to the sheriffs of eight counties, requiring them each to send four knights, elected by the "milites et probi homines" of their bailiwicks, to set forth certain disputes with the sheriffs. 3. 38th Henry III. (1254), summoned to meet at Westminster. Every sheriff required to send two knights to be elected by each county, to provide aid towards carrying on the war in Gascony. 4. 45th Henry III. (1261), summoned to meet at Windsor. The Bishop of Worcester, the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and other magnates, having ordered three knights from each county to attend an assembly at St. Alban's, the King enjoins the sheriffs to send the above-mentioned knights also to him at Windsor. 5. 49th Henry III. (1264-5), summoned to meet at London. This appears (says the return) to have been the first complete Parliament consisting of elected knights, citizens, and burgesses. In each of these cases no returns of names could be found.

The Commons summoned by Simon de Montfort.—Leicester (says Hume) summoned a new Parliament in London (20th January, 1265), "and he fixed this assembly on a more democratical basis than any which had ever been summoned since the foundation of the monarchy. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs—an order of men which, in former ages, had

always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national council. This period is commonly esteemed the epoch of the House of Commons in England."

The Writ of Summons to Parliament.—Henry Elsynge, clerk to the House of Commons, writes, in his "Ancient Method and Manner of Holding of Parliaments" (1660): "It doth not appear by the first record of summons now extant, Anno 49 Henry III., by what warrant the Lord Chancellor caused the writ of summons to be made. The King was then prisoner unto Mountford. But surely none but the King can summon the Parliament; and this is the reason that Henry IV., having taken his liege lord, King Richard II., prisoner, on the 20th of August, Anno Rich. 23, did cause the writs of summons for the Parliament, wherein he obtained the crown, to bear date the 19th day of the same month, and the warrant to be *per ipsum Regem et consilium*, and himself to be summoned by the name of Henry Duke of Lancaster."

The Three Estates Sitting by Themselves.—Elsynge records: "6th Edward III., at the Parliament held at York, the cause of summons being touching Scotland, the prelates with the clergy (sat) by themselves, the dukes and barons by themselves, and afterwards they delivered their joint answer to the King. In the former Parliament of that year at Westminster the cause was touching Ireland: the prelates consulted by themselves, and after they gave a joint answer, and they all joined in one grant of a subsidy to the King. Anno 6th Edward III., Octabis Hillarii, the prelates treated by themselves, so did the Lords, and so did the Commons, and afterwards their joint answer was reported to the King by the Bishop of Winchester. . . Anno 50 Edward III., the cause of summons ended, the Commons were willed to withdraw themselves to their ancient place in the Chapter House of the Abbot of Westminster, and there to treat and consult among themselves."

Peculiar Designations given to Parliaments.—Many of the early as well as the later Parliaments acquired special names, by which they are still distinguished. The following list (in which some of the later pages of this section are anticipated) comprises all such designations as are of historical interest:—

The Mad Parliament.—One of the last of the great councils summoned before the calling up of the Commons by Simon de Montfort was afterwards known by this name, given to it by the Royalists. "In the year 1258 (says Gurdon), on April 10th, a Parliament met which was called *insanum Parliamentum*. Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, complained very boldly to the King (Henry III.), appealing to the Parliament for justice; upbraided the King that he promoted and enriched strangers, and despised and wasted his own people; neglected his subjects that faithfully served him, as he had charged the King six years before; that he had not performed his promise of rewarding him for his services and expenses in Gascoigny. To which the King answered, that he would not stand to any

promise made to one that proved a traitor. The earl told the King he lied, and, were he not a king, he would make him eat his words."

The Parliament de la Bond.—One of Edward II.'s Parliaments (1321) was called "Parliament *de la Bond*," from the barons coming to Parliament, armed against the two Spencers, wearing coloured bands upon their sleeves for distinction.—*Gurdon.*

The Good Parliament.—The Parliament assembled in 1376 (50th Edward III.) has been called by this name, in consequence of its measures against the corruption of the court and government. Several of the ministers were impeached, and the king's mistress, Alice Perrers, was made the subject of a special censure, the Commons passing the following ordinance: "Whereas complaints have been laid before the king that certain women have pursued causes and actions in the king's court by way of maintenance, and for hire and reward, which thing displeases the king, the king forbids that any woman do it for the future, and in particular Alice Perrers, under the penalty of forfeiting all that she, the said Alice, can forfeit, and of being banished out of the realm." The growing activity of the Commons in this Parliament derived much encouragement from the Black Prince, whose death, however, ensued soon after, and John of Gaunt obtained a new Parliament, which undid the work of its predecessor.

The Wonderful, or Merciless Parliament.—The Parliament which was summoned in the eleventh year of Richard II. (Feb. 3rd, 1388) has been called by some historians "the Parliament that wrought wonders;" by others, "the Merciless Parliament." In it articles of high treason were exhibited against the King's ministers, who were, accordingly, sentenced to death or banishment.—*Parry's "Parliaments of England."*

The Shortest Parliament.—The shortest Parliament ever held was that which met on the 30th of September, 1399, and sat but for a single day, on which it deposed Richard II. "The deposition of Richard (says Hume) dissolved the Parliament; it was necessary to summon a new one; and Henry, in six days after, called together without any new election the same members, and this assembly he denominated a new Parliament."

The Unlearned Parliament.—Speaking of this Parliament, which assembled in 1404, Lord Campbell says, the recklessness of the Commons may have arisen from their not having had a single lawyer among them. Lord Chancellor Beaufort, in framing the writs of summons, illegally inserted a prohibition that any apprentice or other man of the law should be elected. In return for such a slight our law books and historians have branded this Parliament with the name of *Parliamentum indoctum*, or the "Unlearned Parliament."

The Parliament of Bats.—In the 4th of Henry VI. (1426) a Parliament was summoned to meet at Leicester, and orders were sent to the members that they should not wear swords, so they came to the Parliament, like modern butchers, with long staves, from whence the Parliament got the name of "the Parliament of Bats." And when the

bats were prohibited, the members had recourse to stones and leaden plummets.—*Gurdon's "History of Parliament."*

The Diabolical Parliament.—In the 38th year of Henry VI. (1459) a Parliament was summoned to meet on the 20th November, at Coventry. It was there enacted that all such knights of any county as were returned to the Parliament by virtue of the King's letters, without any other election, should be good, and that no sheriff, for returning them, should incur the pain therefor provided in the Act of the 23rd of Henry VI. The Queen and her party carried all before them in this Parliament, which, from its works, was called *Parliamentum diabolicum.—Ibid.*

The Addled Parliament.—This name was given by the King's party (James I.) to the Parliament which met on the 5th of April, 1614. It had been summoned in the expectation that it would grant supplies, but it insisted on the previous discussion of grievances, and, as it proved obdurate, it was dissolved on the 7th of June, without having passed a single bill. Prior to the meeting of this Parliament, certain of the King's ministers (among them Bacon and Somerset) undertook that they would so manage the Commons as to secure the necessary votes. This promise got wind, and the ministers were freely spoken of as *undertakers* —a circumstance to which the King thus alluded in his opening speech: "For *undertakers*, he never was so base to call or rely on any."

The Short Parliament.—The fourth Parliament called by Charles I. is known by this name. It met on the 13th of April, 1640—the first Parliament since the dissolution of 1629—and was dissolved after a session of three weeks only, on the 5th of May. Never since the institution of regular Parliaments had there been so long an interval without one, as that which preceded the summoning of this assembly.

The Long Parliament.—The Long Parliament, or the fifth of Charles I., assembled November 3, 1640—"a Parliament which many, before that time, thought would never have had a beginning, and afterwards that it would never have had an end." It was, however, abruptly and violently dispersed by Cromwell, April 20th, 1653. (See "Personal" section, under "Cromwell.") After many vicissitudes, in which fragments of this Parliament were called together again and again for special purposes, the appearance of legal dissolution was given by a bill for "Dissolving the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster 3rd of November, 1640, and that the day of dissolution shall be from this day, March 16th, 1659."* Macaulay describes it as "that renowned Parliament which, in spite of many errors and disasters, is justly entitled to the reverence and gratitude of all who, in any part of the world, enjoy the blessings of constitutional government." On the other hand, Cobbett, in his "Parliamentary History," observes, "Thus ended the Long Parliament, which, with innumerable alterations and several intermissions, had continued the scourge of the nation for nearly twenty years."

Pride's Purge.—When the Commons were to meet on Dec. 6th,

* 1660, according to modern reckoning, the year formerly commencing on the 25th of March.

1648, Hume says, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, environed the House with two regiments, and, directed by Lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage forty-one members of the Presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed by the appellation of "hell," whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded, and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and the most determined of the Independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This invasion of the Parliament commonly passed under the name of "Colonel Pride's Purge," so much was the nation disposed to make merry with the dethroning of those members who had violently arrogated the whole authority of government, and deprived the King of his legal prerogatives. The remains of the Parliament were called the "Rump."

The Rump.—"The nickname originated," says Isaac D'Israeli, "in derision on the expulsion of the majority of the Long Parliament by the usurping minority. The collector of 'The Rump Songs' tells us, 'If you ask who named it *Rump*, know 'twas so styled in an honest sheet of prayer called the Bloody Rump, written before the trial of our late sovereign; but the word obtained not universal notice till it flew from the mouth of Major-General Brown, at a public assembly in the days of Richard Cromwell.'"

The Little, or Barebone's Parliament.—The Parliament to which these names have been given was summoned by Cromwell, and met for the first time July 4th, 1653. A hundred and forty summonses to it were issued, and of the parties summoned only two did not attend. Hume says, "Among the fanatics of the House there was an active member much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London, his name Praise-God Barebone. This ridiculous name, which seems to have been chosen by some poet or allegorist to suit so ridiculous a personage, struck the fancy of the people, and they commonly affixed to the assembly the appellation of 'Barebone's Parliament.'" This assembly sat until the 12th of December, 1653, when it resigned its powers into the hands of Cromwell.

The Healing Parliament.—This name was applied to the Parliament which met on the 25th of April, 1660, and, a few days after, restored Charles II.—a measure which, it was hoped, would "heal" all remaining wounds and differences existing in the nation.

The Drunken Parliament.—The first Parliament which met in Scotland after the Restoration of Charles II. acquired this name. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Tales of a Grandfather," says, "When the Scottish Parliament met, the members were, in many instances, under the influence of wine, and they were more than once obliged to adjourn, because the royal commissioner (Middleton) was too intoxicated to behave properly in the chair."

The Longest, or Pensionary Parliament.—This Parliament —sometimes called "the Long Parliament," until that name became more distinctly appropriated to the assembly of 1640—was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 8th of May, 1661, and was not dissolved until

the 24th of January, 1679. It thus existed for nearly eighteen years. It derived its name of "pensionary" from the fact that many of its members were in the habit of receiving bribes from the King and the Ministers; and it has also been discovered that some of them were in the pay of the Court of France.

Parliamentary Hostages.—Oldfield records that in the sixth year of King John (1205) a Parliament was held, at which the children of the barons were required as hostages for their allegiance.

An Unwise Counsellor.—Henry III., being straitened for money, issued a warrant ordering the nobles to meet him in London. Accordingly, on the day of St. Hilary, 1237, a countless multitude proceeded to the palace at Westminster to hear the King's pleasure. Having heard with consternation the royal demand for a thirtieth of all movable property, they were about to retire for the purpose of consultation, when Gilbert Bassett said to Henry, in the hearing of all, "My lord King, send some one of your friends to be present at the conference of your barons." In reply to his speech, Richard Percy said, "What is it, friend Gilbert, that you said? Are we, too, foreigners; and are we not among the number of the King's friends?" And Gilbert felt himself rebuked for his unpleasant speech.—*Matthew Paris.*

Selection of Partial Parliaments.—In ancient times it was ordinary for kings to make a show of summoning Parliaments, whenas properly they were but parliamentary meetings of some such lords, clergy, and others as the King saw most convenient to drive on his own designs; and therefore we find that Henry III., about the latter part of his reign, when his government drew towards the dregs, he having in the kingdom two hundred and fifty baronies, he summoned unto one of these parliamentary meetings but five-and-twenty barons and one hundred and fifty of his clergy.—*Nathaniel Bacon's "Discourse on the Government of England."*

Neglect of the King's Summons to Parliament.—Edward III., being troubled with a quarrel between the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York concerning superiority in bearing the cross, and the important affairs of Scotland so urging, summoned a Parliament at York, which was fain to be delayed and adjourned for want of appearance, and more effectual summons issued forth; but at the day of adjournment none of the clergy of the province of Canterbury would be there; and upon this occasion the Parliament was not only interrupted in their proceedings, but an ill precedent was made for men to be bold with the King's summons in such cases as liked not them; and thereupon a statute was made to enforce obedience upon citizens and burgesses, and such ecclesiastics as held *per baroniam*. Nor did Edward III. ever after hold the presence of the prelates at so high repute at such meetings; and therefore summoned them, or so many of them as he thought meet for the occasion—sometimes more, sometimes fewer; and at a Parliament in his forty-and-seventh year he summoned only four bishops and five abbots.

Albeit the clergy still made their claim of vote, and desired the same to be entered upon record.—*Ibid.*

Representation an Expensive Luxury.—A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* writes:—"Whatever estimate the people of the present day may put upon the elective franchise, it would seem that our ancestors held the privilege very lightly; for, although the wages to be received by members of Parliament were fixed by the 16th of Edward II. at the low rate of 4*s.* a day for a knight of the shire, and 2*s.* for a citizen or burgess, yet we are told by Prynne that many boroughs petitioned to be excused from sending members to Parliament, on account of the expense; and in a note to 'Blackstone' we learn that from the 33rd Edward III., uniformly through the five succeeding reigns, the sheriff of Lancashire returned that there were no cities or boroughs in his county that ought or were used, or could, on account of their poverty, send any citizens or burgesses to Parliament. There were some instances where even a less sum than that established by statute was allowed; and it is on record that in 1463 Sir John Strange, the member for Dunwich, agreed to take a cade and half a barrel of herrings as a composition for his wages."

A Member Suing for his Wages.—Hatsell records that Mr. Hall, member for Grantham, having published a book in 1580, which gave offence to the House, was ordered to be expelled, fined, and imprisoned. On the 21st of November, 1586, Mr. Markham, then member for Grantham, informed the House, on the part of the inhabitants of that borough, that Mr. Arthur Hall, at one time their member, had brought a writ for his wages (amongst other times) for his attendance at the late session of Parliament, holden at Westminster in the twenty-seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, during which time he did not serve in the House. A committee appointed by the House desired him to remit the said wages, which he did "freely and frankly."*

Safety and Quietude for Members.—A Parliament was summoned by Edward III. to meet at Westminster, March 12th, 1332, the summons reciting the King's reasons for calling them. Where—that we may see (says Joshua Barnes) what prudent care was then taken by these august assemblies that their debates should not be awed by fear or disturbed by tumults—it was first by the King's order proclaimed, "That no man, upon pain of forfeiting all his substance, should presume to use or wear any coat of metal, or other weapon, offensive or defensive, in London, Westminster, or the suburbs of the same. And also that during the time of this session no games or other plays of men, women, or children should be used in Westminster, to the disturbance of the Parliament." A Parliament met at York in the following year. On the first day of their sitting commandment was given to the Mayor of York, in presence of the King and all his Parliament, to see the King's peace kept in the said city and suburbs thereof, and to arrest all that offended against it. Also, proclamation to be made against weapons and plays, by the steward and

* See "Parliamentary Usages—Payment of Members."

marschal, before the house where the Parliament sat, and by the mayor and bailiffs in the city.

An Early Speaker's Address on Election.—The House of Commons which met in 1376 chose Sir Peter de la Mare, knight of the shire for Herefordshire, as their Speaker, and he is sometimes mentioned as the first who bore the title. Sir Peter on this occasion (says the "Parliamentary History") made a protestation and said, "That what he had to declare was from their whole body; and therefore required that if he should happen to speak anything without their consents, that it ought to be amended before his departure from the said place. He commended the feats of chivalry heretofore practised, for which this nation was so renowned; and said that by the decay of the same, the honour of the realm did and would daily decrease."

A Faithful Speaker Punished.—Sir Peter de la Mare, elected prolocutor or speaker of "the Good Parliament" (p. 5), suffered for his boldness on behalf of that body, which had so severely handled court abuses. The death of the Black Prince, who had countenanced its proceedings, left power in the hands of John of Gaunt, against whom and his friends they had been directed. The Parliament was dismissed, and proclaimed to have been no Parliament at all; steps taken in consequence of its petitions were cancelled; and Peter de la Mare was summoned before the King's court and imprisoned. A new Parliament met in January, 1377, no pains having being spared to "pack" it; and this (says Professor Stubbs) is the first occasion on which any definite signs are traceable of an attempt to influence the elections for a political purpose. Sir Thomas Hungerford, the Duke of Lancaster's steward, and one of the knights of the shire for Wilts, was chosen speaker. A strong minority vainly endeavoured to procure the release of Sir Peter de la Mare, and the Londoners insisted that he should have a fair trial; but he was detained in prison some months, until the occurrence of the jubilee of the old King, Edward III.

A Royal Absentee.—Oldfield relates that in the tenth year of Richard II. (1387) the Commons sent a message to the King, in which they stated that if the King shall wilfully estrange himself from his Parliament, and be absent from them for the space of forty days, it shall be lawful for all and every of them, without any damage from the King, to go home and return into their own countries. "And now you," continue the remonstrants, "for a longer time have absented yourself, and have refused to come among them."

An Earl's Apology.—In a Parliament of Richard II., held at Westminster, 1394, the Earl of Arundel exhibited a complaint against the Duke of Lancaster, consisting of four distinct charges. To the accusation the King himself answered and affirmed that what the Duke of Lancaster had done was all right and good. And his Majesty, with the assent of the Lords, awarded that the said earl should ask the duke's pardon, in full Parliament, and in the very words following, which he spoke accordingly: "Sir, Sith that it seemeth to the King and other lords, and eke that each here hath been so mickle-grieved and displeased

by my words; it forethinketh, and I beseech you of your grace and lordship to quit me your man-tallant."—*Parliamentary History.*

The House of Commons making a Scapegoat.—While, in the early Parliaments, the House of Commons occasionally spoke out with boldness, it was often ready at the next moment to meet the King and his council with great subserviency. The following instance is given in the "Parliamentary History:" In 1397 the House of Commons required of the King (Richard II.), amongst other demands, an avoidance of the extravagant expenses of the King's household, and that bishops and ladies, who had no particular business there, should be forbidden to frequent the court. The King, hearing of this, was highly incensed, and charged the Speaker, Sir John Bussy, upon his allegiance to inform him who it was that had brought the matter into Parliament. The Commons, on being told the King's mind in a conference with the Lords, made a most submissive and even abject apology for their presumption; gave up the name of the person who had brought it into their House—one Thomas Haxey, clerk; and furthermore, proceeded to try poor Thomas Haxey, clerk, and condemned him to die the death of a traitor. The King then informed the Commons that he, out of his royal benignity and gracious seigniory, freely excused them. The scapegoat also came in for a share in the royal clemency, his life being spared on the petition of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other prelates; but this was chiefly on account of his clerical capacity.

A Suicidal Parliament and a Suicidal King.—A Parliament, elected (writes Professor Stubbs) under the undisguised influence of Richard II., met at Westminster on the 17th of September, 1397. The King's agents in the House of Commons were Sir John Bussy, the Speaker, Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Bagot. The Chancellor declared in his opening speech that the cause of summons was to establish the King in his rights, and to consult on the revocation of all measures by which those rights were diminished. . The whole of the acts of the Parliament of February, 1388, were, at the prayer of the Commons, declared null, and the persons prejudiced by those acts were restored to all their rights. Large subsidies were granted, some of them for the term of the King's life. "The last Act (says Stubbs) of this suicidal Parliament was to delegate their authority to eighteen members chosen from the whole body: ten lords temporal, of whom six were to be a quorum, two earls as proctors for the clergy, and six members of the House of Commons, three or four to be a quorum. All these were men whom the King believed to be devoted to his interests, and whom he had spared no means to attach to himself. He held, therefore, his Parliament in his own hand. . . It was a resolute attempt not to evade, but to destroy, the limitations which for nearly two centuries the nation, first through the baronage alone, and latterly through the united Parliament, had been labouring to impose upon the King." These acts laid a foundation for the downfall of Richard in 1399. In the articles of accusation on which his deposition was grounded, the delegation of the powers of Parliament to a committee of estates, and the fraudulent use of that delegation

to engross the entire authority in his own hands, were prominent features.

A Pious Subsidy.—Henry IV. called a Parliament which met October 6th, 1404. "The Chancellor," says Lord Campbell, "in a speech from the text '*Rex vocavit seniores terræ*,' having pressed most urgently for supplies, the Commons came in a body, and, the King being on the throne, proposed that without burdening his people he might supply his occasions by seizing on the revenues of the clergy. Archbishop Arundel replied that the stripping the clergy of their estates would put a stop to their prayers night and day for the welfare of the State. The Speaker of the Commons, standing at the bar, smiled and said openly that he thought the prayers of the Church a very slender supply."

Royal Rewards to the Speaker.—Of the Parliament which assembled at Westminster March 1st, 1406, Sir John Tibetot was chosen Speaker. Sir John excused himself on account of his youth and other causes; nevertheless, the King confirmed his election. This youthful Speaker appears to have discharged his functions to the satisfaction of the Court at least; for at the close of the Parliament the King, to show his generosity and gratitude to Sir John, granted to him, in fee, all the lands and hereditaments of Richard ap Griffith ap Voethus, in the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and elsewhere in the principality of South Wales, forfeited to the King by his being an adherent to Owen Glendower, rebel and traitor; and also the office of keeper of the forests of Weybridge and Sapley, in the county of Huntingdon, without any fee or out payments; and further, the goods and chattels of Peter Priswick, carpenter, a felon, amounting to £150. He was afterwards made Earl of Worcester.—*Parliamentary History.*

The Lords and the Privilege of the Commons.—From the case of Speaker Thorpe it is quite evident (writes Mr. James Gairdner) that in the days of Henry VI. the privileges of the lower chamber were entirely in the keeping of the House of Peers. Speaker Thorpe had been arrested in 1453, during the parliamentary recess, at the suit of Richard, Duke of York. The action was for trespass; Thorpe was cast in damages of £1000, and he still lay in prison in the following February when Parliament reassembled. The Commons at once petitioned for the liberation of their Speaker, as without him they could not proceed; and also of another member who was incarcerated at the same time. The Duke of York's counsel, in the Lords, opposed the application, explaining the circumstances of the case. The Lords, being anxious to preserve the liberties and privileges of the lower house, asked the opinion of the judges, and the judges made a very careful reply. They declared "that they ought not to answer to that question, for it hath not been used aforetime that the justices should in any wise determine the privilege of this High Court of Parliament; for it is so high and so mighty in its nature that it may make law, and that that is law it may make no law, and the determination and knowledge of that privilege *belongeth to the Lords* of the Parliament, and not to the justices." They only added that there was no existing form of procedure to quash all processes against privileged

members; otherwise privilege in such cases as treason, felony, and other serious offences would be a manifest interference with justice; but that in minor cases a member arrested was allowed to make his attorney and attend in Parliament. On this opinion the Lords determined that Thorpe should remain in prison, and the Commons were commanded to elect another Speaker.

Petition against a Judge.—In 1434 (13 Henry VI.) a petition was presented to the Commons of England against Sir William Paston, knight, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, by William Dalling. The fact that the Commons were appealed to on such a matter, at this early era in our records, is worth notice. The petition is thus given in Sir John Fenn's "Paston Letters":—"Please it to the right sage and wise Commons of this present Parliament, that where(*as*) every justice of the King is sworn that he should not take no fees or rewards for to be of counsel with no man, but only with our sovereign lord the King, and thereto they be sworn. Please it to (*the*) Commons of the present Parliament that William Paston, one of the justices of our sovereign lord (*the*) King, taketh divers fees and rewards of divers persons within the shires of Norfolk and Suffolk, and is withhold with every matter in the said counties; that is to say—Of the town of Yarmouth, 1s. yearly; of the Abbot of St. Benet's, 26s. 8d. [several more are here instanced]; and of Katherine Shelton, 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.), against the King, for to be of her counsel for to destroy the right of the King and of his ward—that is for to say, Ralph, son and heir of John Shelton." In a note prefixed to this petition, it is mentioned that Sir William Paston was born in 1378, became a judge of the Common Pleas in 1430, and from the propriety of his conduct was called "the Good Judge."

Henry VIII.'s Method with the Commons.—The Ministers of Henry VIII., says Oldfield, "moved in 1536 that a bill be brought in to dissolve such monasteries as had not above £200 per annum in land. The bill remained so long in the House that the King, who was impatient to have it passed, took upon himself to expedite its progress. He sent for the members to attend him in his gallery, when, having kept them waiting for a considerable time, he told them fiercely that if the bill did not pass it would cost many of them their heads." It is also related that while the opposition of the Commons to the imposition lasted, Henry sent for a Mr. Edward Montague, who had considerable influence in the House, and said, "Ho, man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?" and, laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, "Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours will be off." The bill was passed, and Mr. Montague's head was permitted to remain upon his shoulders.

Oriental Adulation.—In 1537 an insult was put upon the House of Commons, which shows (says Lord Campbell) the degraded state to which Parliament was reduced in the reign of Henry VIII. On the recommendation of the Court, Rich, whose bad character was notorious, and who was hardly free from any vice except hypocrisy, was elected Speaker. He repaid this promotion by comparing the King, on the first day of the

session, for prudence to Solomon, for strength to Samson, and for beauty to Absalom; and on the last to the sun, that warms, enlightens, and invigorates the universe.

"Render unto Cæsar," &c.—Speaker Crooke told Queen Elizabeth (when he was presented to her in the House of Lords, on the occasion of his election to the chair) that England had been defended against the Spanish Armada by her mighty arm; to which she answered from the throne, "No; but by the mighty hand of God, Mr. Speaker."—*D'Ewes' Journal.*

Bribing Members with Foreign Money.—In 1544 (writes Gurdon), the Londoners not liking the intended marriage of Mary with the Prince of Spain, the Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford. Against the calling a new Parliament great sums of money were remitted by the Emperor (Charles V.) to Gardiner, to soften the leading nobility, and carry elections for commoners that would comply with the designs of the Court. Lord Chancellor Gardiner having granted pensions to many of the leading members of the House of Commons, thereby softened them.

Commencement of the Journals of the Commons.—A Parliament was called to meet at Westminster on the 4th of November, 1547, in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. The "Parliamentary History" says, "We are now come to a period from which the Journals of the House of Commons are extant. The first volume, which begins with the reign, contains little more than a diurnal succinct account of proceedings in reading bills, &c. The Journals of the Lords are more explicit in the reign before us than those of the Commons."

Secession of Members from the Commons.—In the Parliament which assembled 11th November, 1554, the first of Philip and Mary, the legislative enactments of the three previous reigns against Roman Catholicism were repealed. "A circumstance occurred of a very extraordinary nature in this Parliament" (says the "Parliamentary History"), "and the like of which we have not before met with.* This was a voluntary secession of some members of the Commons, who actually left the House when they saw the majority inclined to sacrifice everything to the ministry. Lord Coke, who, in order to do honour to their memories, has preserved their names in his 'Institutes,' states that the Court resented this separation of the members, and ordered the Queen's Attorney-General to indict them in the Court of Queen's Bench. Six of them were so timorous as to submit to the mercy of the Court, and paid their fines. All the rest, amongst whom was that famous lawyer Plowden, traversed; but judgment against them was prevented by the Queen's death."

The Commons and the Suppressed Monasteries.—In 1557 it was stated (writes Oldfield) that Queen Mary intended to rebuild the monasteries and restore the lands which had been alienated. The knowledge of this intention created such warmth of debate in the Commons

* For later instances see "Parliamentary Secession," in the Miscellaneous section.

that several of the members laid their hands on their swords, saying, "They knew how to defend their own properties." This put a stop to the intentions of the court.

The "Meddlesome" Commons.—A Parliament met in April, 1571, when the Lord Keeper Bacon, in answer to the Speaker's customary request for freedom of speech in the Commons, said that Queen Elizabeth, "having experience of late of some disorder and certain offences, which, though they were not punished, yet were they offences still, and so must be accounted, they would, therefore, do well to meddle with no matter of state but such as should be propounded unto them, and to occupy themselves in other matters concerning the commonwealth." A member having rather prematurely suggested the offer of a subsidy, several complaints were made of irregular and oppressive practices, and Mr. Bell said that licences granted by the Crown and other abuses galled the people, intimating also that the subsidy should be accompanied by a redress of grievances. This occasion of introducing the subject, though strictly constitutional, was likely to cause displeasure. The Speaker informed them, a few days after, of a message from the Queen to spend little time in motions, and make no long speeches. And Bell, it appears, having been sent for by the Council, came into the House "with such an amazed countenance that it daunted all the rest," who for many days durst not enter on any matter of importance. It became the common whisper that no one must speak against licences, lest the Queen and Council should be angry. And at the close of the session the Lord Keeper severely reprimanded those audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous members who had called her Majesty's grants and prerogatives in question, meddling with matters neither pertaining to them nor within the capacity of their understanding.—*Hallam's "Constitutional History."*

Frequent Committals to the Tower.—At the meeting of Parliament in February, 1575–6, Peter Wentworth broke out, in a speech of uncommon boldness, against Queen Elizabeth's arbitrary encroachments on their privileges. The liberty of free speech, he said, had in the last two sessions been so many ways infringed, that they were in danger, while they contented themselves with the name, of losing and foregoing the thing. It was common for a rumour to spread through that House, "the Queen likes or dislikes such a matter; beware what you do." Messages were even sometimes brought down either commanding or inhibiting, very injurious to the liberty of debate. After surprising the House by the bold words, "None is without fault, no, not our noble Queen, but has committed great and dangerous faults to herself," he went on to tax her with ingratitude and unkindness to her subjects, in a strain perfectly free indeed from disaffection, but of more rude censure than any kings would put up with. . . Wentworth had gone to a length which alarmed the House of Commons. They judged it expedient to prevent an unpleasant interference by sequestering their member, and appointing a committee of all the Privy Councillors in the House to examine him. Wentworth declined their authority, till they assured him

that they sat as members of the Commons and not as Councillors. After a long examination, in which he not only behaved with intrepidity, but, according to his own statement, reduced them to confess the truth of all he advanced, they made a report to the House, who committed him to the Tower. He had lain there a month when the Queen sent word that she remitted her displeasure towards him, and referred his enlargement to the House, who released him upon a reprimand from the Speaker, and an acknowledgment of his fault, upon his knees. . . In the session of 1587–8, Wentworth insisted that some questions of his proposing should be read to the House. These queries were to the following purport: "Whether this council was not a place for any member of the same, freely and without control, by bill or speech, to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth? Whether there be any council that can make, add, or diminish from the laws of the realm, but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not against the orders of this council to make any secret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince or any other, without consent of the House?" with others to similar effect. These questions Serjeant Pickering, the Speaker, instead of reading them to the House, showed to a courtier, through whose means Wentworth was committed to the Tower. Others who had spoken in favour of his motion underwent the same fate. Again, in 1593, on the very first day of the session, the unconquerable Peter Wentworth, with another member, presented a petition to the Lord Keeper, desiring "the Lords of the Upper House to join with them of the Lower in imploring her Majesty to entail the succession of the crown, for which they had already prepared a bill." This step drew down, as must have been expected, the Queen's indignation. They were summoned before the Council, and committed to different prisons.—*Ibid.*

An Undaunted Patriot.—A bill for reforming the abuses of ecclesiastical courts was presented by Morice, attorney of the court of wards, and underwent some discussion in the House (1593). But the Queen sent for the Speaker, and expressly commanded that no bill touching matters of state or reformation of causes ecclesiastical should be exhibited; and, if any such should be offered, enjoining him on his allegiance not to read it. It was the custom at that time for the Speaker to read and expound to the house all the bills that any member offered. Morice himself was committed to safe custody, from which he wrote a spirited letter to Lord Burleigh, expressing his sorrow for having offended the Queen, but at the same time his resolution "to strive," he says, "while his life should last, for freedom of conscience, public justice, and the liberties of his country."—*Hallam.*

A "Pope-like" Speech.—Wentworth, the most distinguished assertor of civil liberty in Elizabeth's reign, related in the House a conversation he had held with Archbishop Parker. "I was," he says, "among others, the last Parliament (1574), sent for unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the Articles of Religion that then passed this House. He asked us 'Why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecration of bishops, and such like?' 'Surely, sir,' said I,

'because we were so occupied in other matters that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God.' 'What!' said he; 'surely you mistake the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein!' 'No; by the faith I bear to God,' said I, 'we will pass nothing before we know what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list,' said I, 'for we will make you none.' And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me to be a Pope-like speech; and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope's canons unto themselves—*Papa non potest errare.*"—*Ibid.*

Elizabeth and the Bishops.—Elizabeth, in her speech to Parliament on closing the session of 1584, when many complaints against the rulers of the Church had rung in her ears, told the bishops that if they did not amend what was wrong, she meant to depose them. Her power to do so was unquestioned, and her readiness to carry it into effect on minor occasions was shown by her well-known letter to Cox, Bishop of Ely, when he resisted the sacrifice of his garden in Holborn to the Queen's favourite, Hatton: "Proud prelate,—You know what you were before I made you what you are: if you do not immediately comply with my request, by G— I will unfrock you.—ELIZABETH."

A Member of Parliament Pilloried.—In Grafton's "Abridgment of the Chronicles of England" there is the following account of a member who fell into great disgrace in the Parliament which sat in 1571:—"An undiserete Burgeoys of the Parliament.—And it fortuned that in the said Parliament one very indiscrete and unmete man was returned a Burgeoys for the borough of Westbury, in Wiltshire, who being instructed by such as delighted to abuse his simplicitie to evil purposes, as he himselfe in the Parliament Hous (beyng sober) openly declared, or els caryed by excesse of drink, or both, did spreade abroade lewde and sedicious rumours against the Queenes Majesties person. And being thereof detected to the Parliament House, and the offence by hym confessed, and his defectes and insufficiency well considered, hee was from the House committed to ward. And for that there was confessed corruption in receaving of money for his election, and also a band taken of him by certein of the town of Westbury, to save them harmless of the said corrupt retorne (as hee confessed), the towne was amerced by the Parliament House at twentie pounds. And it was ordered that hee should have his said bande redelyvered. And afterward the sayd person, for the spreading of his sedicious rumour, he was, by order of the Quenes Majesties most honorable Council, sett on the pillory in Chepesyde in London." This case, remarks Hallam, is the earliest precedent on record for the punishment of bribery in elections.

"Hemming" a Member Down.—Serjeant Heale, addressing the House in 1601, said, "The Queen hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to the revenue of her crown;" at which all the House hemmed, and laughed, and talked. "Well," quoth Serjeant Heale, "all your hemming shall not put me out of countenance." So Mr. Speaker stood up and said, "It is a great disorder that this should be used, for it is the ancient use of every man to be silent when any one speaketh; and

he that is speaking should be suffered to deliver his mind without interruption." So the Serjeant proceeded, and when he had spoken a little while, the House hemmed again, and so he sat down.—*Parliamentary History.*

Parliamentary Despatch.—Lord Bacon relates that Mr. Popham, when he was Speaker, and the Lower House had sat long and done in effect nothing, coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him, "Now, Mr. Speaker, what has passed in the Lower House?" He answered, "If it please your Majesty, seven weeks."

Bills Quashed by the Sovereign.—Queen Elizabeth on one occasion refused her assent to no less than forty-eight bills which had passed both Houses. As the title of each bill was read, the usual bow implying assent was withheld, and the clerk thereupon made the announcement usual in such cases, that her Majesty "would take time to think about it." The last time on which the power to reject bills was exercised by the sovereign was in 1707, when Queen Anne refused her assent to a bill for settling the militia in Scotland.

The Gunpowder Plot.—In the Journals of the Commons, November 5th, 1605, occurs this entry: "This last night the Upper House of Parliament was searched by Sir Thomas Knevett, and one Johnston, servant to Mr. Thomas Percyl, was there apprehended, who had placed thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in the vault under the house, with a purpose to blow up the King and the whole company when they should there assemble. Afterwards divers other gentlemen were discovered to be of the plot." The King, addressing the Parliament on that occasion, said: "This may well be called a roaring, nay, a thundering sin of fire and brimstone, from the which God hath so miraculously delivered us all." The Plot is commemorated in the Houses of Parliament by an observance continued (says Mr. R. Palgrave) down to the present day. Before the opening of every session, a company of "beefeaters" from the Tower of London examine all the places below the rooms in which the Lords and Commons are to sit.

Insulting the Commons:—In the report of a committee, 20th June, 1604, the following subject of complaint to the King was made among others: "The Gentleman Usher's fault in depriving, by his unaccustomed neglect, a great part of our House from hearing your Majesty's speech the first day of Parliament. . The Yeoman of the Guard's words were very opprobrious; and howsoever they might have been not unfitly applied to the peasants of France, or boores of Germany, yet could they not be other than very reproachful and injurious to the great dignities and honour of the Commons of the realm." The following minute of the circumstance occurs in the Journals of the House: "Brian Tash, the Yeoman of the Guard keeping one of the doors of the Upper House, repulsed several members of the Lower House, and shut the door upon them, with these uncivil and contemptible terms, 'Goodmen burgesses, you come not here.'"—*Hatsell.*

Disputing Royal Interference.—A double return (writes Oldfield) having been made in an election for the county of Bucks, in the

third year of the reign of King James I. (1606), the House decided that Sir Francis Goodwin was duly elected, and nullified the return of Sir John Fortescue. The King interposing desired the Lords to demand a conference with the Commons on the subject. This the Commons refused; and also declined to comply with a positive command that they should confer with one of the judges. The matter was adjusted by Sir Francis yielding up his right.

A Bishop's Apology.—In 1614, Dr. Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, uttered some words which gave offence to the Commons, and they complained of them in a message to the Lords, to which they received an answer that the bishop "had made solemn protestation, upon his salvation, that he had not spoken anything with any evil intention to that House, which he doth with all his heart duly respect and highly esteem; expressing, with many tears, his sorrow that his words were so misconceived, and strained further than he ever meant; which submissive and ingenuous behaving of himself had satisfied the Lords, and their lordships assure the Commons that if they had conceived the lord bishop's words to have been spoken, or meant, to cast any aspersion of sedition or undutifulness upon that House, their lordships would forthwith have proceeded to the censuring and punishing thereof with all severity."—*May's "Law, &c., of Parliament."*

The "Kings" of the Lower House.—James, notwithstanding his arbitrary notions of the kingly power and "right divine," appears to have been duly impressed with the power of the House of Commons. Mr. Forster relates that Sir Robert Cotton was one of the twelve members who carried the famous declaration against monopolies, in 1620, to King James at Newmarket, when the quick-witted, shrewd old monarch called out, "Chairs! chairs! here be twal kynges comin!" The following instance of the King's impression is given by L'Estrange:—The King mounted his horse one time, who formerly used to be very sober and quiet, but then began to bound and prance. "The de'il i' my saul, sirrah," says he, "and you be not quiet I'se send you to the five hundred kings in the House of Commons; they'll quickly tame you."

Opening of Parliament by James I. in 1621.—Sir S. D'Ewes records that in the King's short progress to Westminster, the following passages were accounted somewhat remarkable. First, that he spake often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and threefold on all sides to behold him, "God bless ye! God bless ye!" contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often, in his sudden distemper, would bid a p—— or a plague on such as flocked to see him. Secondly, that though the windows were filled with many great ladies as he rode along, yet that he spake to none of them but to the Marquis of Buckingham's mother and wife, who was the sole daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland. Thirdly, that he spake particularly and bowed to the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. And, fourthly, that looking up to one window as he passed, full of gentlewomen or ladies, all in yellow bands, he cried out aloud, "A p—— take ye! are ye there?" at which, being much ashamed, they all withdrew themselves suddenly from the window.

Freedom of Debate.—Oldfield mentions that in the session of the eighteenth of King James I. (1621), Sir Edwin Sandys, having spoken with great earnestness and freedom on various matters of moment, incurred the displeasure of the King and his ministers. The House, by its vote, cleared him from having given any just cause of offence; but, as soon as the adjournment took place, he was committed by a warrant of the Privy Council for a misdemeanor. After a confinement of nearly six months he was liberated by a warrant from the King, a few days before the Parliament again met. This affair gave rise to violent debates inside the House, and caused much commotion without.

The King Erasing a Declaration of Privilege.—In the session of 1621 the Commons began to show evident signs of that discontent which afterwards broke out into such serious controversies with the Crown. Sir Richard Grosvenor said, "We have hitherto sung nothing but *placebo*, and danced to the King's heart; but it hath now pleased his Majesty to change this tune, and to make us sing nothing but *lachrymæ*, and sing *loath to depart*." At length the misunderstanding between James and the Commons attained such a height, that the King, with his own hand, erased from the Journals of the Commons the celebrated protestation or declaration of their liberties and privileges, which they had passed in anticipation of a dissolution; and, on the 6th January, 1622, published a proclamation declaring the Parliament dissolved, and animadverting with severity on those ill-tempered spirits who had compelled him thus to exercise his prerogative. But James was not contented with the bare expression of his displeasure; several leading members of the country party, amongst whom was Sir Edward Coke, were committed to the Tower.—*Roscoe's "British Lawyers."* The first volume of the Commons' Journals bears the entry, where the declaration was recorded, "King James, in council, with his own hand, rent out this Protestation."

Boys in the House of Commons.—Sir Robert Naunton, in his "Fragmenta Regalia," writing of Queen Elizabeth's reign, says: "I find not that the House was at any time weakened and pestered with the admission of too many young heads, as it hath been of later times; which remembers me of Recorder Martin's speech, about the tenth of our late sovereign lord, King James, when there were accounts taken of forty gentlemen not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen; which moved him to say, 'That it was the ancient custome for old men to make lawes for young ones, but that then he saw the case altered, and that there were children elected into the great Councell of the kingdome, which came to invade and invert nature, and to enact lawes to govern their fathers.'" Hatsell, in his "Precedents," remarks that the poet Waller, among others, sat in Parliament (1622) before he was seventeen years of age; and notwithstanding the opinion of Sir Edward Coke as to the *law*, it is certain that the practice was different. The question was, however, finally settled by the 7th and 8th of William III., c. 25, which makes void the election of any person who is not twenty-one years of age; but members were occasionally admitted in despite of the provisions of

this Act. Charles James Fox was returned, and sat, at the age of nineteen; but Chesterfield, under similar circumstances, received from the Ministry of the day, whom he had attacked, a hint that he must withdraw. (See "Personal" section.)

First Meeting of Charles I. and the Parliament.—It cannot be alleged against Charles I. (says Isaac D'Israeli) that he preceded the Parliament in the war of words. He courted their affections; and even in his manner of reception, amidst the dignity of the regal office, studiously showed his exterior respect by the marked solemnity of their first meeting. As yet uncrowned, on the day on which he first addressed the Lords and Commons (June 18, 1625) he wore his crown, and veiled it at the opening and on the close of his speech—a circumstance to which the Parliament had not been accustomed. Another ceremony gave still greater solemnity to the meeting: the King would not enter into business till they had united in prayer. He commanded the doors to be closed, and a bishop to perform the office. The suddenness of this unexpected command disconcerted the Catholic lords, of whom the less rigid knelt, and the moderate stood: there was one startled Papist who did nothing but cross himself.

A Slight from the Black Rod.—Hatsell records that on the 19th of March, 1627, the Commons were sent for to attend the King in the House of Lords, by a Mr. Crane. "It was very ill taken that Mr. Maxwell, Knight of the Black Rod, had not come himself to bring the message, as had formerly been used; insomuch that sundry members of the House advised that Mr. Speaker elect should not stir till they had received the message by Mr. Maxwell himself. But others (howsoever they acknowledged this to have been a great neglect in Mr. Maxwell and wrong to the House) advised, because his Majesty stayed for them, that they should not now further insist upon it, but go up; and so they did."

Timid Counsels.—On the occasion of Sir John Eliot's first arrest for words spoken in Parliament, in 1626, the House of Commons, in reply to the Speaker's call to proceed to the orders of the day, shouted "Sit down! sit down! No business till we are righted in our liberties!" Sir Dudley Carleton, who held an office at court, attempted to sooth and at the same time warn the house. "I beseech you, gentlemen," said he, "move not his Majesty with trenching on his prerogative, lest you bring him out of love with Parliaments. In his messages he hath told you that, if there were not correspondency between him and you, he should be enforced to use new counsels. Now, I pray you to consider what these new counsels are and may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian kingdoms you know that Parliaments were in use anciently, until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and, seeing the turbulent spirits of their Parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand upon their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the Parliaments throughout Christendom, except here only with us." The House, however, was in no mood to listen to this caution; many members called out against the speaker, "To the bar! to the bar!" and as the

House would go on with no business, the King was reluctantly compelled to release Eliot after eight days' imprisonment, and to wait for another opportunity to punish him as he desired.

A Strenuous Parliament.—The early Parliaments of Charles I. were short-lived, the first having an existence of two months, and the second of little over four. The third, called together March 17, 1628 (1627, old style) and dissolved March 10, 1629, was a momentous one, for what transpired therein laid the basis of all that followed in the Long Parliament. A rare book entitled "The Sovereign's Prerogative and the Subjects' Priviledge, discussed between Courtiers and Patriots in Parliament, 3 and 4 King Charles," gives the proceedings of this assembly, with many of the principal speeches. The date of this volume is 1657, preceding by two years the first volume of Rushworth's "Collections;" and the preface, signed T. F., sufficiently indicates the hand of Thomas Fuller. In this the writer observes: "And now give me leave to say that the history of the Parliament represented in this book is fundamental to the history of our times, and what valiant pen soever dare undertake the writing thereof, it must lay its groundwork and take its rise from this Parliament. Herein were virtually contained the seeds of all those troubles which since the heat of anger hath ripened to the full height and breadth thereof. For what is said of Rebekah, that twins were in her bowels which made their mother's womb the field of their fight, wherein their unborn infancy gave an essay of that antipathy which would be continued betwixt them when arrived at riper years: the same was true here, where the opposition betwixt two parties was begun with much violence and impetuousness. Yet let not the similitude be uncharitably improved beyond my intent, as fixing the odious character of Esau on either of them, who hope and believe that both of them might be Jacobs, at the first propounding plain, pious, and peaceable ends unto themselves. Yea, this may say to ensuing Parliaments, as Æneas in the poet to his son,

> 'Disce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> Fortunam ex aliis.'"

Great Occasions make Great Men.—It was the opinion of the chief orator of the United States, Daniel Webster, that the finest bursts of Parliamentary eloquence on record are to be found in the debates of the Parliament in the reign of Charles I. The collections of the time are very imperfect, but sufficient to show the high standard of thought, and the power of expression and illustrative allusion, which prevailed generally in the House of Commons; while, as regards brevity, even the longest of the speeches contrast most impressively with those of later days. Many of the men whose names are almost forgotten could be as eloquent at times as the great leaders of the House. Two instances from one debate (March 22, 1628) may be taken as samples, but others will appear further on. Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke in favour of giving the King a large supply, but at the same time beseeching him to redress urgent grievances, and said: "This is the crisis of Parliaments; we

shall know by this if Parliaments live or die. . . Preservation is natural; we are not now on the *bene esse*, but on the *esse*. Be sure England is ours, and then prune it. Is it no small matter that we have provoked two most potent kings? We have united them, and have betrayed ourselves more than our enemies could. Men and brethren, what shall we do? Is there no balm in Gilead? If the King draw one way, the Parliament another, we must all sink. I respect no particular; I am not so wise to contemn what is determined by the major part. One day tells another, and one Parliament instructs another." Sir Robert Phillips followed shortly after, and said: "This day's debate makes me call to mind the custom of the Romans, who had a solemn feast once a year for their slaves, at which time they had liberty without exception to speak what they would, whereby to ease their afflicted minds; which being finished, they severally returned to their former servitude. This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state, where now, after the revolution of some time, and grievous sufferings of many violent oppressions, we have (as those slaves had) a day of liberty of speech, but shall not, I trust, be herein slaves, for we are free; we are not bondmen, but subjects; those after their feast were slaves again, but it is our hope to return free men." Then, passing on to point out several recent infringements of the liberty of the subject, he exclaimed: "I can live, although another without title be put to live with me; nay, I can live, although I pay excises and impositions for more than I do. But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power, and to be pent up in a gaol without remedy by law, and this to be so adjudged as to perish in gaol,—Oh, improvident ancestors! oh, unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands and liberties of Parliament, and to neglect our persons and bodies, and to let them lie in prison, and that *durante beneplacito*, remediless. If this be law, what do we talk of our liberties? why do we trouble ourselves with the dispute of law, franchises, propriety of goods, and the like? It is the *summa totalis* of all miseries. What may a man call his, if not liberty?"

The King's Growing "Distaste" for Parliament.—Subsidies having been voted to the King on the 4th of April, 1628, Mr. Secretary Cook three days afterwards reported to the House the King's acceptance, and how his Majesty was pleased to ask, By how many voices they were gained? "I said, but *by one*. His Majesty asked how many were against him? I said, none; for they were voted by one voice, and one general consent. His Majesty was much affected therewith, and called the Lords in council, and there I gave them account what had passed. Besides, it gave his Majesty no small content that, although five subsidies be inferior to his wants, yet it is the greatest gift that ever was given in Parliament; and now he sees with this he shall have the affections of his people, which will be greater to him than all value. He said he liked Parliaments at the first, but since (he knew not how) he was grown to a distaste of them; but was now where he was before, he loves them, and shall rejoice to meet with his people often."

The King Spurring the Commons.—Thursday, the 10th of April, 1628, Mr. Secretary Cook delivered this message from the King: "That his Majesty desireth this House not to make any recess these Easter holidays, that the world may take notice how earnest his Majesty and we are for the public affairs in Christendom, the which by such a recess would receive interruption." This message for non-recess (writes Rushworth) was not well-pleasing to the House. Sir Robert Phillips first resented it, and took notice "that in 12 and 13 Jac., upon the like intimation, the House resolved it was in their power to adjourn, or sit. Hereafter (said he) this may be put upon us by princes of less piety. Let a committee consider hereof, and of our right herein, and to make a declaration." Sir Edward Coke spoke to the same purpose, and said, "I am as tender of the privileges of this House as of my life, and they are the heartstrings of the commonwealth. The King makes a prorogation, but this House adjourns it self." Hereupon a message was sent to the King, "That the House would give all expedition to his Majesty's service, notwithstanding their purpose of recess." To which message his Majesty returned this answer, "That the motion proceeded from himself, in regard of his engagement in the affairs of Christendom; wished them all alacrity in their proceedings, and that there be no recess at all." There was no recess, but on Easter Monday the Commons presented to the King their petition "concerning the billeting of soldiers," to which they received a very sharp reply, ending as follows: "To be short, go on speedily with your business, without fear or more apologies, for time calls fast on you, which will neither stay for you nor me. Wherefore it is my duty to press you to hasten, as knowing the necessity of it; and yours to give credit to what I say, as to him that sitteth at the helm. For what concerns your petition, I shall make answer in a convenient time."

A Dream Related in Parliament.—A startling message (relates Isaac D'Israeli) having been sent by the King for the despatch of business (about the time just mentioned), the House, struck with astonishment, desired to have it repeated. They remained sad and silent; no one cared to open the debate. A whimsical, cracked-brained politician, Sir James Nethersole, suddenly started up, entreating leave to tell his last night's dream. Some laughing at him, he observed that "kingdoms had been saved by dreams!" Allowed to proceed he said, "he saw two good pastures; a flock of sheep was in the one, and a bellwether alone in the other; a great ditch was between them, and a narrow bridge over the ditch." He was interrupted by the Speaker, who told him that it stood not with the gravity of the House to listen to dreams; but the House was inclined to hear him out. "The sheep would sometimes go over to the bellwether, or the bellwether to the sheep. Once both met on the narrow bridge, and the question was who should go back, since both could not go on without danger. One sheep gave counsel that the sheep on the bridge should lie on their bellies, and let the bellwether go over their backs." The application of this dilemma he left to the House. Eliot, Wentworth, and Coke protested against the interpretation of dreams in the House.

A Maxim of the Commons.—On the 8th of May, 1628, the

Commons finished the Petition of Right, and delivered it to the Lords for their concurrence at a conference. At this conference Sir Edward Coke made a speech in which he said, "We did think it the safest way to go in a Parliamentary course, for we have a maxim in the House of Commons, and written on the walls of our House, that old ways are the safest and surest ways."

The House in Tears.—In Rushworth's "Collections" is given a letter from one of the members of the Parliament of 1628, Mr. Thomas Alured, to a friend, in which he thus describes a scene of the previous day (the 5th of June): "Yesterday was a day of desolation among us in Parliament, and this day we fear will be the day of our dissolution. . . We had a message from his Majesty by the Speaker that the session should end on Wednesday, and that therefore we should husband the time, and dispatch the old businesses without entertaining new. Intending to pursue their declaration [against the Duke of Buckingham and other grievances], they had this message, requiring them not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any Minister of his Majesty. The House was much affected to be so restrained, since the House in former times had proceeded by finding and committing John of Gaunt, the King's son, and others; and of late have meddled with and sentenced the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Treasurer Cranfield. Then Sir Robert Phillips spake, and mingled his words with weeping; Mr. Prynne did the like, and Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, through the abundance of tears; yea, the Speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears, besides a great many whose great griefs made them dumb and silent; yet some bore up in that storm and encouraged others. In the end they desired the Speaker to leave the chair, and Mr. Whitby was to come into it,* that they might speak the freer and the frequenter, and commanded no man to go out of the House upon pain of going to the Tower. Then the Speaker humbly and earnestly besought the House to give him leave to absent himself for half an hour, presuming that they did not think he did it for any ill intention; which was instantly granted him. Then, upon many debates about their liberties hereby infringed, and the eminent danger wherein the kingdom stood, Sir Edward Coke told them . . he, not knowing whether ever he should speak in this House again, would now do it freely, and there protested that the author and cause of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham, which was entertained and answered with a cheerful acclamation of the House. As, when one good hound receives the scent, the rest come in with a full cry, so they pursued it, and everyone came on home, and laid the blame where they thought the fault was. As they were voting it to the question whether they should name him in their intended remonstrance, the sole or the principal cause of all their miseries at home and abroad, the Speaker, having been three hours absent and with the King, returned with this message: that the House should then rise till to-morrow

* The House, in fact, "going into committee."

morning. What we shall expect this morning, God of Heaven knows. We shall meet timely, partly for the business' sake, and partly because two days since we made an order, that whosoever comes in after prayers pays twelvepence to the poor."

Assent to the Petition of Right.—On the 6th of June, 1628, the King moderated the effect of his message of the previous day, by sending another, in which he expressed a hope that "all Christendom might take notice of a sweet parting between him and his people." The House of Commons, however, was determined that the Petition of Right should receive a definite reply, and sent a message to the Lords that they would join in a humble request to the King "that a clear and satisfactory answer be given by his Majesty in full Parliament to the Petition." This being agreed to, the King came to the House of Lords on the 7th, and, the Commons being summoned, Charles made a short speech, in which he said: "To avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to show you that there is no doubleness in my meaning, I am willing to please you in words as well as in substance. Read your petition, and you shall have an answer I am sure will please you." The Petition having been read, the formal answer was returned, "Soit droit fait comme il est desiré," and the King again spoke. "This," said he, "I am sure is full, yet no more than I granted you in my first answer, for the meaning of that was to confirm all your liberties, knowing, according to your own protestations, that you neither mean *nor can* hurt my prerogative. And I assure you my maxim is, that the people's liberties strengthen the king's prerogative, and the king's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties. You see now how ready I have shown myself to satisfy your demands, so that I have done my part; wherefore, if this Parliament hath not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours; I am free of it." An entry on the Lords' Journals records: "At the end of the King's first speech, at the answer to the petition, and on the conclusion of the whole, the Commons gave a great and joyful applause."

Refusing to Put the Question.—Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his "Autobiography," relates that on the 2nd of March, 1629, "Sir John Finch, the Speaker (being the Queen's solicitor), refusing to do his office or to read some particular writings the House enjoined him,* many members thereof fell to reproving him, others to excuse him; and the tumult and discontent of the whole House was so great, as the more grave and judicious thereof began infinitely to fear lest at the last swords should have been drawn, and that forenoon ended in blood." Selden thus addressed the Speaker on this occasion: "Dare not you, Mr. Speaker, put the question when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still; thus we shall never be able to do anything: they that come after you may say, they have the King's command not to do it. We sit here by command of the King under the great seal, and you are by his Majesty, sitting in his royal chair, before both Houses appointed our Speaker, and now you refuse to perform your office." On the following

* See "Personal" section—Sir John Eliot.

day, warrants were issued from the Council against Selden and other members, and several were sent to the Tower. Sir John Eliot was kept there till he died. Finch's conduct in the chair was many years afterwards made one of the grounds of his impeachment by the Long Parliament.

The Dissolution of 1629.—The "Vipers."—The dissolution of 1629 put an end to Parliamentary proceedings for more than eleven years—until the calling of a Parliament in April, 1640. On the 10th of March, 1629, his Majesty was seated on the throne, the Lords being present in their robes, "and divers of the Commons (says Rushworth) below the bar, but not their Speaker, neither were they called," when the King spoke as follows: "My Lords, I never came here upon so unpleasant an occasion, it being the dissolution of a Parliament; therefore men may have some cause to wonder why I should not rather choose to do this by commission, it being a general maxim of kings to leave harsh commands to their ministers, themselves only executing pleasing things. Yet, considering that justice as well consists in reward and praise of virtue as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to-day, and to declare to you and all the world that it was merely the undutiful and seditious carriage in the Lower House that hath made the dissolution of this Parliament; and you, my lords, are so far from being any causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutiful demeanour as I am justly distasted with their proceedings. Yet, to avoid their mistakings, let me tell you that it is so far from me to adjudge all the House alike guilty, that I know that there are many there as dutiful subjects as any in the world, it being but some few vipers among them that did cast this mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes. Yet, to say truth, there was a good number there that could not be infected with this contagion, insomuch that some did express their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the House the last day. To conclude, as those vipers must look for their reward of punishment, so you, my lords, must justly expect from me that favour and protection that a good king oweth to his loving and faithful nobility." The Lord Keeper was then commanded to announce the Parliament dissolved.

Compulsory Detention of Members.—A motion on the subject of grievances was under discussion in the Commons, November 6th, 1640, when, the time of rising being come, and other members appearing ready to continue the debate, an order was suddenly made that the door be shut and none suffered to go out. The Lords were also advertised, that that House, too, might be kept from rising.—*Parry's "Parliaments of England."* Similar measures were several times adopted at this critical period.

The Impeachment of Strafford.—On the 11th of November, 1640—a few days only after the meeting of the Long Parliament—Mr. Pym rose and announced that he had a matter of the highest importance to lay before the house, and he moved that it should be cleared of strangers, the doors locked, and the keys laid on the table. He then entered into a long discourse on the condition of the kingdom, sayin "We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness

flow;" and went on to denounce by name the Earl of Strafford, who had just returned to London from the North. In unfolding his charges Pym wrought the House to such a pitch that it resolved upon Strafford's instant impeachment, and the doors were unlocked to allow Pym to proceed, as the messenger of the House, to the House of Lords. Here, supported by the presence of a large number of the members, he declared: "I do here, in the name of the Commons now assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the commons of England, accuse Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of high treason; and they have commanded me further to desire your lordships that he may be sequestered from Parliament, and forthwith committed to prison." Strafford, according to Clarendon, had just entered the house, having heard that an unusually long sitting was in progress, and intending to denounce certain members of the popular party, as having induced the Scots to invade the northern counties. According to another account, Strafford entered while the lords were consulting upon the message just delivered, and, "with a proud, glooming countenance," made towards his place. But, to his astonishment, he was required to withdraw until he should be called in, which he did in confusion; and being presently summoned, was ordered to kneel, and deliver himself to the keeper of the black rod as his prisoner, until he had cleared himself of the crimes charged upon him by the House of Commons. He offered to speak, but was dismissed unheard, and, having been commanded to deliver up his sword, left the House in custody, "no man capping to him before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered."

Blowing up the House.—When the Lord Keeper Finch was impeached by the Long Parliament, the charges of high treason against him included not only his conduct in promoting the King's levy of ship-money, and similar acts of arbitrary power, but also his refusing, when Speaker of the House in a former Parliament (1629), to comply with its wish by reading a remonstrance against Lord Treasurer Weston, &c. Many members spoke strongly on this subject. (Their remarks are summed up in "Sir John Northcote's Note Book," 1640.) Mr. Whitelocke urged that when Finch was in the chair he left it against the word of the House, and refused to move what was for the good of the kingdom; and that such conduct, looking to its consequences, was treason. Mr. Peard also took the same view, and enforced it by saying, "If the Speaker will be silent, we are dumb. *That is blowing up the House without gunpowder.* To have an idle Parliament was to have no Parliament at all." Finch, however, escaped the fate of Strafford, which seemed impending over him, by making a hurried departure for Holland, after being heard in his own defence at the bar of the House (Dec. 21, 1640).

The Commons Ordering a Speech to be Burnt.—Lord Digby having printed his speech on the bill for Strafford's attainder, a committee of the Commons appointed to inquire into the matter made their report on the 13th June, 1641. The House thereupon resolved: "That no member of this House shall give a copy, or publish in print anything that he shall speak here, without leave of the House;" and declared that

Lord Digby's speech was untrue, and scandalous to the proceedings of the House; and ordered it to be burnt, which was done, as usual, by the common hangman.

A Convenient Elevation.—My Lord Digby (says Selden) having spoken something in the House of Commons for which they would have questioned him, was presently called to the Upper House. "He did by the Parliament as an ape when he hath done some waggery: his master spies him, and he looks for his whip; but before he can come at him, whip, says he, to the top of the house."

Exercise of the Power of Life and Death.—Lord Digby's speech on the attainder of Strafford, having been condemned by order of the House of Commons, does not appear in the "Speeches and Passages of this Great and Happy Parliament," printed in 1641. It is given, however, in a reprint of that collection which was issued in 1656. The attempt to suppress such an address shows how intolerant was Parliament at this time of anything against the feeling of the powerful majority. The following were among the principal passages of the speech: "Some (I thank them for their plain dealing) have been so free as to tell me that I suffered much by the backwardness I have shown in this bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, against whom I had been formerly so keen, so active. Truly, Sir, I am still the same in my opinions and affections, as unto the Earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the Devil the application. In a word, I believe him still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned it in this world till he be dispatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Master Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off." He went on to argue that the House were formerly in the position of prosecutors against the earl, but should remember they were now acting as judges, and the fervour commendable in the former case would be "misbecoming" in the latter. After finding fault with Sir Henry Vane's evidence on the principal point against Strafford, that he advised the King to employ the army of Ireland to reduce England, the speaker continued: "Had this of the Irish army been proved, it would have diffused a complexion of treason over all; it would have been a with indeed, to bind all those other scattered and lesser branches, as it were, into a faggot of treason. I do not say but the rest may represent him as a man worthy to die, and perhaps worthier than many a traitor. I do not say but they may justly direct us to enact that they shall be treason for the future. But God keep me from giving judgment of death on any man, and of ruin to his innocent posterity, upon a law made *à posteriori*. Let the mark be set on the door where the plague is, and then, let him that will enter, die. . . Let me conclude in saying that unto you all which I have thoroughly inculcated to mine own conscience upon this occasion. Let every man lay his

hand upon his heart, and sadly consider what we are going to do, with a breath—either justice or murther; justice on the one side, or murther heightened and aggravated to its supremest extent. The danger being so great, and the case so doubtful that I see the best lawyers in diametrall opposition concerning it, let every man wipe his heart, as he does his eyes when he would judge of a nice and subtle object. The eye, if it be pretincted with any other colour, is vitiated in its discerning. Let us take heed of a blood-shotten eye of Judgment."

A Representation of Grievances.—Digby's speech just quoted separated him from the popular party in the House of Commons, to which he had previously been attached. But other of his speeches show zeal and ability equal to those of any of his associates in the early days of the Long Parliament. On the 9th of November, 1640, he addressed the House on the uppermost subject of grievances, explaining that Dorsetshire (the county he sat for) had not, like other counties, formally petitioned the House, having left it to himself and his colleagues to deliver its representation by word of mouth, which he proceeded to do. "But alas, Mr. Speaker," he continued, "particular lamentations are hardly distinguishable in universal groans. Mr. Speaker, it hath been a metaphor frequent in Parliament, and, if my memory fail me not, was made use of in the Lord Keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what moneys kings raised from their subjects, they were but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom too unluckily. What hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions hath been formed, it is true, into clouds, but how? To darken the sun's own lustre, and hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties; to blast and wither our affections, had not the latter of these been still kept alive by our King's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of all ill counsellors, a sacred object both of our admiration and loves."

A Humorous Incident on a Grave Occasion.—The Great Remonstrance lay engrossed on the table of the house on Monday, the 22nd of November, 1641, waiting the final vote. Mr. John Digby, member for Milborn Port, came into the house, and getting upon the ladder that stood at the door of the house, by which members usually went up to the seats under the gallery, sat still upon it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker Lenthal called out to him, and desired him to take his place, and not sit upon the said ladder as if he were going to be hanged; "at which," says the narrator, "many of the House laughed."

The Great Remonstance.—Hardly (writes Forster) had announcement been made of the division which carried the Grand Remonstrance by a majority of eleven votes (November 22nd, 1641), when one more strenuous effort was made to have it addressed to the King. Several members opposed the printing of the declaration, and desired to enter their protest. About one o'clock of the morning, Mr. George Palmer, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, stood up. He should not be satisfied, he said, for himself or those around him, unless a day were at once appointed

for discussion of whether the right to protest did not exist in that House; and, meanwhile, he would move that the Clerk should now enter the names of all those whose claim to protest would then have to be determined. At these words the excitement broke out afresh; loud cries of "All! All!" burst from every side where any of Hyde's party sat; and Palmer, carried beyond his first intention by the passion of the moment, cried out, unexpectedly, that he *did* for himself then and there protest, for himself and all the rest—"of his mind," he afterwards declared, that he meant to have added, but for the storm which suddenly arose. The word *All!* had fallen like a lighted match upon gunpowder. It was taken up and passed from mouth to mouth with an exasperation bordering on frenzy; and to those who in after years recalled the scene, under that sudden glare of excitement, after a sitting of fifteen hours—the worn-out, weary assemblage; the ill-lighted, dreary chamber; the hour sounding one after midnight; confused, loud cries breaking forth unexpectedly, and startling gestures of violence accompanying them—it presented itself to the memory as a very Valley of the Shadow of Death. "All! all!" says D'Ewes, was cried from side to side; some waved their hats over their heads, and other took their swords in their scabbards out of their belts, and held them by the pommels in their hands, setting the lower part on the ground; so, if God had not prevented it, there was very great danger that mischief might have been done. Those who cried "All! all!" and acted in the way described, were of the number against the Remonstrance. Amongst them was Mr. Philip Warwick, the member for Radnor, who bethought himself of a brief Scriptural comparison from the wars of Saul and David (2 Samuel ii. 12—16). He thought of what Abner said to Joab, and Joab to Abner, when they met on either side of the Pool of Gibeon; and how, having arisen at the bidding of their leaders to make trial of prowess, their young men caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side, and so fell down together; a result (as Warwick afterwards wrote) which might have followed, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it.

"Pull the Rogues out by the Ears!"—On the 3rd of January, 1642, the Attorney-General (Herbert) had made an ineffectual attempt in the House of Lords to procure the surrender of one member of that house and five members of the Commons, whom he accused in the King's name of sundry offences. A King's serjeant-at-arms delivered a similar message to the Commons, which replied, through a deputation to his Majesty, that the matter should be considered, and the accused would be ready to answer any legal charge. A long and very warm debate passed in the royal chamber on the night of this attempt, the Queen taking prominent part therein; and it ended (according to an account left by Sir W. Coke of Norfolk) in the settled resolve that Charles would himself demand the members next morning. But his heart failed him when the morning came. He went to the Queen's apartments early, and, finding Lady Carlisle with her, took her Majesty into her closet, and there having put to her all the hazards of the attempt, and all its possible consequences, declared that he must

abandon it. Whereat the Queen, no longer able to contain her passion, is said to have violently burst out, "*Allez, poltron!* Go, pull these rogues out by the ears, *ou ne me revoyez jamais!*"

The Attempt to Arrest the Five Members.—The most dramatic incident that ever took place in the House of Commons, and the most important in its consequences, was the attempt of Charles I. in person to arrest the leading popular members of the assembly. Pym, Hampden, Hazlerig, Hollis, and Strode were the five whom he had determined to secure. With an armed company numbering some two or three hundred officers and soldiers, attended by his nephew Charles, the Elector Palatine, and several members of the court, the King marched from Whitehall to Westminster Hall on Tuesday, the 4th of January, 1642. The House gained word of his coming from one who had passed the crowd, and a lady of the court (Lady Carlisle) also sent a hasty message to put Pym on his guard. It was resolved that the five members, who had been impeached by the King's serjeant on the previous day, should "depart forthwith, to avoid combustion in the house." Four left immediately, but Strode insisted on staying to face the King, until he was forced from the house by his friend Sir Walter Earle, just as Charles was entering Palace Yard. A lane was made by the courtiers as the King advanced through Westminster Hall up to the door of the Commons, and some of his armed party pressed forward and thrust away the doorkeepers, but were commanded by Charles to refrain from entering "upon their lives." A knock was given, and the door was opened at once, the King passing in accompanied by his nephew alone. He advanced, uncovered, toward the chair, glancing eagerly at the place where Pym was accustomed to sit, but not seeing him, approached Speaker Lenthal and said, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little." The Speaker left, and the King entered it, again looking eagerly around, while the members stood uncovered before him. The silence was painful; the King broke it at length, in slow utterances. Rushworth, a clerk at the table, appears almost alone to have kept his composure, coolly noting down "in character" the King's words, of which Charles asked him the same evening to give an exact transcript. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms, upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that, by my command, were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused, for no slight crime but for treason, are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it; therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them whereso-ever I find them." He again looked about him, and called Mr. Pym by name. No answer being made, he turned to the Speaker, and required to

know whether any of the persons he had named were in the house. Lenthal answered, kneeling, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me." "Well," said the King at last, "since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither." Apparently impressed by the attitude of the Speaker and the House, he added something more to the effect that he had never intended any force, but to proceed against the members in a legal and fair way, concluding, "I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the house, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them." He then retired, "pulling off his hat till he came to the door," the members scowling at him and audibly muttering "Privilege! privilege!" The House adjourned itself immediately the King had left.

A Gallant Contribution.—Mr. Henry Killegrew, of Cornwall, member for West Looe, a stanch Royalist, on being invited, with the other members, to offer a contribution towards the formation of an army for the Parliament, stood up and answered he would provide a good horse, and a good sword, and a good buff coat, and then he would find a good cause; "which for that time," says Clarendon, "only raised laughter, though they knew well what cause he thought good, which he had never dissembled."

Imprudence.—Selden says: "The King calling his friends from the Parliament, because he had use of them at Oxford, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the cellar and takes the spigott: in the meantime all the beer runs about the house. When his friends are absent the King will be lost."

Altering the Lord's Prayer.—Isaac D'Israeli mentions that "there was a most bloody-minded 'maker of washing-balls,' as one John Durant is described, appointed a lecturer by the House of Commons (the Rump), who always left out of the Lord's Prayer, 'As we forgive them that trespass against us,' and substituted, 'Lord, since thou hast now drawn out thy sword, let it not be sheathed again till it be glutted in the blood of the malignants.'"

Peers Sitting in the House of Commons.—By the Act passed in March, 1648, for abolishing the House of Peers, it was declared, "That such Lords as have demeaned themselves with honour, courage, and fidelity to the Commonwealth, and their posterity who shall continue so, shall not be excluded from the public councils of the nation, but shall be admitted thereunto, and have their free vote in Parliament, if they shall be thereunto elected, as other persons of interest, elected and qualified thereunto, ought to have." In consequence hereof the Earl of Pembroke took his seat in the House of Commons on the 16th of April, 1649, as knight of the shire for Berks; as did also, in the same year, W. Earl of Salisbury, as a burgess for Lynne, and Edward Lord Howard of Escrike, as a citizen for Carlisle. These were the only peers that were elected members of the House of Commons.—*Parliamentary History.*

The First Reform in Parliament.—A House of Commons (writes Macaulay) "was a necessary part of Cromwell's new polity. In constituting this body, the Protector showed a wisdom and a public spirit which were not duly appreciated by his contemporaries. The vices of the old representative system, though by no means so serious as they afterwards became, had already been remarked by far-sighted men. Cromwell reformed that system on the same principles on which Mr. Pitt, a hundred and thirty years later, attempted to reform it, and on which it was at length reformed in our own times. To create a House of Lords was a less easy task. It was to no purpose that he offered to the chiefs of illustrious families seats in his new senate. They conceived that they could not accept a nomination to an upstart assembly without renouncing their birthright and betraying their order. . The Protector was, therefore, under the necessity of filling his Upper House with new men who, during the late stirring times, had made themselves conspicuous. This was the least happy of his contrivances, and displeased all parties. The Levellers were angry with him for instituting a privileged class. The multitude, which felt respect and fondness for the great historical names of the land, laughed without restraint at a House of Lords in which lucky draymen and shoemakers were seated, to which few of the old nobles were invited, and from which almost all those old nobles who were invited turned disdainfully away. . . The first House of Commons which the people elected by his command questioned his authority, and was dissolved without having passed a single Act. His second House of Commons, though it recognised him as Protector, and would gladly have made him King, obstinately refused to acknowledge his new Lords. He had no course left but to dissolve the Parliament. 'God,' he exclaimed, at parting, 'be judge between you and me!'"

Power of Parliament to Convene itself.—By a statute, 16 Car. I. c. 1, it was enacted that, if the King neglected to call a Parliament for three years, the Peers might assemble and issue out writs for choosing one; and, in case of neglect of the Peers, the constituents might meet and elect one themselves. But this, if ever put in practice, would have been liable to several inconveniences; and the Act itself was esteemed so highly detrimental and injurious to the royal prerogative that it was repealed by statute 16 Car. II. c. 1. . . . The Convention Parliament, which restored King Charles II., met above a month before his return: the Lords by their own authority, and the Commons in pursuance of writs issued in the names of the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament. The said Parliament sat till the 29th of December, full seven months after the Restoration, and enacted many laws, several of which are still in force. But this was for the necessity of the King, which supersedes all law; for if they had not so met, it was morally impossible that the kingdom should have been settled in peace. And the first thing done after the King's return was to pass an Act declaring this to be a good Parliament, notwithstanding the defect of the King's writs. It was at that time a great doubt among the lawyers whether even this healing Act made it a good Parliament, and

held by very many in the negative, though it seems to have been too nice a scruple. And yet, out of abundant caution, it was thought necessary to confirm its Acts in the next Parliament, by statute 13 Car. II. c. 7 and c. 14.—*Blackstone's Commentaries.*

"Dissolution" or "Interruption?"—Pepys writes: *Jan. 9th,* 1659—60. W. Simons told me how his uncle Scobell (Clerk to the House of Commons) was on Saturday last called to the bar, for entering in the Journal of the House, for the year 1653, these words: "This day his Excellence the Lord G. Cromwell dissolved this House," which words the Parliament voted a forgery, and demanded of him how they came to be entered. He said that they were his own handwriting, and that he did it by rights of his office, and the practice of his predecessor; and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by command of the King or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellence the Lord G.; and that for the word dissolved, he never at the time did hear of any other term; and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself what it was six years after, before they came themselves to call it an interruption; that they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did chuse a committee to report to the House whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the Act of Indemnity or no.

Scandalous Scenes.—*December 19th,* 1666. I up to the Lords' House to enquire for my Lord Bellasses; and there hear how, at a conference this morning between the two Houses about the business of the Canary Company, my Lord Buckingham leaning rudely over my Lord Marquis Dorchester, my Lord Dorchester removed his elbow. Duke of Buckingham asked whether he was uneasy; Dorchester replied, yes, and that he durst not do this anywhere else; Buckingham replied, yes he would, and that he was a better man than himself; Dorchester said that he lyed. With this, Buckingham struck off his hat, and took him by his periwigg and pulled it aside, and held him. My Lord Chamberlain and others interposed, and upon coming into the House the Lords did order them both to the Tower, whither they are to go this afternoon. This day's work will bring the Lieutenant of the Tower 350*l.* . . Sir R. Ford did make me understand how the House of Commons is a beast not to be understood, it being impossible to know beforehand the success almost of any small plain thing, there being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds, and interests, and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Brodericke and Sir Allen Apsley did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour, together, and could not be either laughed, or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart.—*Ibid.*

A Whip by the Court.—*December 8th,* 1666. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday, which makes the King and court mad, the King having given order to my Lord Chamberlain to send

to the play-houses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems; but it was carried against the court by thirty or forty voices. It is a proviso to the Poll Bill, that there shall be a committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this warr. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood.—*Ibid.*

Parliament "Fooled" by Charles II.—Pepys gives the following account of the cavalier treatment of a Parliament by this sovereign:—"*July 25th*, 1667. I demanded of Sir R. Ford and the rest, what passed to-day at the meeting of Parliament: who told me that, contrary to all expectation by the King that there would be but a thin meeting, there met above three hundred this first day, and all the discontented party; and, indeed, the whole House seems to be no other almost. The Speaker told them, as soon as they were sat, that he was ordered by the King to let them know he was hindered by some important business to come to them and speak to them, as he intended; and therefore ordered him to move that they would adjourn themseves till Monday next (it being very plain to all the House that he expects to hear by that time of the sealing of the Peace, which by letters, it seems, from my Lord Hollis was to be sealed the last Sunday). But before they would come to the question whether they would adjourn, Sir Thomas Tomkins steps up and tells them that all the country is grieved at this new-raised standing army; and that they thought themselves safe enough in their trayn-bands; and that, therefore, he desired the King might be moved to disband them." A vote to this effect being passed, the House adjourned. Four days afterwards Pepys writes: "Presently comes down the House of Commons (in Westminster Hall), the King having made a very short and no pleasing speech to them at all, not at all giving them thanks for their readiness to come up to town at this busy time; but told them that he did think he should have had occasion for them, but had none, and therefore did dismiss them to look after their own occasions till October; and that he did wonder any should offer to bring in a suspicion that he intended to rule by an army, or otherwise than by the laws of the land, which he promised them he would do; and so bade them go home and settle the minds of the country in that particular; and only added, that he had made a peace which he did believe they would find reasonable, and a good peace, but did give them none of the particulars thereof. Thus they are dismissed again, to their general great distaste (I believe the greatest that ever Parliament was) to see themselves so fooled, and the nation in certain condition of ruin, while the King, they see, is only governed by his lust, and women and rogues about him. The Speaker, they found, was kept from coming in the morning to the House on purpose, till after the King was come to the House of Lords, for fear they should be doing anything in the House of Commons to the further dissatisfaction of the King and his courtiers."

Intolerance in the House of Commons.—*February 10th*, 1667-68. To Westminster Hall, where the hall mighty full: and, among other things, the House begins to sit to-day, and the King came. But before

the King's coming the House of Commons met; and, upon information given them of a bill intended to be brought in, as common report said, for Comprehension, they did mightily and generally inveigh against it; and did vote that the King should be desired by the House (and the message delivered by the Privy Counsellors of the House) that the laws against breakers of the Act for Uniformity should be put in execution: and it was moved in the House that if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the House about religion, they might come as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks.—*Pepys.*

Number and Payment of Members.—*March 30th*, 1668. At dinner we had a great deal of good discourse about Parliament; their number being uncertain, and always at the will of the King to increase as he saw reason to erect a new borough. But all concluded that the bane of the Parliament hath been the leaving off the old custom of the places allowing wages to those that served them in Parliament, by which they chose men that understood their business and would attend to it, and they could expect an account from; which now they cannot: and so the Parliament is become a company of men unable to give account for the interest of the place they serve for.—*Ibid.*

"Our Masters at Westminster."—*April 22nd*, 1668. "From the Privy stairs," writes Pepys, "to Westminster Hall; and taking water. The King and the Duke of York were in the new buildings; and the Duke of York called to me whither I was going. And I answered aloud, 'To wait on our masters at Westminster;' at which he and all the company laughed; but I was sorry and troubled for it afterwards, for fear any Parliament-man should have been there; and it will be a caution to me for the time to come."

Holding the Purse-strings.—*April 30th*, 1668. The Parliament several months upon an Act for 300,000*l.*, but cannot or will not agree upon it, but do keep it back, in spite of the King's desires to hasten it, till they can obtain what they have a mind in revenge upon some men for the late ill managements; and he is forced to submit to what they please, knowing that without it he shall have no money; and they as well that if they give the money the King will suffer them to do little more.—*Ibid.*

Presence of the King at Debate.—It was a frequent practice with Charles II. to attend the debates in the House of Peers, and he did so even when his own speech from the throne was being taken into consideration. "It was as good as a play," he said on one occasion. Bishop Burnet, writing of 1669, thus alludes to the King's practice: "To prevent all trouble from the Lords, the King was advised to go and be present at all their debates. Lord Lauderdale valued himself to me on this advice, which he said he gave. At first the King sat decently on the throne, though even this was a great restraint on the freedom of debate; which had some effect for a while; though afterwards many of the lords seemed to speak with more boldness, because they said one heard it to whom they had no other access but in that place, and they took the more liberty because what they said could not be reported wrong. The King, who

was often weary of time and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the House as a pleasant diversion. So he went constantly, and he quickly left the throne and stood by the fire, which drew a crowd about him, that broke all the decency of that House. For before that time every lord sat regularly in his place, but the King's coming broke the order of their sittings as became senators. The King's going thither had a much worse effect. Thus he became a common solicitor, not only in public affairs, but even in private matters of justice. He would in a little time have gone round the house and spoken to every man that he thought worth speaking to, and he was apt to do that upon the solicitation of any of the ladies in favour, or of any that had credit."

Origin of the "Cabinet."—Few things in our history are more curious than the origin and growth of the power now possessed by the Cabinet. From an early period the Kings of England had been assisted by a Privy Council, to which the law assigned many important functions and duties. During several centuries this body deliberated on the gravest and most delicate affairs. But by degrees its character changed: it became too large for despatch and secresy; the rank of privy councillor was often bestowed as an honorary distinction on persons to whom nothing was confided, and whose opinion was never asked; the sovereign, on the most important occasions, resorted for advice to a small knot of leading ministers. The advantages and disadvantages of this course were early pointed out by Bacon, with his usual judgment and sagacity; but it was not till after the Restoration that the interior council began to attract general notice. During many years old-fashioned politicians continued to regard the Cabinet as an unconstitutional and dangerous board; nevertheless, it constantly became more and more important. It at length drew to itself the chief executive power, and has now been regarded, during several generations, as an essential part of our polity. Yet, strange to say, it still continues to be altogether unknown to the law; the names of the noblemen and gentlemen who compose it are never officially announced to the public; no record is kept of its meetings and resolutions, nor has its existence ever been recognised by any Act of Parliament.—*Macaulay's "History."*

The "Cabal."—During some years the word Cabal was popularly used as synonymous with Cabinet. But it happened by a whimsical coincidence that, in 1671, the Cabinet consisted of five persons the initial letters of whose names made up the word cabal—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. These ministers were, therefore, emphatically called the "cabal;" and they soon made that appellation so infamous that it has never since their time been used except as a term of reproach.—*Ibid.**

* As here intimated, the word did not originate at this period. Butler, in "Hudibras," written some years before, has the lines—

"Set up committees of cabals
To pack designs without the walls,"

and earlier instances may be found.

"Cabinet Council" or "Ministry."—In January, 1711, a debate arose in the House of Lords on the affairs of Spain, and it was resolved to present an address to the Queen for some papers, the House then adjourning during pleasure. The address was carried up immediately to St. James's, and a favourable answer was returned, together with an intimation that her Majesty designed to hear the debate *incognito*. It was resumed on the Queen entering the house, but it soon diverged into a question of the meaning of the term "Cabinet Council." Lord Scarsdale had proposed a resolution in which this term was used, but he afterwards changed it to "Ministers," giving as his reason that the latter was better known than the former designation. Lord Cowper gave his opinion that the word "Minister or Ministry would run into the same exception with Cabinet Council; that they were both terms of an uncertain signification." The Earl of Powlet urged that "there's no distinction between the Ministry and the Cabinet Council, for those who were of the Cabinet were Ministers;" but it was rejoined that the word Ministry was more copious. The Earl of Islay said it was true neither term was commonly known in the law, "and therefore they ought to use a plain English word." The famous Earl of Peterborough contributed the most effective passage to the discussion. He said "he thought the word Cabinet Council not so proper as Ministers. He had heard a distinction between the Cabinet Council and the Privy Council; that the Privy Counsellors were such as were thought to know everything, and knew nothing; and those of the Cabinet Council thought nobody knew anything but themselves. The same distinction might in great measure hold as to Ministers and Cabinet Council. The word Cabinet Council was indeed too copious, for they disposed of all; they fingered the money; they meddled with the war; they meddled with things they did not understand. So that sometimes there was no *Minister* in the Cabinet Council."

Debate without Reason.—Lord Keeper Guilford (writes Roger North) once dining with Mr. Hugh May, in Scotland Yard, Sir Henry Capel, who was of his lordship's relation and long acquaintance, made one. Among other discourse, Sir Henry Capel was urged much to say why they (meaning the country party) urged a certain matter so violently in the House of Commons, and yet there was no tolerable reason in all the debate given for it. At last he answered that "they did not use to give the true reasons that swayed them in debates to the House." His lordship thought it a strange account.

A Quarrel on a Disputed Division.—May 10th, 1675, a debate took place in the Commons respecting the English regiments in the French army, the King (Charles II.) having stated that it would be inconsistent with his honour to recall them. On a division, the tellers were charged with negligence and fraud; instantly the leaders, who sat on the lower benches, sprang to the table, and the other members on each side crowded to their support. Lord Cavendish and Sir John Hanmer distinguished themselves by their violence; and epithets of insult, with threats of defiance, were reproachfully exchanged. The tumult had lasted half an hour, when the Speaker, without asking permission, took

possession of the chair; the mace, after some resistance, was again placed upon the table; the members resumed their seats, and, on the motion of Sir Thomas Lee, a promise was given by each in his turn that he would take no notice out of doors of what had happened within.—*Lingard's "History of England."*

Counting Ten for One.—The former Parliament (writes Burnet, 1680) had passed a very strict Act for the due execution of the Habeas Corpus, which was, indeed, all they did. It was carried by an odd artifice in the House of Lords. Lord Grey and Lord Norris were named to be the tellers. Lord Norris, being a man subject to vapours, was not at all times attentive to what he was doing; so a very fat lord coming in, Lord Grey counted him for ten, as a jest at first, but seeing Lord Norris had not observed it, he went on with his mis-reckoning of ten. So it was reported to the House and declared that they who were for the bill were the majority, though it, indeed, went on the other side. And by this means the bill passed.

The Case Altered.—A division took place in the Commons, session 1685, on a motion to consider the King's speech before they should proceed to the supply, when it was carried by one only against the court. The Earl of Middleton, of Scotland, then a Secretary of State for England and a member of the House of Commons, here seeing many go out upon the division against the court who were in the service of the Government, went down to the bar, and, as they were told in, reproached them to their faces for voting as they did; and a Captain Kendal being one of them, the earl said to him there, "Sir, have not you a troop of horse in his Majesty's service?" "Yes, my lord," replies the other; "but my brother died last night, and has left me 700*l.* a year." This I had from my uncle, the first Lord Onslow, who was then of the House of Commons and present. This incident upon one vote probably saved the nation.—*Note by Onslow in Burnet's History.*

Setting his House in Order.—A question was raised in the House of Lords, 1677 (writes Burnet), as to the legality of a prorogation. Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, for the part they took in the debate, were offered the alternative of asking pardon as delinquents, or being sent to the Tower; they chose the latter. The Duke of Buckingham left the House while Lord Anglesea was arguing against their imprisonment, but he came into his place next day, and excused his departure by saying that, as he saw their lordships intended he should lodge some time in another place, and as he kept his family with very exact economy, he had been home to set his house in order, and was now ready to submit to their pleasure.

"For Ever."—Evelyn writes: "*Oct.* 1, 1678. The Parliament and the whole nation were alarmed about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for the destruction of the King and introduction of Popery, discovered by one Oates and Dr. Tongue, which last I knew. . *Nov.* 15. Divers of the Popish peers were sent to the Tower, accused by Oates, and all the Roman Catholic lords were by a new Act *for ever* excluded the Parliament, which was a mighty blow. . *Jan.* 25. The Long Parliament,

which had sat ever since the Restauration, was dissolved by persuasion of the Lord Treasurer, tho' divers of them were believed to be his pensioners."

Approbation of the Speaker Refused by the Sovereign.—The Royal approbation of the Speaker elected by a new Parliament, which is now given as a matter of course, was refused in one instance by Charles II. In 1679 the Commons chose Mr. Edward Seymour, who had been Speaker in the previous Parliament, but was reluctant to serve again on account of ill-health. When he was presented for approval by the King, the Chancellor informed him his Majesty had other need of his services, and that the House must make another choice. A warm debate and address to the King followed, but the King replied to the bearers of the address, "Gentlemen, all this is but loss of time; and therefore I desire you to go back again, and do as I have directed you." Another address was followed by a prorogation. The House eventually selected someone else, in the person of Mr. Serjeant Gregory.

Slitting a Member's Nose.—Burnet, in his "History," relates the circumstances connected with the outrage upon Sir John Coventry. Sir John made a strong reflection on the amours of Charles II., and struggled much in the House against grants of money. Referring to the players, who, it was urged by the court party, were the King's servants and a part of his pleasure, Coventry asked whether did the King's pleasure lie among the men or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the court. Charles accordingly sent some of the guards to watch in the streets where Sir John lodged, and leave a mark on him. Sands, and O'Brian, and some others went thither, and as Coventry was going home they drew about him. He stood up to the wall and drew the flambeau out of his servant's hand, and, with that in the one hand and his sword in the other, he defended himself so well that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded some of them, but was soon disarmed, and then they cut his nose to the bone. The affair was managed under the orders of the Duke of Monmouth, to whose house the ruffians repaired after performing their task. The House passed a bill of banishment against the perpetrators of it, adding a clause that it should not be in the King's power to pardon them.

Judge Jeffreys not "Parliament Proof."—After the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, in 1679, the country party petitioned for the calling of a Parliament in terms offensive to the court; and, in opposition to these petitions, the prerogative party addressed the Crown, expressing their abhorrence of the proceedings of the petitioners. In encouraging these *abhorrers*, as they were termed, Jeffreys rendered himself eminently conspicuous, and, on the meeting of the new Parliament in 1680, he fell, with the rest of those who had opposed the petition for its assembling, under the censure of the Commons. Accordingly, on the 13th of November, 1680, it was resolved, "That Sir George Jeffreys, Recorder of the City of London, by traducing and obstructing petitioning for the sitting of this Parliament, hath destroyed the right of the subject;" and it was ordered that an humble address should be pre-

sented to his Majesty (Charles II.) to remove Sir George Jeffreys from all public offices. To this address his Majesty replied that he would consider of it. Jeffreys himself trembled at the prospect of popular indignation. Being brought to the bar of the House, he received a reprimand on his knees, and such was the effect of this discipline upon his spirits that he immediately resolved to resign his office of Recorder, which drew from the King the observation that he was not "Parliament proof."—*Roscoe's "British Lawyers."*

A Subterfuge.—In the reign of Charles II. many of the *abhorrers*, or prerogative party, were seized by order of the Commons, and committed to custody. One Stowel, of Exeter, refused to obey the Serjeant-at-Arms, and said he knew of no law by which they pretended to commit him. The House, finding it equally dangerous to advance or recede, got off by evasion. They inserted in their Journals that Stowel was indisposed, and that a month's time was allowed for the recovery of his health.—*Oldfield.*

Earwigging the Parliament.—Evelyn writes in his Diary: "*March* 10*th*, 1687. Most of the greate officers, both in the court and country, lords and others, were dismiss'd, as they would not promise his Majesty their consent to the repeal of the Test and Penal Statutes against Popish recusants. To this end most of the Parliament-men were spoken to in his Majesty's closet, and such as refus'd, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of greate trial, but hardly one of them assented."

Origin of the Terms "Whig" and "Tory."—At this time (1679) were first heard the two nicknames which, though originally given in insult, were soon assumed with pride, which are still in daily use, which have spread as widely as the English race, and which will last as long as the English literature. It is a curious circumstance that one of these nicknames was of Scotch and the other of Irish origin. Both in Scotland and in Ireland misgovernment had called into existence bands of desperate men, whose ferocity was heightened by religious enthusiasm. In Scotland, some of the persecuted Covenanters, driven mad by oppression, had lately murdered the Primate, had taken arms against the Government, had obtained some advantages against the King's forces, and had not been put down till Monmouth, at the head of some troops from England, had routed them at Bothwell Bridge. These zealots were most numerous among the rustics of the western lowlands, who were vulgarly called Whigs. Thus the appellation of Whig was fastened on the Presbyterian zealots of Scotland, and was transferred to those English politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the court and to treat Protestant Nonconformists with indulgence. The bogs of Ireland at the same time afforded a refuge to Popish outlaws, much resembling those who were afterwards known as Whiteboys. These men were then called Tories. The name of Tory was therefore given to Englishmen who refused to concur in excluding a Roman Catholic prince from the throne.—*Macaulay's "History."* Professor Pryme, who represented Cambridge University and was Chairman of Committees, says, in his "Recollections:" "O'Connell showed me in the library of the House of Commons, as an illustration

of the name of Tory, an Irish Act of Parliament for the suppression of 'Rapparees, Tories, and other Robbers.' The appellation of Whig, as well as Tory, was also a nickname, and given by the opposite party in allusion to sour milk."

Freedom of Speech in Parliament.—What was thought by the House of Commons, in the reign of James II., unreasonable latitude of speech, is illustrated in the following extract from Macaulay. The Commons had presented an address to the King on the subject of infractions of the Test Act, and were met by a reprimand. On the reassembling of the House, "Wharton, the boldest and most active of the Whigs, proposed that a time should be appointed for taking his Majesty's answer into consideration. John Coke, member for Derby, though a noted Tory, seconded Wharton. 'I hope,' he said, 'that we are all Englishmen, and that we shall not be frightened from our duty by a few high words.' It was manfully, but not wisely, spoken. The whole House was in a tempest. 'Take down his words!' 'To the bar!' 'To the Tower!' resounded from every side. Those who were most lenient proposed that the offender should be reprimanded, but the Ministers vehemently insisted that he should be sent to prison. The House might pardon, they said, offences committed against itself, but had no right to pardon an insult offered to the Crown. Coke was sent to the Tower."*

A Standing Danger.—On June 28, 1689, the subject of the arrest of the Earl of Danby, then a member of the House of Commons, was discussed. He had fitted out his pleasure-yacht, and supplied it with arms. It was alleged that this was done with a view to some treasonable project. Serjeant Maynard said, in the course of his speech: "If we take notice of this, and let a member sit amongst us so accused, we cannot well answer that. We are to vote it a breach of privilege, and then inquire what those treasonable practices are. At this rate, we may all be imprisoned and whipped to our lives' end."—*Parliamentary History.*

Longevity.—Of Serjeant Maynard it is also related that when the Prince of Orange received a deputation from the bar on his arrival in London, he thus addressed the member who forty-seven years before had conducted the proceedings against Strafford: "Serjeant, you must surely have outlived all the lawyers of your time." "Yes, my lord," was the reply to the future King, "and without your highness I might also have outlived our laws."

Division Lists.—Macaulay mentions that lists of divisions were, for the first time in our history, printed and dispersed for the information of constituent bodies at the general election in 1690. The first publication, however, of division lists of any kind occurred (Mr. R. Palgrave points out) in April, 1641, when the names of those who had voted against Strafford's attainder were posted up as "betrayers of their country," and a similar document emanated from the opposite side.

The Speaker an Agent of Corruption.—Sir John Trevor, who was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1689, was also, for

* Compare, under "Chatham," "Strong Terms respecting a King's Speech."

a time, First Commissioner of the Great Seal. Bishop Burnet says of him: "Being a Tory in principle, he undertook to manage that party, provided he was furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes; and by him began the practice of buying off men, in which hitherto the King (William III.) had kept to stricter rules. I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method. He said he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole."

Committal for Receiving Money from the King.—In 1693, "while the Commons were debating supplies, the commissioners they had appointed for taking the public accounts were ordered to lay before the House an account of what money had been paid for secret service, and to members of Parliament, out of the public revenue. Upon examination of the whole matter, it was resolved on February the 17th (1694), 'That the Lord Falkland, being a member of that House, by begging and receiving 2000*l.* from his Majesty, contrary to the ordinary method of issuing and bestowing the King's money, was guilty of a high misdemeanor and breach of trust; and that he be committed to the Tower of London during the pleasure of the House.' Accordingly his lordship was sent to the Tower, from whence on February the 19th he presented a petition to the House, setting forth that he was highly sensible of their displeasure, and that a longer continuance of his confinement would be extremely prejudicial to him. Whereupon it was ordered that he should be discharged from his imprisonment."—*Parliamentary Debates*, 1668—1741.

Royal Prerogative.—Sir John Trevor, speaking in the House of Commons on the royal prerogative, maintained that its exercise was by no means to be inquired into by Parliament. "It is the King's prerogative," said he, "to make peace or war; 'tis he that makes it and he that breaks it. The disciples came to our Saviour in the ship, and said, 'Lord, save us, or we perish!' and we say no more to the King."

Vote of Censure on the Speaker.—In 1695 a rumour rose and spread that the funds of the City of London and the East India Company had been largely employed for the purpose of corrupting great men, and the name of Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House of Commons, was mentioned among others. A committee was appointed to examine the books of the two corporations. Foley was placed in the chair, and within a week reported that the Speaker had, in the preceding session, received from the City a thousand guineas for expediting a local bill. As soon as the report of the committee had been read, it was moved that he had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. He had to stand up and to put the question. There was a loud cry of "Ay!" He called on the "noes," and scarcely a voice was heard. He was forced to declare that the "ayes" had it. A man of spirit would have given up the ghost with remorse and shame; and the unutterable ignominy of that moment left its mark even on the callous heart and brazen forehead of Trevor. Had he returned to the House on the following day he would have had to put the question on a motion for his own expulsion. He therefore pleaded

illness, and shut himself up in his bedroom. Wharton soon brought down a royal message authorising the Commons to elect another Speaker.—*Macaulay's "History."*

Royal Assent to a Bill Refused by William III.—On the meeting of Parliament in November, 1693, "there was a bill lay ready for the royal assent, 'Touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament,' which had been prepared the last year, and was now again brought in and passed by both houses; but his Majesty thought fit again to refuse his assent to it; which the Commons took so ill, that the next day, upon considering the state of the nation, they resolved 'That whoever advised the King not to give the royal assent to that act was an enemy to their Majesties and the kingdom,' and a representation was drawn up by a committee, and agreed to by the House, wherein they humbly laid before his Majesty" a representation to that effect. The King returned a vague reply, whereupon a motion was proposed in the House, "That an humble application be made to his Majesty for a further answer;" but the motion was negatived. (Parliamentary Debates, 1668 to 1741.) The last occasion on which the Royal assent to a bill was refused occurred in the following reign (see p. 18, *ante*).

The Commons Stopping a Royal Grant.—In 1695, a warrant was issued by William III., conferring upon the King's friend Bentinck, who had been made Earl of Portland, sundry lordships in Wales, amounting to about five-sixths of the county of Denbigh. The matter excited strong opposition, and a deputation of gentlemen from the Principality was heard on the subject before the Lords of the Treasury. It was also brought before Parliament by a petition to the Commons, when Mr. Price—one of the petitioners, but also a member of the House—made a plain-spoken address on the subject, saying that at this rate we were in danger of becoming a colony to the Dutch. He continued: "I shall make no severe remarks on this great man, for his greatness makes us little, and will make the Crown both poor and precarious; and when God shall please to send us a Prince of Wales, he may have such a present of a crown made him as a Pope did to King John, who was surnamed *Sans Terre*, and was by his father, King Henry the Second, made Lord of Ireland; which grant was confirmed by the Pope, who sent him a crown of peacocks' feathers, in derision of his power and the poverty of his revenue. I would have us to consider that we are Englishmen, and must, like patriots, stand by our country, and not suffer it to become tributary to strangers. We have rejoiced that we have beat out of this kingdom Popery and slavery, and do now with as great joy entertain Socinianism and poverty; and yet we see our properties daily given away, and our liberties must soon follow. I desire redress rather than punishment, therefore I shall neither move for an impeachment against this noble lord nor for the banishment of him; but shall only beg that he may have no power over us, nor we any dependence upon him." He concluded by moving an address to the King that the lands should not be granted but by consent of Parliament; and we are told by the reporter (Parliamentary Debates, 1668 to 1741) that "this stout and eloquent

speech made so great an impression that Mr. Price's motion was carried by an unanimous consent."* The address was presented to the King by the Speaker, attended by the whole House, and his Majesty replied, "I should not have given him these lands if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned. I will therefore recal the grant, and find some other way of showing my favour to him."

The Lords Rescinding a Committal by the Commons.—*25th Jan.*, 1697-98.—Charles Duncombe, Esq., M.P., was charged with making false indorsements on Exchequer bills, and was committed close prisoner to the Tower. *29th.*—Being ill, his apothecary and his brother Anthony Duncombe were permitted to see him. He confessed his guilt, and was expelled the House. A bill was brought in for seizure of his estate, which was passed 26th Feb. after great opposition, 138 against 103. This being sent to the Lords, they desired a conference with the Commons, and not being satisfied, though he had acknowledged the fact, they discharged him from the Tower. *31st March.*—The Commons re-committed him. We do not find in the Journals of the House that anything further was done.—*Bray's Notes to Evelyn's Diary.*

The Case of Ashby and White—Law versus Privilege.—The representative history of Aylesbury (writes Oldfield) is the most important in the annals of Parliament, as it involves the famous case of Ashby and White—a contest between Law and Privilege, which produced a serious difference between the two Houses. Ashby had brought an action (1703) against White and others, the constables, returning officers of the borough, for not receiving his vote. The House of Commons considered the interference of a court of law, in a question which concerned the right of election, as a breach of their privilege, and ordered all the parties concerned therein—counsel, attorney, and others—to be taken into custody. Lord Chief Justice Holt was also ordered to attend the House, but, disregarding the summons, the Speaker was directed to proceed with the mace to the Court of Queen's Bench and command his attendance upon the House. The Chief Justice is said to have replied, "Mr. Speaker, if you do not depart from this court, I will commit you, though you had the whole House of Commons in your belly." The Queen was compelled to prorogue the Parliament to put an end to the dispute.

The Legislative Union with Scotland.—The copy of the treaty of Union between England and Scotland was registered by the Scottish Parliament on the 25th of March, 1707, and on the 22nd of April (writes Sir Walter Scott) "the Parliament of Scotland adjourned for ever. Seafield, the Chancellor, on an occasion which every Scotsman ought to have considered as a melancholy one, behaved himself with brutal levity, and said that 'there was an end of an auld sang.' On the 1st of May, 1707, the Union took place, amid the dejection and despair which attended on the downfall of an ancient state, and under a sullen expression

* Macaulay, strangely enough, questions the fact of this speech having been delivered, and alludes to it as an "impertinence."—See note to his "History," Chap. XXI., 1696.

of discontent, that was far from promising the course of prosperity which the treaty finally produced."

A Scottish Patriot on the Union.—While the projected Union was under discussion in the Scottish Parliament, in November, 1706, Lord Belhaven gave expression to the feelings of the party opposing it, in a forcible speech, part of which ran as follows: "I think I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, overran countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now walking in the Court of Requests like so many English attorneys; laying aside their walking swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder. I think I see the honourable estate of barons, the bold assertors of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips and a guard upon their tongues, lest they may be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, a speaking evil of dignities. I think I see the royal state of burghers walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads under disappointments, wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become 'prentices to their unkind neighbours, and yet, after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein. I think I see our learned judges laying aside their pratiques and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with *certiorari, nisi priuses*, writs of error, verdicts, injunctions, demurs, &c., and frightened with appeals and avocations, because of the new regulations and rectifications they may meet with. . . But above all, my lord, I think I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with an *et tu quoque mi fili!*" The effect of this harangue, says Scott, was in some degree dispelled by Lord Marchmont, who, rising to reply, said he too had been much struck by the noble lord's vision, but that he conceived the exposition of it might be given in a few words: "I awoke, and behold it was a dream!"

The Septennial Bill.—The bill extending the duration of Parliament from three to seven years was passed in 1716. It was introduced by the Ministers of the day in the House of Lords in the first instance, and, when it had passed that House, was sent down to the Commons by the hands of two of the judges. The preamble gave as reasons for the repeal of the Triennial Act that it had been found "very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses in order to elections of members to serve in Parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before." Lord Somers, who died on the day the bill was passed, was reported to have said of it, in his last moments, "I think it will be the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country."

A Dilemma.—The Earl of Peterborough, speaking in the House of Lords, April 14th, 1716, in opposition to the Septennial Bill, said that if

this present Parliament continued beyond the time for which they were chosen, he knew not how to express the manner of their existence, unless —begging leave of that venerable bench (turning to the bishops)—they had recourse to the distinction used in the Athanasian Creed; for they would neither be made nor created, but proceeding.—*Parliamentary History.*

Expulsions from the House of Commons.—Many expulsions for commercial and other frauds took place in the early part of the eighteenth century. After the bursting of the South Sea bubble, several leading members who had been identified with it were expelled from Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Aislabie, was one of these. He was said to have made a quarter of a million by transactions in the stock of the company, contrary to his oath of office. He was expelled without a division, sent to the Tower, and ordered to refund his gains. The same fate befell Sir George Caswell, a wealthy banker of the day. On the 23rd of January, 1721, the Commons, having ordered their doors to be locked and the keys to be laid on the table, summoned Sir Robert Chaplin, Bart., Sir Theodore Janssen, Bart., Mr. F. Eyles, and Mr. Sawbridge (directors of the South Sea Company), to attend in their places immediately. General Ross acquainted the House "that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." It was then agreed *nem. con.* that Sawbridge and Janssen be expelled the House; and on the 28th a like resolution was agreed to with respect to Chaplin and Eyles.—In 1723, Lord Barrington, an Irish peer, was expelled for "promoting, abetting, and carrying on the fraudulent undertaking called the Harburgh Lottery." In 1730, Sir Robert Sutton and two other members were dismissed for participating in the direction of a concern called the Charitable Corporation. A member (Mr. Ward) who in 1727 was prosecuted by the Duchess of Buckingham for forgery, and convicted, was expelled and stood in the pillory, where he had his footman in livery to attend him. He is referred to in Pope's line in the "Dunciad,"

"As thick as eggs at Ward in pillory."

Paramount Dignity of Parliament.—On the 3rd of February, 1721, upon Lord Chancellor Macclesfield's not coming in time to the House, and, when he came, excusing himself, "that he had been summoned to attend his Majesty at St. James's," the Lords said, "That this is an indignity offered to the House, which is undoubtedly the greatest council in the kingdom, to which all other councils ought to give way, and not to any other."—*Hatsell.*

A Courtier Censured by the Speaker.—Lord Southampton, then Colonel Fitzroy, being in attendance upon the King's person as one of the grooms of the bedchamber, and coming in late to make one of the forty members, the Speaker, Mr. Onslow, reprimanded him, as he came up the house, for not coming earlier. Colonel Fitzroy excused himself by saying "he was in waiting upon his Majesty." "Sir," said Mr. Onslow, with a loud and commanding voice, "don't tell me of waiting; this is your place to attend in; this is your first duty."—*Ibid.*

Keeping the King Waiting.—"There happened within my memory," says Hatsell, "and since I have been in the service of the House of Commons, a very extraordinary case, which was in the first year of his present Majesty, King George III. (on the 20th of January, 1761), where the King was actually on the throne, and the Black Rod was coming with the message for the House of Commons to attend his Majesty; but there not being forty members present, Mr. Onslow, then Speaker, declined taking the chair, and the King was kept waiting a considerable time. The reason of this was that it was generally known that the only purpose for which the King came at that time was to give the royal assent to a Money Bill. This bill had passed the House of Lords, but the House of Commons had received no message from the Lords to inform them that the Lords had agreed to it, and therefore till this message was received the Speaker could not take notice of their agreement, or receive or take up the bill for the royal assent. And though the Lords' messengers were at the door, the Speaker could not, agreeable to the ancient rule and unbroken practice of the House, take the chair, for the purpose of admitting the messengers, till there were forty members present. If the Black Rod, instead of loitering, as he did, in the passage between the houses, had come forward and knocked at the door, the Speaker, though forty members were not present, must have immediately taken the chair and gone up to the King."

Arbitrary Proceeding of the Commons.—When Lord Mayor Crosby and two of the aldermen had committed a messenger of the House of Commons to the Compter, in 1771, for attempting to arrest a citizen without their authority, not only were they sent to the Tower, but the Lord Mayor's clerk was ordered to attend at the bar of the Commons with the minute-books of his court, and he was there forced to strike out the record of the commitment, and the subsequent recognisances into which the messenger had entered. This arbitrary act may be compared with that of the Stuart King, who with his own hand erased from the Commons' Journals a declaration which offended him (p. 20).

Mutual Jealousy of the Two Houses.—Speaker Denison, in giving evidence before the committee on House of Commons Witnesses in 1869, referring to the traditional jealousy of the two Houses, said that in 1772 Mr. Burke complained bitterly that he had been kept three hours waiting at the door of the Lords, with a bill sent up from the Commons. The Commons were so indignant at this treatment of one of their number that, shortly afterwards, when a bill was brought down from the Lords to impose a bounty on corn, the House rejected it by a unanimous vote. The Speaker then tossed it across the table on the floor, and a number of members rushed forward and kicked it out of the house.

A Speaker Flouting the King.—In April, 1777, a message was sent to Parliament by the King, asking for the payment of his debts, and a bill was brought in for the purpose, as well as for the augmentation of his Majesty's revenue by 100,000*l.* a year. Horace Walpole writes: "When the Speaker (Norton) presented this bill to the King in the House of Lords, he told him his faithful Commons had, in a time of public

distress, full of difficulty and danger, and labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, granted him a supply and great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond his Majesty's highest expense (he really used the word *wants*, but in his printed speech changed it to *expense*), but hoping that what they had contributed so liberally would be employed wisely. This gave the King much offence, and was extraordinary in such a tool, who had voted for the money himself. It was supposed that the Speaker acted from resentment, having been refused a peerage." A few days later, one of the members (Rigby) made some remarks on the subject. "If I had spoken," said he, "of the sense of this House in another place, I should have said a large majority approved it. I should not have said my constituents were labouring under burthens too heavy to be borne. If I had thought so I would not have voted the money, nor would have said the money granted was beyond his Majesty's highest wants." After the debate, the Speaker complained of Rigby's attacks, and Charles Fox proposed words in justification of the Speaker, which were agreed to without a division. "Lord North was exceedingly alarmed during the debate, and wrote several notes to Rigby across the house to beg him to submit, which though he did and asked pardon, the Speaker was stout, and declared he would resign the chair next day unless the House itself gave him satisfaction."

The Speaker Taking Part in Debate.—The following passage from Walpole's "Journal" shows a Speaker of the House (Sir Fletcher Norton) taking what now seems an extraordinary part in its proceedings: "March 13, 1780. Sir Edward Dering having attacked Mr. Rigby on his late doctrine of the Crown's unalienable revenue, and the latter having defended himself, Charles Fox protested against such an unparliamentary declaration, and said he would appeal to the highest authority, the Speaker. On this appeal the Speaker came down from the gallery, and made a warm and good speech against the increased influence of the Crown. But then he broke out into the most extravagant and profligate rhapsody that perhaps was ever heard in that place, accusing Lord North of duplicity, and professing himself his personal enemy on the grounds of a story that he had the impudence and absurdity to tell, with as little modesty in the high estimation at which he rated himself. He acquainted the House that the Duke of Grafton, when Minister, had offered him the posts of Chief Justice in Eyre and the Speakership, with a promise of the best place in the law that should become vacant, without which, as he thought himself at the head of his profession, he would not quit his business. He asserted that Lord North had been privy to this bargain, and yet had broken it, by offering a large pecuniary bribe to Lord Chief Justice de Grey to quit that post in favour of Wedderburn. . . Lord North denied being tied by his predecessor's bargain—went farther, and denied his knowledge of it, in which few believed him, and still less did they believe Wedderburn, who denied knowing anything of the money part of the corruption. The dialogue degenerated into Billingsgate between Lord North and Sir Fletcher Norton." A few days later Walpole adds: "The Speaker made an apology for his late indecent

behaviour, but maintained the truth of what he had asserted. He said he knew how much he had been abused in newspapers for what he had said, but that he despised them, and only desired to excuse himself to the House." In a new Parliament, called a few months later, Mr. Cornwall was put forward by the Ministry as Speaker, in opposition to Sir Fletcher Norton, and elected by 203 to 176.—The following is a later instance of he Speaker's intervention. A bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, introduced by Grattan in 1813, was read a second time by a good majority, but the effect of it was destroyed in committee, when Mr. Speaker Abbot moved the omission of the words, "to sit and vote in either House of Parliament," which was carried by 251 against 247.

The Commons and the Influence of the Crown.—On the 6th of April, 1780, Mr. Dunning moved a resolution, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Mr. Dundas (Ministerialist) moved, as an amendment, to insert before the resolution the words, "That it is now necessary to declare," &c. Lord North had on several occasions defeated the opposition by amending the words of their motions, but on this occasion Mr. Fox dexterously accepted Mr. Dundas's words, and the resolution, instead of being weakened, was strengthened by the amendment. On the whole resolution the House divided—for, 233; against, 215; majority, 18.* The Opposition then moved and carried two other resolutions to the following effect:—"2. That it is competent to this House to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall appear expedient to the wisdom of this House so to do. 3. That it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House from the different counties, cities, and towns of this kingdom." Mr. Fox moved, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, to report the motions immediately to the House, and although Lord North exclaimed loudly against such proceedings, as violent, arbitrary, and unusual, the motion was carried.—*Russell's "Life of Fox."*

The Dissolution of 1780.—A Pocket Majority.—The dissolution of the Parliament which had been elected in 1774 took place on the 1st of September, 1780. It was on this dissolution that Mr. Burke lost his seat for Bristol, and that he made the famous speech, on giving up the contest, which is to be found in his works. It was at this election also that Mr. Fox was returned for Westminster for the first time, having defeated his competitor, Lord Lincoln, by a large majority. The general election did not make any great alteration in the numbers of the respective parties. Many seats were in those days in the hands of the Treasury; a

* Boswell relates that having asked Dr. Johnson whether he had not been vexed by "that absurd vote of the House of Commons," "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," the doctor replied, "Sir, I would have knocked the factious dogs on the head; but I was not vexed."

number of others—making, together with the Treasury boroughs, a majority of the whole House—were in the absolute possession of individuals whose interest led them to the support of the Minister. Thus (says Earl Russell) the sound of the national voice was often lost amid the corners and crannies of the House of Commons.

The No Popery Riots.—In the session of 1779 an Act had been passed for the relief of the Roman Catholics—a measure which induced the formation of the Protestant Association, with Lord George Gordon as its president. On Monday, May 29th, 1780, says the *Annual Register*, a meeting was held at Coachmakers' Hall, when it was resolved, "That the whole body of the Protestant Association do attend in St. George's Fields on Friday next, at ten o'clock in the morning, to accompany his lordship to the House of Commons, on the delivery of the Protestant petition." Accordingly, on the day appointed, many thousands assembled at the place of meeting, and marched in procession to Westminster, preceded by those who bore the petition against the Catholic Relief Bill. About half-past two they arrived before the Houses of Parliament, when they gave a general shout. Members, as they arrived, were subjected to gross outrage and personal violence. Almost all were compelled to put blue cockades in their hats and call out "No Popery!" whilst some were forced to take oaths to vote for the repeal of the obnoxious law. While the mob were venting their fury on peers and commoners alike, their leader harangued them from the top of the gallery stairs, inciting still further by his language the storm of savage passions that he had raised. Colonel Gordon, a near relative of his lordship's, addressed him thus: "My Lord George, do you intend to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do, the first man of them that enters I will plunge my sword, not into his, but into your body." The greater part of the day the attention of the House of Commons was taken up in debates concerning the mob. When they had obtained some degree of order, Lord George introduced his business by informing them that he had before him a petition, signed by near one hundred and twenty thousand of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, praying a repeal of the Act passed the last session in favour of the Roman Catholics, and moved to have the said petition brought up. Mr. Alderman Bull seconded the motion, and leave was given accordingly. Having brought up the petition, his lordship then moved to have it taken into immediate consideration, and was again seconded by Mr. Alderman Bull. After some debate the House divided, and there appeared six for the petition and 192 against it. Soon after this the House adjourned, and, the mob having dispersed from the avenues of both houses, the Guards, who had been called out, were ordered home. This demonstration at Westminster and attempt to overawe the Legislature was but a prelude to the fearful riots which succeeded, and which resulted in 285 people being killed by the troops, and 173 wounded. The number of those who, sacking the houses, perished from inebriation and in the ruins of demolished buildings, is not known, but is believed to have been very considerable.

A Foreign Critic in the House.—Mr. Moritz, a Prussian divine

who visited England in 1782, wrote a series of letters descriptive of his travels. In the metropolis he made his way to the House of Commons, "where," says he, "I now, for the first time, saw the whole of the British nation assembled in its representatives, in a rather mean-looking building, that not a little resembles a chapel. The Speaker, an elderly man, dressed in an enormous wig with two knotted curls behind, and a black cloak, with a hat on his head, sat opposite to me on a lofty chair. The members have nothing particular in their dress; they even come into the house in their great coats, and with boots and spurs. It is not at all uncommon to see a member lying stretched out on one of the benches while others are debating; some crack nuts, others eat oranges, or whatever else is in season. Two short-hand writers sat not far from me, who endeavoured to take down the words of the speakers; and thus all that is very remarkable may generally be read in print next day. The short-hand writers are supposed to be employed and paid by the editors of the different newspapers, and are constant attendants on the Parliament; and so they pay the door-keeper a fee for the session. I have seen some of the members bring their sons, while quite little boys, and carry them to their seats along with them."

The Legislative Union with Ireland.—The Parliamentary Union with Ireland, which came into effect on the 1st of January, 1801, was carried by the energy and determination of Lord Cornwallis (the Lord Lieutenant) and Lord Castlereagh. The secret measures adopted to effect it are revealed in the "Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis," published in 1858. There were three hundred members in the Irish House of Commons, of whom fifty were barristers. The sum of 1,260,000*l.* was spent in the purchase of rotten boroughs from the persons who had the patronage, about 15,000*l.* being given for each. Lord Downshire received 52,500*l.* for his interest of this kind, and Lord Ely 45,000*l.* Twenty-two Irish peerages were created as bribes, nineteen Irish peers received advancement to a higher grade, and five obtained English peerages. Pensions and places innumerable were given to less influential recipients. The Opposition was almost equally corrupt, and as much as 5000*l.* was given on either side for an individual vote.

Last Meeting of the Irish Parliament.—The last sitting of the Irish House of Commons was held in College Green on the 10th of June, 1800. Mr. O'Flanagan, in his "Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland," gives the following description of the closing scene: "At length the expected moment arrived; the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland was moved by Lord Castlereagh. . . He made his motion and resumed his seat with the utmost composure and indifference. Confused murmurs again ran through the House; it was visibly affected; every character in a moment seemed involuntarily rushing to its index—some pale, some flushed, some agitated: there were few countenances to which the heart did not despatch some messenger. Several members withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful involuntary silence succeeded their departure. The Speaker (Foster), a sincere and ardent

enemy of the measure, rose slowly from his chair. For a moment he resumed his seat; but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalise his official actions, he held up the bill for a moment in silence; he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring Parliament; he at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, 'As many as are of opinion that this Bill do pass, say Aye; the contrary, say No.' The affirmative was languid, but indisputable. Another momentary pause ensued. Again his lips seemed to decline their office. At length, with an eye averted from the object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, 'The Ayes have it.' The fatal sentence was now pronounced—for an instant he stood statue-like, then indignantly, and with disgust, flung the bill upon the table, and sunk into his chair with an exhausted spirit."

The Roman Catholic Relief Bill.—The bill to remove the disabilities attaching to Roman Catholics was brought forward in 1829 by the Administration of Wellington and Peel, both of whom had previously resisted such a measure. The Duke, in proposing it to the House of Lords, justified it on the ground of the excitement existing in Ireland on the subject of the Catholic claims, and said, "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this, that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it." Mr. Peel said in the Commons, "I believe that the time is come when less danger is to be apprehended to the general interests of the empire, and to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Protestant Establishment, in attempting to adjust the Catholic question, than in allowing it to remain any longer in its present state." The bill passed both Houses by large majorities, and received the royal assent on the 13th of April, after a weak show of resistance on the part of George IV. On the 28th of April, the Duke of Norfolk and Lords Clifford and Dormer presented themselves in the House of Peers to take the oaths and their seats, being the first Roman Catholics who entered the House under the provisions of the Act. Lord Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, returned to the House of Commons for Horsham, was the first Roman Catholic to claim a seat in the lower chamber. Mr. O'Connell, who presented himself about the same time as representative for Clare, was refused admission on the ground that, as he had been elected while the old law was still in force, he must take the oath it prescribed; but a new writ being issued, he was returned without opposition, and took his seat on the opening of the session of 1830.

The Dissolution of 1831.—Excitement in the Houses.—Earl Russell, in the introduction to his "Speeches," tells us: "Lord Grey prepared the King for the decision to which the Cabinet arrived, to advise his Majesty to have recourse to an immediate dissolution of Parliament. The King, though averse to such a proceeding, little more than six months after the general election, was disposed, at this time, to trust implicitly to

Lord Grey, and I am inclined to believe the popular story, that when it appeared necessary, in order to prevent remonstrance from the House of Lords, that the King should appear in person to dissolve the Parliament, and some trifling difficulty of plaiting the horses' manes was interposed as an objection, the King said at once, 'Then I'll go down to Parliament in a hackney coach.' . . The scenes which occurred in the two Houses of Parliament, so far as I was a witness of them, were singular and unprecedented. Before the King arrived, the House of Commons was assembled, and Sir Robert Peel and Sir Francis Burdett rose at the same time to address the House. Lord Althorp, amid the confusion and clamour of contending parties, following the precedent of Mr. Fox moved that Sir Francis Burdett be now heard. Sir Robert Peel on the other hand, imitating a precedent of Lord North, said, 'And I rise to speak to that motion.' But instead of saying a few words, as Lord North had done, to put an end to all further debate, Sir Robert Peel quite lost his temper, and in tones of the most violent indignation attacked the impending dissolution. As he went on, the Tower guns began to fire, to announce the King's arrival, and as each discharge was heard, a loud cheer from the Government side interrupted Sir Robert Peel's declamation. Sir Henry Hardinge was heard to exclaim, 'The next time those guns are fired they will be shotted!' Presently we were all summoned to the House of Lords, where the King's presence had put a stop to a violent and unseemly discussion. The King in his speech announced the dissolution, and retired to unrobe. The scene that followed was one of great excitement and confusion." Mr. Duncombe, in the Life of his father, says, "The change that had taken place in April, 1831, excited both the great parties equally. In the Commons the speech of Sir Robert Peel was interrupted by the sound of the cannon announcing the arrival of the King; every report elicited a burst of cheering from one side, and of yells and groans from the other. In the Lords the scene was equally extravagant, Lord Mansfield in his anger doubling up his fist, elbowing Lord Shaftesbury into the chair, and hooting Lord Brougham as he left the House."

Passage of the Reform Bill.—The Threatened Creation of Peers.—The following particulars are given in Molesworth's "History of the Reform Bill:"—On the 17th of May, 1832, Earl Grey and Lord Brougham waited on the King, who received them with evident ill-humour, and, contrary to his usual practice, kept them standing during the interview. But he at once gave his consent to the creation of as many peers as the Ministry might think necessary to enable them to carry the Reform Bill through the House of Lords, with the understanding that this power was not to be exercised until every means of avoiding the necessity for it had been tried—a condition which the two lords readily agreed to, as they and all their colleagues were extremely averse to the proposed step, and many of them would even have abandoned a great part of their bill, if they dared, rather than have recourse to it. This having been arranged, and it being understood that the Ministers retained their offices, the King asked, "Is there anything more?" "Sire," said

Lord Brougham, "I have one further request to make." "What," replied the King, "have I not conceded enough?" "Yes," replied the Chancellor; "I do not wish to ask any fresh concessions of your Majesty, but simply to request you to put in writing the promise you have made us." The King was evidently irritated at a demand which seemed to imply a want of confidence in his promise, but he also felt that he could not resist. After a moment's hesitation, he took a small piece of paper, on which he wrote the following words, which he then handed to Lord Brougham: "The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling peers' eldest sons.—Signed, WILLIAM R. Windsor, May 17, 1832." The same evening Sir Herbert Taylor, who had been present at this interview, wrote the following circular note to the most active of the opposition lords: "My dear Lord,—I am honoured with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House of Peers to-night, from a sufficient number of peers, that in consequence of the present state of affairs they have come to the resolution of dropping their opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.—I have the honour to be, yours sincerely, Herbert Taylor." This missive proved effectual. The bill was read a third time in the House of Lords (June 4, 1832) by 106 to 22; and the royal assent was given by commission a few days afterwards.

A Vow.—In the month of April, 1832 (writes Lord Campbell), the Parliamentary Reform Bill again came up from the Commons, and was assailed by Lord Chief Justice Tenterden, in the last speech he ever delivered in Parliament. In concluding his speech he said, "This measure, my lords, leaves nothing untouched in the existing state of the elective franchise. It goes to vest all the functions of government in the other House of Parliament; and if it were to pass, there would be nothing left for this House, or for the Crown, but to obey the mandate of the Commons. Never—never, my lords, shall I enter the doors of this House after it has become the phantom of its departed greatness." Lord Tenterden was as good as his word. After the Reform Bill received the royal assent, he never more entered the doors of the House.

Mrs. Partington.—It was on the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords in 1831 that Sydney Smith first brought forward this lady, as an illustration of the politics of the day. The following well-known passage occurred in a speech of his at Taunton: "The attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm at Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824 there set in a great flood upon that town—the tide rose to an incredible height, the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house, with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea water, and vigorously pushing

away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up. But I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest."

A "Curious Medley."—In Raikes's "Diary," December, 1832, occurs the following: "One of the effects of the Reform Bill is that the bone-grubber, W. Cobbett, is returned for Oldham, while, on the other hand, the notorious Mr. H. Hunt has been turned out of his seat at Preston. The new borough of Brighton, under the very nose of the court, has returned two most decided Radicals, Wigney and Faithfull, who talk openly of reducing the allowance made to the King and Queen. The famous pugilist and bettor at Newmarket, Gully, has been returned for Pontefract. In short, the new Parliament will produce a curious medley."

The First Quaker in Parliament.—A curious difficulty, writes Professor Pryme, "occurred in the session 1832. A Quaker (Mr. Pease) was returned as the Whig member for the southern division of Durham. When he came to the table to be sworn, previously to taking his seat, he claimed to *affirm* instead of taking the oaths. The Speaker requested him to withdraw, and Lord Althorp moved that a committee be appointed to consider whether the Act of Parliament permitting affirmation in certain cases extended to this one. Their report, presented a few days after, was in favour of it, and the motion was agreed to unanimously. But another difficulty presented itself. It was a rule that the hat might be kept on when a member remained sitting, but must be taken off when moving in the house, and this dilemma was certain to occur daily. Some friend of Mr. Pease, to obviate this, instructed the doorkeeper gently to remove his hat and retain it till he quitted the house. In the course of a year or two he put it on and off for himself. It might have been thought that an individual of these peculiar habits would not have felt at home in such an assembly; but this was not the case, and the feeling of *bonhommie* which generally prevailed in this 'best and pleasantest Club,' as my friend Hope Vere designated it, placed him perfectly at his ease. As a proof of it, I will relate the following anecdote. After the termination of Peel's short administration, when several of us were in the library of the House, writing letters or conversing on the formation of Lord Melbour Ministry, one of those present jocosely asked Mr. Pease what place *he* was to have. He answered, 'There is but one place that I could think of taking, and it has not been offered to me.' 'What is that?' we exclaimed, and he replied, 'Of course, the Secretary at War.'"

Removal of Jewish Disabilities.—In 1849, Baron Lionel de Rothschild was returned as one of the members for the City of London, but was excluded (writes May) by an oath designed for Roman Catholics, whose disabilities had been removed. He sat there for two sessions in expectation of relief from the Legislature, but, being disappointed, he resolved to try his rights under the existing law, and accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. He was again returned, and in 1850 presented himself at the table. Having been allowed, after some discussion, to be sworn upon the Old

Testament (the form most binding upon his conscience), the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were taken in the accustomed form; but from the oath of abjuration he omitted the words "on the true faith of a Christian," as not binding on his conscience. He was directed to withdraw; when, after many learned arguments, it was resolved that he was not entitled to sit or vote until he had taken the oath of abjuration in the form appointed by law. He continued to attend the House until 1857, and during this period was accustomed to sit below the bar, and when notice was taken of the presence of strangers he still retained his seat. In 1851, Mr. Alderman Salomons, a Jew, having been returned for the borough of Greenwich, omitted from the oath the words which were the Jews' stumbling-block. He was directed to withdraw; but on a later day, while his case was under discussion, he came into the house and took his seat within the bar, whence he declined to withdraw until he was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The House agreed to a resolution in the same form as in the case of Baron de Rothschild. In the meantime, however, he had not only sat in the house, but had voted in three divisions, and for so voting he was fined 500*l.* by Baron Alderson in the Exchequer Court. In 1858 the Lords, yielding to the persuasion of the Conservative premier, Lord Derby, agreed to a concession. A bill passed by the Commons at once removed the only legal obstacle to the admission of the Jews to Parliament. To this general enfranchisement the Lords declined to assent; but they allowed either House, by resolution, to omit the excluding words from the oath of abjuration. The Lords' amendments found little favour with the Commons, but they were accepted under protest, and the bill was passed. Baron de Rothschild was the first person who availed himself of the alteration. The House of Commons (says May) was indeed open to the Jew; but he came as a suppliant. Two years later the scandal was corrected, and the Jew, though still holding his title by a standing order of the Commons and not under the law, acquired a permanent settlement.

Life Peerages.—The Wensleydale Case.—In January, 1856, the Government of Lord Palmerston determined to try the experiment of creating life peerages, and Sir James Parke, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, was created Lord Wensleydale, "for and during the term of his natural life." A long debate ensued on the subject in the House of Lords, and a Committee of Privileges was appointed by the House to inquire into the legality of life peerages. The committee reported, in February, that such a creation could not confer the right to sit and vote in Parliament; and in consequence, a patent of peerage for Sir J. Parke was made out in the following July in the usual form, with remainder to "the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten."—By the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, passed in 1876, two peers for life may be created, to assist the House of Lords in appeal cases. The two peers are entitled to sit and vote in Parliament.

Resignation of a Chancellor on Parliamentary Censure.—On the 3rd of July, 1865, the House of Commons passed, by 177 to 163, a resolution to the effect that Lord Westbury, Lord Chancellor in the

Palmerston Administration, had been guilty of "a laxity of practice and a want of caution in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public officers over whose heads grave charges are impending, and in filling up the vacancies made by retirement of such officers, . . and that such laxity and want of caution are highly reprehensible, and calculated to throw discredit on the administration of the high offices of State." In consequence of this vote, Lord Westbury on the following day tendered his resignation to the Queen, and on the evening of the 5th he announced to the House of Lords that her Majesty had accepted it. "With regard," said he, "to the opinion which the House of Commons has pronounced, I do not presume to say a word. I am bound to accept the decision. I may, however, express the hope that after an interval of time calmer thoughts will prevail, and a more favourable view be taken of my conduct."

The Reform Act of 1867.—By this measure the number of electors in England and Wales was nearly doubled, the figures being—in 1866, 1,056,659; in 1868, 2,012,631. Mr. Martin, in his "Statesman's Year Book," puts the increase in borough constituences at 137 per cent., and in the counties, 46 per cent. It was said by Mr. Lowe at Grantham in 1879, "Lord Beaconsfield in 1867, after having opposed the lowering of the franchise, ended by outbidding by an enormous amount the Liberals themselves."

The "Ten Minutes' Bill" and the "Tea-room Party."—Both these phrases were current in 1867, when the Derby-Disraeli Cabinet were attempting to settle the question of Reform. The first proposals of the Ministry were said by one of its members (Sir J. Pakington) to have been decided on in the last ten minutes of a Cabinet Council; which gave rise to the first-named expression concerning a measure which was afterwards withdrawn for one more comprehensive. A few weeks later, a section comprising about 40 or 50 members of the Liberal party, who dissented from the tactics of their leader (Mr. Gladstone) with respect to the Government Bill, assembled in the tea-room of the House of Commons, and decided upon recommending him to modify them. As these members kept united action during the discussion of the measure, they were commonly spoken of as the "Tea-room Party." Their influence lent important aid to the Government in the passage of the Bill, and the renewed settlement of a question which for many years had agitated the House and the country.

Lords' Protests in Recent Legislation.—It appears from Professor Rogers' "Collection of the Protests of the Lords" that the Reform Bill of 1832 was protested against by 77 peers, the document being drawn up by the Duke of Wellington. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 evoked a protest which was signed by 89 peers. The abrogation of the Navigation Laws in 1849 was protested against by 44. The Irish Church Bill of 1869 called forth a protest from 60 peers, of whom only four belonged to the bench of bishops. The Irish Land Act of 1870 was protested against by 16.

Changes in the Peerage.—As an illustration of the constant

change which is going on in the composition of the Upper House, the following statement appeared in 1875: "Of 217 peerages created since the 1st of January, 1830, only 133 yet remain upon the rolls. The number of peers in 1830 was 393; the continual additions by successive Prime Ministers have raised it to 480. Of the peerages created in the Plantagenet reigns only 14 survive; of the Tudor reigns, 11; of the Stuart reigns, 46; of George I. and II., 26; of George III., 131; of George IV., 43; of William IV., 41; and of Queen Victoria, 89. When it is borne in mind that more than 400 peerages were created in the reign of George III., and that the honour can be extinguished only by death, and not by resignation, the fact that so few as 130 now remain is a remarkable one."

Peerage in Abeyance.—A correspondent of the *Times* wrote in 1879: "The recent re-appearance of the ancient barony of Braye on the roll of peers affords a curious illustration of the vitality of a barony by writ of summons. Although the title dates from 1529, the Hon. Alfred Thomas Townshend Wyatt-Edgell, who has recently inherited it, is only the third Lord Braye. The title has, however, been twice held in the female line—namely, by the grandmother and mother of the present peer, the latter of whom is recently deceased. The title fell into abeyance in 1557, and so remained for a period of nearly 300 years. The title having only been enjoyed in the male line for 28 years, and in the female line for 22 years, we have the curious fact that in the 350 years which have elapsed since its creation the title has only appeared upon the roll for 50 years."

Hereditary Representatives.—It was remarked in *Notes and Queries* that nearly 230 years had passed since the election of the Long Parliament, and yet many of the names reappeared in the Reformed Parliament of Queen Victoria, as representatives of towns in the same districts, and, in some cases, of precisely the same places. Thus, an Ashton (Assheton) then, as now, represented Clithero; a Corbett, Shropshire; a Knightley, Northampton; a Lloyd, Cardigan; a Montagu, Huntingdonshire; a Morgan, Brecknockshire; a Newport, Shropshire; a Noel, Rutlandshire; a Parker, Suffolk; a Russell, Tavistock; and a Whitmore, Bridgenorth. The same periodical gave a list of fifty members in 1869 who were, so far as could be ascertained, the direct lineal descendants of persons who sat in the Long Parliament in 1640.

Long Retention of Seats in Parliament.—The following facts were pointed out by a writer to the *Times*:—The late Colonel H. C. Lowther sat in Parliament from 1812 to 1867. He must have known Colonel James Lowther, who sat from 1775 to 1818. These two must, therefore, have had between them a parliamentary experience of 92 years, uninterrupted by a break. Colonel H. C. Lowther must also have known the first Earl of Lonsdale, whose parliamentary career commenced in 1757. The Earl must have known Sir James Lowther, of Whitehaven, to whose wealth he succeeded, and whose parliamentary experiences extended from 1692 to 1754. Thus the parliamentary experiences of three lives went almost uninterruptedly back from 1867 to 1692.

Changes in the Composition of the House of Commons.—A remarkable example of the gradual changes in the representation produced, during one term of Parliament, by death or removal, was afforded by the House of Commons which was elected in February, 1874. In five years from that time, no less than 128 new members—nearly one-fifth of the entire body—had taken their seats in response to the Speaker's writs for new elections to fill up vacancies. Another year elapsed before the dissolution of this Parliament, when the total number of such changes amounted to over 140.

Proportion of New Members in Recent Parliaments.—The general election of April, 1880, resulted in the return to the House of Commons of an unusual proportion of new members. The total number was 236, of whom 201 had never before sat in Parliament. So large an amount of change had not taken place since the period of the Reform Act of 1832. Mr. Dod gives the following figures as showing the return of new members to each Parliament since the passing of that Act: In December, 1832, at the general election, 280 persons; in January, 1835, at the general election, 184 persons; in August, 1837, at the general election, 121 persons; in July, 1841, at the general election, 183 persons; in July, 1847, at the general election, 213 persons; in July, 1852, at the general election, 201 persons; in April, 1859, at the general election, 131 persons; in August, 1865, at the general election, 196 persons; in December, 1868, at the general election, 227 persons; in February, 1874, at the general election, 221 persons; and in April, 1880, at the general election, 236 persons.

PART II.

PERSONAL ANECDOTES.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

(1480—1535.)

The King Thwarted by a "Beardless Boy."—More was returned to the House of Commons in 1504, and he is recorded as the first member of that assembly who gained celebrity by public speaking, and who, as a successful leader of opposition, incurred the enmity of the Court. Henry VII. was entitled (says Lord Campbell) according to the strictest feudal law to a grant on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV. of Scotland; but he thought it a favourable opportunity for gratifying his avarice, and he required a much greater sum than he intended to bestow on the Scottish queen. When the consent of the Lower House was demanded, Sir Thomas, making a grave speech, pronounced such urgent arguments why these exactions were not to be granted, that thereupon all the King's demands were crossed, and his request denied; so that Mr. Tyler, one of the King's Privy Chamber, went presently from the House and told his Majesty that a beardless boy had disappointed him of his expectations. More, however, was twenty-four years of age when he made this effective speech.

Wolsey's Attempt to Overawe the Commons.—Roper has the following in his "Life of More:" At Parliament (1523) Cardinal Wolsey found himself much aggrieved with the burgesses thereof, for that nothing was so soon done or spoken therein, but that it was immediately blown abroad in every alehouse. It fortuned at that Parliament a very great subsidy to be demanded, which the Cardinal fearing would not pass the Commons' House, he determined, for the furtherance thereof, to be there present himself. Before his coming, after long debating there, whether it was better but with a few of his lords, as the most opinion of the House was, or with his whole train royally to receive him,—"Masters," quoth Sir Thomas More (the Speaker), "forasmuch as my lord Cardinal lately, ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this House, it shall not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his hat, and great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us hereafter, we may be the bolder from ourselves to lay the blame on those whom his

grace bringeth here with him." Whereunto the House wholly agreeing, he was received accordingly. After he had, by a solemn oration, by many reasons proved how necessary it was the demand then moved to be granted, and further showed that less would not serve to maintain the prince's purpose, he, seeing the company sitting still silent, and thereunto nothing answering, and, contrary to his expectation, showing in themselves to his request no towardness of inclination, said to them, "Masters, you have many wise and learned men amongst you, and sith I am from the King's own person (Henry VIII.) sent hitherto unto you, to the preservation of yourselves and of all the realm, I think it meet you give me some reasonable answer." Whereat every man holding his peace, then began Wolsey to speak to one Master Marney, afterwards Lord Marney. "How say you," quoth he, "Master Marney?" who making him no answer neither, he severally asked the same question of divers others, accounted the wisest of the company; to whom, when none of them all would give so much as one word—being agreed before, as the custom was, to give answer by their Speaker—"Masters," quoth the Cardinal, "unless it be the manner of your House, as of likelihood it is, by the mouth of your Speaker, whom you have chosen for trusty and wise (as indeed he is), in such cases to utter your minds, here is, without doubt, a marvellously obstinate silence." And thereupon he required answer of Mr. Speaker; who first reverently, on his knees, excused the silence of the House, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage, able to amaze the wisest and best learned in a realm, and then, by many probable arguments, proved that for them to make answer was neither expedient nor agreeable with the ancient liberty of the House; in conclusion for himself showed that though they had all with their voices trusted him, yet except every one of them could put into his own head their several wits, he alone in so weighty a matter was unmeet to make his grace answer. Whereupon the Cardinal, displeased with Sir Thomas More, that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed.

Of One Mind.—When the short session of Parliament (just referred to) was closed, Wolsey, in his gallery of Whitehall, said to More, "I wish to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you Speaker." "Your grace not offended, so would I too, my lord," replied Sir Thomas, "for then should I have seen the place I long have desired to visit." More turned the conversation by saying that he liked this gallery better than the Cardinal's at Hampton Court. But the Cardinal secretly brooded over his revenge.—*Mackintosh's "Life of More."*

LORD BACON.

(1561—1626.)

Depopulation.—Bacon was returned to the Parliament that met in 1597, when he introduced two bills against "enclosures and the depopulation of towns." In his speech introducing his bills he said, "I should be sorry to see within this kingdom that piece of Ovid's verse prove true—*Jam seges ubi Troja fuit:* In England nought but green fields, a shepherd, and a dog."—*Parliamentary History.*

A Repentant Patriot.—Bacon (says Macaulay) tried to play a very difficult game in politics. "He wished to be at once a favourite at court and popular with the multitude. Once, however, he indulged in a burst of patriotism which cost him a long and bitter remorse, and which he never ventured to repeat. The Court asked for large subsidies and for speedy payment. The remains of Bacon's speech breathe all the spirit of the Long Parliament. 'The gentlemen,' said he, 'must sell their plate, and the farmers their brass pots, ere this will be paid; and for us, we are here to search the wounds of the realm, and not to skin them over. The dangers are these. First, we shall breed discontent, and endanger her Majesty's safety, which must consist more in the love of the people than their wealth. Secondly, this being granted in this sort, other princes hereafter will look for the like; so that we shall put an evil precedent on ourselves and our posterity; and in histories, it is to be observed, of all nations the English are not to be subject, base, or taxable.' The Queen and her ministers resented this outbreak of public spirit in the highest manner. Indeed, many an honest member of the House of Commons had, for a much smaller matter, been sent to the Tower by the proud and hot-blooded Tudors. The young patriot endeavoured to make the most abject apologies, and never offended in the same manner again."

Exemplary Oratory. — Ben Jonson writes of Bacon, in his "Discoveries made upon Men and Matter":—"There happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, when he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was *lest he should make an end.*"

SIR EDWARD COKE.

(1549—1634.)

Compliments from the Chair.—Coke, having been elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1593, was presented at the bar of the House of Lords, when he disqualified himself to Queen Elizabeth, saying, "As in the heavens a star is but *opacum corpus* until it have received light from the sun, so stand I *corpus opacum*—a mute body—until your Highness's bright shining wisdom hath looked upon me and allumed me. How unable I am to do this office my present speech doth tell." In his speech at the close of the session he compared Elizabeth to the queen-bee, *sine aculeo.*—*Parliamentary History.*

Reciting a Collect in the House.—Hatsell mentions that after the House had passed the resolution of adjournment from the 4th of June to the 14th of November, 1621, Sir Edward Coke, then upwards of seventy years of age, standing up, with tears in his eyes, recited the Collect for

the King (James I.) and his children, and desired the House to say after him, adding only to it, "and defend them from their cruel enemies."

Parliament and "the King's Word."—On the 1st of May, 1628 (4th Charles I.), Secretary Cooke delivered a message, asking whether they would rely on the *King's word*. This question was followed by a long silence. Several speeches are reported in the letters of the times. Sir Nathaniel Rich observed that, "confident as he was of the royal word, what did any indefinite word ascertain?" Pym said, "We have his Majesty's coronation oath to maintain the laws of England; what need we, then, take his word?" He proposed to move, "Whether we should take the King's word or no." This was resisted by Secretary Cooke: "What would they say in foreign parts, if the people of England would not trust their King?" He desired the House to call Pym to order; on which Pym replied, "Truly, Mr. Speaker, I am just of the same opinion I was—viz., that the King's oath was as powerful as his word." Sir John Eliot moved that it be put to the question, "because they that would have it do urge us to that point." Sir Edward Coke on this occasion (May 6) made a memorable speech. "We sit now in Parliament, and therefore must take his Majesty's word no otherwise than in a parliamentary way; that is, of a matter agreed on by both Houses—his Majesty sitting on his throne in his robes, with his crown on his head and sceptre in his hand, and in full Parliament; and his royal assent being entered upon record, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*. This was the royal word of a King in Parliament, and not a word delivered in a chamber, and out of the mouth of a secretary, at the second hand. Therefore I motion that the House of Commons, *more majorum*, should draw a petition *de droict* to his Majesty; which, being confirmed by both Houses and assented unto by his Majesty, will be as firm an act as any. Not that I distrust the King, but that I cannot take his trust but in a parliamentary way." In this speech of Sir Edward Coke we find the first mention, in the legal style, of the ever-memorable "Petition of Right," which two days after was finished.—*Isaac D'Israeli.*

"Magna Charta will have no Sovereign."—The addition which the Lords proposed to be made to the Petition of Right (May 17, 1628) contained the words, "with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people." On this Sir Edward Coke (according to Rushworth) spoke as follows: "This is *magnum in parvo*. This is propounded to be a conclusion of our petition. It is a matter of great weight, and, to speak plainly, it will overthrow all our petition. It trenches to all parts of it; it flies at loans, and at the oath, and at imprisonment, and billeting of soldiers: this turns all about again. Look into all the petitions of former times, they never petitioned wherein there was a saving of the King's sovereignty. I know that prerogative is part of the law, but sovereign power is no parliamentary word. In my opinion it weakens Magna Charta and all our statutes, for they are absolute without any saving of sovereign power: and shall we now add it? We shall weaken the foundation of law, and then the building must needs fall. Take we

heed what we yield unto. Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign."

SIR JOHN ELIOT.

(1590—1632.)

A Parliamentary Martyr.—Sir John Eliot was foremost of the champions of popular liberty in the Parliament which met in March, 1628 (the third under Charles I.), and which drew up the Petition of Right. He had been conspicuous in the previous Parliament for his persistence and ability in opposing the high-handed measures of the King and his favourite adviser, the Duke of Buckingham, and in 1626 was committed to the Tower for an attack upon the Duke; but the warm resentment of the House of Commons at this infringement of its liberties (p. 21) compelled the King to release him, after an imprisonment of eight days. After the last sitting of the Parliament in 1629, Sir John Eliot was summoned to the Council, accused of uttering certain words in the Lower House, committed, and his papers seized. The attorney-general laid an information against him in the King's Bench, to which he pleaded, denying jurisdiction, but he was sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and, "as the greatest offender and ringleader in Parliament," to pay a fine of 2000*l.* Being shut up in the Tower, his health gradually declined, and he died there on the 27th of November, 1632, permission to remove his body to the family seat in Cornwall being denied to his relatives. When Parliament next assembled after a long interval, the recollection of what Eliot had suffered was fresh in the minds of Pym and many of his associates, and doubtless helped to render the Commons implacable against Strafford and others.

A Desperate Case.—On the 3rd of June, 1628, the King having sent an answer to the Petition of Right which was not deemed satisfactory, Sir John Eliot got up, and in a long speech entered upon the public grievances, and what he called the "desperate case" of the nation. He commenced by saying, "We sit here as the great council of the King, and in that capacity it is our duty to take into consideration the state and affairs of the kingdom." He then went into a review of the mismanagement of the national affairs both at home and abroad, and brought his speech to a conclusion with the following passage:* "For the next, the ignorance and corruption of our Ministers, where can you miss of instances? If you survey the court, if you survey the country, if the church, if the city be examined, if you observe the bar, if the bench, if the courts, if the shipping, if the land, if the seas—all these will render you variety of proofs, and in such measure and proportion as shows the greatness of our sickness, that if it have not some speedy remedy our case is most desperate. Mr. Speaker, I fear I have been too long in these particulars that are past, and am unwilling to offend you, therefore in the rest I shall be shorter, and in that which concerns the impoverishing of the King no other arguments will I use than such as all men grant. The Exchequer you

* The report is taken from the volume edited by Thomas Fuller (1657), previously quoted on p. 22.

know is empty, the reputation thereof gone, the ancient lands are sold, the jewels pawned, the plate engaged, the debt still great; almost all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, borne by projects. What poverty can be greater, what necessity so great? What perfect English heart is not almost dissolved into sorrow for the truth? For the oppression of the subject, which as I remember is the next particular I proposed, it needs no demonstration, the whole kingdom is a proof; and for the exhausting of our treasures, that oppression speaks it. What waste of our provisions, what consumption of our ships, what destruction of our men have been! Witness that journey to Argiers—witness that with Mansfield—witness that to Cadiz—witness the next—witness that to Rhé—witness the last (I pray God we may never have more such witnesses)! Witness likewise the Palatinate—witness Denmark—witness the Turks—witness the Dunkirkers—witness all, what losses we have sustained, how we are impaired in munition, in ships, in men. It hath no contradiction we were never so much weakened, nor had less hope how to be restored. These, Mr. Speaker, are our dangers, these are they do threaten us, and are like that Trojan horse, brought in cunningly to surprise us. In these do lurk the strongest of our enemies ready to issue on us, and, if we do not now the more speedily expel them, these are the sign, the invitation to others. These will prepare their entrance that we shall have no means left of refuge or defence; for if we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with those that are abroad? If we be free from these, no other can impeach us. Our ancient English virtue, that old Spartan valour, cleared from these disorders; being in sincerity of religion once made friends with Heaven; having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulency in the King, liberty in the people, repletion in treasures, restitution of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men,—our ancient English virtue thus rectified, I say, will secure us; and, unless there be a speedy reformation in these, I know not what hopes or expectations we may have. These things, Sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration—that, as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers, we may truly represent them unto the King; wherein I conceive we are bound by a treble obligation, of duty unto God, of duty to his Majesty, and of duty to our country."

Eliot's Last Appearance.—The last scene in this patriot's history, before the Tower gates were closed upon him, was in every way a memorable one. He was aware that the King, who had already ordered an adjournment of the Parliament, was about to dissolve it, finding it determined not to grant money without the redress of grievances. On the day fixed for the temporary reassembling of the Houses, the 2nd of March, 1629, Eliot rose in his place immediately after prayers, to propose an emphatic resolution which he had prepared against tonnage and poundage. The Speaker (Sir John Finch, a tool of the court party) endeavoured to check him, saying it was the King's order that they were to adjourn; but the House insisted upon its right to adjourn itself, and declared it would hear Eliot. "These men," said he—alluding to

Buckingham and other evil advisers of Charles—"these men go about to break Parliaments lest Parliaments should break them." And he brought his speech to a conclusion by saying, "I protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honourable assembly, *where I now leave I will begin again.*" He then offered his resolution to the Speaker, who positively refused to read it, and was about to quit the chair, when he was thrust back by Denzil Hollis and others, and Hollis read the resolution, which was carried by acclamation. The doors, having been previously locked, were now thrown open, and the members, hurrying forth, found a King's guard had just been sent to clear the house by force. Sir Simonds D'Ewes notes this as "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that had happened for five hundred years."

JOHN PYM.

(1584—1643.)

A Pithy Speech.—On the 4th of April, 1628, the House received a message from the King asking for supplies, and concluding, "The more confidence you shall show in his grace and goodness, the more you shall prevail to obtain your own desires." Upon this occasion (says Rushworth) Mr. Pym spake thus: "In business of weight dispatch is better than discourse. We came not hither without all motives that can be towards his Majesty, had he never sent in this message. We know the danger of our enemies; we must give expedition to expedition: let us forbear particulars. A man in a journey is hindered by asking too many questions. I do believe our peril is as great as may be; every man complains of it, that doth encourage the enemy; our way is to take that that took away our estates, that is, the enemy. To give speedily is that that the King calls for. A word spoken in season is like an apple of silver, and actions are more precious than words. Let us hasten our resolutions to supply his Majesty." After some debate the House unanimously resolved that five subsidies be given to the King.

A Sophistical Defence.—The following anecdote of Pym is related in Lord North's "Narrative":—"The House had newly received a message from his Majesty (Charles I.), which was so far from being satisfactory as many persons spoke against it with much vehemence, and among the rest Sir Henry Ludlow, who very resolutely used these terms, 'He who sent this message is not fit to be King of England.' Upon saying this, he was immediately interrupted, and the words that were spoken agreed upon preparatory to a charge; but before his withdrawing in order to a censure, Mr. Pym arose and said, 'That those words contained nothing of dishonour to the King;' which being found very strange he thus cleared his meaning: 'If these words be such as a fair conclusion is naturally deducible from them, then they cannot be evil in themselves. Now, that a fair conclusion naturally ariseth from them may be proved by syllogism. He who sent this message is not worthy to be King of England; but King Charles is worthy to be King of England; therefore, King Charles sent not this message. Now,' saith Mr. Pym, 'I leave it to judgment whether or no this syllogism comprise anything

in it worthy of censure.' This argument was so ingenious as Sir Henry Ludlow (with his ill meaning) came freely off without punishment."

A Reprimand delivered to the Lords.—In the "Short Parliament" of April, 1640, the House of Lords passed resolutions to the effect that supply ought to have precedence of grievances (a point which the King was strenuously insisting upon), and that the Commons should be invited to a conference on the subject. Pym represented these resolutions to the House of Commons as a gross breach of its privileges, and was deputed by the House to go up to the Lords with a protest against it. He then made to the Upper Chamber the following outspoken declaration ("Parliamentary History"): "Your lordships have meddled with, and advised concerning, both matter of supply and the time when the same should be made, and this before such time as the same was moved to your lordships by the Commons. As a course for the repair of this breach of privilege, the Commons beg to suggest that your lordships would, in your wisdoms, find out yourselves some sort of reparation, and of prevention of the like infringement for the future. And the Commons humbly desire, through me, to represent to your lordships that, in case your lordships have taken notice of any orders or proceedings of the Commons concerning religion, property, and privileges, and that they were to proceed to the supply—which they have some cause to conceive by these words, 'That this being done, your lordships would freely join with the Commons in those three things,'—for the avoiding all misunderstandings between your lordships and the Commons for time to come, they desire your lordships hereafter to take no notice of anything which shall be debated by the Commons until they shall themselves declare the same unto your lordships, which the Commons shall always observe towards your lordships' proceedings, conceiving the contrary not to consist with the privileges of the House." The Commons passed a vote of thanks to Pym for the good service he did them on this occasion. The firmness of the House led to its dissolution a few days afterwards, greatly to the indignation of the country.

Defence of Parliamentary Privilege.—In the course of an elaborate speech in the short-lived Parliament of 1640, Pym thus defended the privileges of the Commons: "The privileges of Parliament were not given for the ornament or advantage of those who are the members of Parliament. They have a real use and efficacy towards that which is the end of Parliaments. We are free from suits that we may the more entirely addict ourselves to the public services; we have liberty of speech that our counsels may not be corrupted with fear, or our judgments perverted with self respects. Those three great faculties and functions of Parliament, the legislative, judiciary, and consiliary power, cannot be well exercised without such privileges as these. The wisdom of our laws, the faithfulness of our counsels, the righteousness of our judgments, can hardly be kept pure and untainted if they proceed from distracted and restrained minds. These powers of Parliament are to the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul to a man: that which keeps all the parts of the Commonwealth in frame and temper ought to be most

carefully preserved in that freedom, vigour, and activity which belongs to itself."

Extorting an Apology.—Pym met the question of the supply necessary for the forces to be sent into Ireland (Nov. 5th, 1641) by reviving the question of the King's evil counsellors. "His Majesty must be told," said the member for Tavistock, "that Parliament here finds evil counsels to have been the cause of all their troubles in Ireland, and that, unless the Sovereign will be pleased to free himself from such, and take only counsellors whom the kingdom can confide in, Parliament will hold itself absolved from giving assistance in the matter." On this up sprang the member for St. Ives, Mr. Edmund Waller, cousin to Hampden and to Cromwell, yet one of Hyde's most eager recruits, nor more despised for his abject, veering, vacillating spirit than he was popular for his wit, vivacity, and genius. These he had now placed entirely at the King's disposal. "He begged the House to observe what Mr. Pym had just said, and to remember what formerly had been said by the Earl of Strafford. Where in effect was the difference between such counsel to a king, as that he was absolved from all laws of government, on Parliament refusing his unjust demands, and such advice to a Parliament as that it should hold itself absolved from assisting the State, on the King's non-compliance with demands perhaps not more just?" The too ingenious speaker was not permitted to say more. Pym rose immediately and spoke to order. "If the advice he had given were indeed of the same nature as Lord Strafford's, then he deserved the like punishment; and he craved, therefore, the justice of the House, either to be submitted to its censure, or that the gentleman who spoke last be compelled to make reparation." Many and loud were the cries for Waller which followed this grave and dignified rebuke; but a strong party supported him in his refusal to give other than such modified explanation as he at first tendered, and it was not until after long debate he was ordered into the committee chamber, and had to make submission in the required terms. It was near five o'clock on that November evening when Mr. Waller "publicly asked pardon of the House and Mr. Pym."—*Forster's "Remonstrance."*

A Vindication of Law.—Pym's speech on the last day of Strafford's impeachment (April 13, 1641) was printed by order of the House of Commons, and appears in the contemporary volume, "Speeches and Passages of this Great and Happy Parliament," as well as in Rushworth's later "Collections." It has been greatly admired by men of all parties. Although occupying (according to one who was present) only half an hour in delivery, and so far extempore that it was spoken immediately after Strafford's defence, and took up many points of his argument, yet it is stately in tone and pregnant with logical force throughout. His vindication of law, which he accused Strafford of endeavouring to override by tyrannical authority, was one of the most striking passages. The Earl of Strafford's offence, said he, "is an offence comprehending all other offences; here you shall find several treasons, murthers, rapines, oppressions, perjuries. The earth hath a seminary virtue, whereby it doth

produce all herbs and plants, and other vegetables: there is in this crime a seminary of all evils hurtful to a state; and, if you consider the reasons of it, it must needs be so. The law is that which puts difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion, every man will become a law to himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law; covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce may easily be discerned in the late government of Ireland. The law hath a power to prevent, to restrain, to repair evils; without this, all kinds of mischiefs and distempers will break in upon a State. It is the law that doth entitle the King to the allegiance and service of his people; it entitles the people to the protection and justice of the King. It is God alone who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the King subsisted by the field that is tilled. It is the labour of the people that supports the Crown; if you take away the protection of the King, the vigour and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain. The law is the boundary, the measure betwixt the King's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whiles these move in their own orb, they are a support and security to one another; the prerogative a cover and defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty are enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must needs ensue: if the prerogative of the King overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy. The law is the safeguard, the custody of all private interest. Your honours, your lives, your liberties and estates are all in the keeping of the law; without this every man hath a like right to anything."

Attempt to Communicate the Plague to Pym.—Pym was sitting (writes Forster) in his usual place on the right hand, beyond the members' gallery, near the bar, on the 25th of October, 1641, when, in the midst of debate on a proposition he had submitted for allowance of "powder and bullet" to the City Guard, a letter was brought to him. The sergeant of the House had received it from a messenger at the door, to whom a gentleman on horseback in a grey coat had given it that morning, on Fish Street Hill—with a gift of a shilling, and injunction to deliver it with great care and speed. As Pym opened the letter, something dropped out of it on the floor; but without giving heed to this he read to himself a few words, and then, holding up the paper, called it a scandalous libel. Hereupon it was carried up to the lately-appointed clerk's assistant, Mr. John Rushworth, who, in his unmoved way, read aloud its abuse of the great leader of the House, and its asseveration that if he should escape the present attempt, the writer had a dagger prepared for him. At this point, however, young Mr. Rushworth would seem to have lost his coolness, for he read the next few lines in an agitated way. They explained what had dropped from the letter. It was a rag that had

come from a plague wound, sent in the hope that infection might by such means be borne to him who opened it. Whereupon Rushworth, having read so far, threw down the letter into the house, and so it was spurned away out of the door.

JOHN HAMPDEN.

(1594—1643.)

His Dexterity and Influence.—Hampden (writes Clarendon) "was not a man of many words, and rarely began the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the House was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining anything in the negative which might prove inconvenient in the future. . . When this (the Long) Parliament began, the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time."

Allaying a Storm.—It was Hampden who moved (November 22, 1641) that the Great Remonstrance, which had just been passed by a majority of eleven only, should be printed; it being intended by its promoters to serve, among other purposes, as a declaration from the House of Commons to the people. The proposal roused the opposite party to the utmost, and Hyde and other of its members endeavoured to enter a formal protest against the printing. "We had catched at each other's locks," wrote Sir Philip Warwick, "and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate until the next morning."

Marks of a Bad Subject.—The only recorded speech of Hampden's is one purporting to have been delivered in the House on the morning after the King had sent to impeach the five members, and shortly before he himself appeared to arrest them. It was issued as a small pamphlet at the time, but has had doubt thrown upon its authenticity, some portions appearing too deferential to the Crown to be consistent with Hampden's general course. It must be remarked, however, that until the final rupture between Charles and the Parliament, expressions of loyalty, even when accompanied by protest against particular measures, were constant, and often profuse, in the speeches delivered in the House. Hampden's speech consists, in the main, of a comparison between the marks of a good subject and a bad one, closing with a vindication of the speaker's own actions as judged by the tests proposed. The following passage is a specimen of the rest: "I come now to the second means to know the difference between a good subject

and a bad,—by their obedience to the laws, statutes, and ordinances made by the King, with the whole consent of his Parliament. And in this I observe a twofold subjection: in the particular members thereof dissenting from the general votes of the whole Parliament; and, secondly, the whole state of the kingdom to a full Parliament. First, I confess, if any particular member of a Parliament, although his judgment and vote be contrary, do not willingly submit to the rest, he is an ill subject to the king and country. Secondly, to resist the ordinances of the whole state of the kingdom, either by stirring up a dislike in the hearts of his Majesty's subjects of the proceedings of Parliament; to endeavour, by levying of arms, to compel the King and Parliament to make such laws as seem best to them; to deny the power, authority, and privileges of Parliament; to cast aspersions upon the same and its proceedings, thereby inducing the King to think ill of the same, and to be incensed against the same; to procure the untimely dissolution and breaking off of the Parliament before all things be settled by the same, for the safety and tranquillity both of the King and State—is an apparent sign of a traitorous and disloyal subject against his king and country."

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

(1593—1641.)

A Gift for a King.—Strafford in the earlier part of his career (while Sir Thomas Wentworth) was identified with the patriotic party, and, like others, was imprisoned for resisting the infliction of enforced loans without the authority of Parliament. His speeches during the session of 1628 made him among the most noticeable of the patriots, and he was especially prominent in advocacy of the principle that "grievances and supply should go hand in hand together;" but the Court had reason to suspect that he was quite capable of being bought over. Towards the close of the session he thus addressed the House: "Our persons have been injured both by imprisonment without law—nay, against law, boundless and without bank—and by being designed to some office, charge, and employment, foreign or domestic, as a brand of infamy and mark of disgrace. Oh! Mr. Speaker, when it may not be safe to deny payments upon unjust exactions, but we must go to prison for it; nor in this place to speak our consciences, but we must be stamped to unwilling and unfitting employments! Our estates have been racked two ways; one in the loan, wherein five subsidies were exacted, and that by commission of men of quality, and instructions to prosecute the same with an asperity which no times can parallel. And hence the other consideration, of the projectors and executioners of it. Nay, this was not all, but ministers in their pulpits have preached it as gospel, and damned the refusers of it—so, then, we are already doomed to damnation!" He went on to urge a committee on grievances, and said, "Let no man judge this way a break-neck of Parliaments, but a way of honour to the King, nay, of profit; for, besides the supply which we shall readily give him, suitable to his occasions, we give him our hearts. Our hearts, Mr. Speaker!—a gift that God calls for, and fit for a King."

A Promise Fulfilled.—A few weeks after the prorogation of 1628, Wentworth was made a peer; and it is said that on the eve of his elevation an accidental meeting took place between himself and Pym, when the latter remarked, "You are going to leave us, but I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders." They did not meet again until the great occasion in Westminster Hall, when Pym set forth the Earl's impeachment on behalf of the Commons of England. At one critical point, in Pym's final address, where he was replying to Strafford's defence, "If the law hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these," the speaker turned and met the haggard look of his old comrade, who had been intently regarding him; and for the moment Pym is said to have been deprived of his self-possession. "His papers he looked on," says one present, "but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behooved to pass them." Strafford had anticipated in his defence the feeling he must have experienced at the moment, saying, "That I am charged with treason by the honourable Commons is my greatest grief. It pierces my heart, though not with guilt, yet with sorrow, that in my grey hairs I should be so misunderstood by the companions of my youth, with whom I have formerly spent so much time."

Strafford's Defence.—The most conclusive proof of Strafford's personal ability that has come down to us is perhaps to be seen in his defence delivered against the impeachment. There is every reason to believe in the strict accuracy of the report, which may be found in Whitelocke's "Memorials," &c., and his last address, upon the scaffold, was printed *in extenso* from the shorthand notes of Rushworth. Throughout the impeachment, Strafford's demeanour, like his language, was becoming to the gravity of the occasion. He combated carefully the charge of "constructive treason," arguing, "When one thousand misdemeanors will not make one felony, shall twenty-eight misdemeanors heighten it to a treason?" and he brought his defence to a close as follows:—"My lords, it is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law,—to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact,—is extreme hard; what man can be safe if this be admitted? My lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who owneth the anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now, where is the mark, where the token, upon this crime, to declare it to be high treason? My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of laws: if there must be a trial of wits, let the subject matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers. It will be wisdom for

yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, that telleth us what is and what is not treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself. Let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destruction, by raking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls so many ages forgotten or neglected. May your lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes—let not a precedent be derived from me so disadvantageous as this will be in its consequences to the whole kingdom. Do not, through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth; and howsoever these gentlemen say they speak for the commonwealth, yet in this particular I, indeed, speak for it, and show the inconveniences and mischiefs that will fall upon it. For, as it is said in the statute 1 Henry IV., no man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties. Do not put, my lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public. If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste; no man will meddle with them who hath anything to lose. My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me. (Strafford was here overcome for a few moments, but resumed:) What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity: something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass." He concluded with a few words expressing his confidence in the support of the Almighty, and submitting himself to the judgment of the tribunal before which he had pleaded.

The poet's allusion to Strafford, in "St. Stephen's," may be recalled to the memory here:—

> "Still, of that voice which awed its age, one tone
> Comes, sad as flutes funereal, to our own;
> When, at the last, the grand offender pleads,
> Tears drown our justice and efface his deeds;
> And when poor Stuart, with his feeble 'Nay,'
> Signs the great life which shields his own away,
> Freedom, that needs the victim, rights his shade,
> And turns her axe towards him who has betray'd."

LORD FALKLAND.

(1610—1643.)

A Forcible First Speech.—In the collection of "Speeches and Passages of this Great and Happy Parliament" (1641) Lord Falkland's first speech is recorded. It is characterised by the quaintness as well as the pithiness which marked most of the public oratory of the

time. "I rejoice," it commences, "very much to see this day; and the want hath not lain in my affections, but my lungs, if to all that hath been past I have not been as loud with my voice as any man's in this house." The speaker then alludes to the recent impeachment of Strafford, and the necessity of taking proceedings also against certain of the judges, adding, "I hope it will be believed that only public interest could have extorted this from me, and that which I would not say if I conceived it not so true and so necessary, that no undigested meat can lie heavier upon the stomach than this unsaid would have lain upon my conscience." After remarking that the persons who should have been as dogs to defend the sheep had been as wolves to worry them, he proceeds to specifically charge the judges with sundry crimes, among them the following: "When they had allowed to the King the sole power in necessity, the sole judgment of necessity, and by that enabled him to take both from us what he would, when he would, and how he would, they yet continued to persuade us that they had left us our liberties and properties. The last is, which I confess moved most, that by the transformation of us from the state of free subjects—(a good phrase, Mr. Speaker)—unto that of villains, they disable us by legal and voluntary supplies to express our affections to his Majesty, and by that to cherish his to us—that is, by Parliaments. . . We only accuse, and the House of Lords condemn; in which condemnation they usually receive advice (though not direction) from the judges. And I leave it to every man to imagine how prejudicial to us—that is, to the Commonwealth—and how partial to their fellow malefactors, the advice of such judges is like to be." The speaker concludes by plain references to the Lord Keeper (Finch) as the worst of these "malefactors," and by moving for a select committee to investigate the matter, closing with the suggestion, "if he (Finch) shall be found to have gone before the rest to this judgment, and to have gone beyond the rest in this judgment, in the punishment for it the justice of this House may not deny him the due honour both to precede and exceed the rest."

A Marked Protest.—There was once in the House of Commons such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, that it was moved that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat to him; the which when very many did, the Lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment), instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head.—*Clarendon's History.*

His Saying about Bishops.—When Sir Edward Dering's bill "for the extirpation of episcopacy" was under discussion in committee, in 1641, as the proceedings were protracted from day to day, the House began to lose interest in the matter, and the attendance of members consequently fell off; "they only who prosecuted the bill with impatience remaining in the house," says Clarendon, "and the others who abhorred it, growing weary of so tiresome an attendance, left the house at dinner

time, and afterwards followed their pleasures; so that the Lord Falkland was wont to say that 'they who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and that they who loved them did not love them so well as their dinner.'"

Idle Bishops.—In his own speech on episcopacy, Falkland, while careful to discriminate between "some bishops and their adherents" and others of the order, denounces the idle ones in a very homely illustration. "Master Speaker, we shall find them to have been like the hen in Æsop, which laying every day an egg upon such a proportion of barley, her mistress increasing the proportion in hope she would increase her eggs, she grew so fat upon that addition that she never laid more; so, though at first their preaching were the occasion of their preferment, they after made their preferment the occasion of their not preaching. Master Speaker," he continues, "we shall find them to have resembled another fable, the dog in the manger; to have neither preached themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would." This speech (given in "Speeches and Passages," &c., 1641) abounds in well chosen simile and illustration, of which the following is another sample: "We shall make no little apology for those to whom these charges belong if we shall lay the faults of the men upon the order of the bishops, upon the episcopacy. I wish we may distinguish between those who have been carried away with the stream, and those who have been the stream that carried them; between those whose proper and natural motion was towards our ruin and destruction, and those who have been whirled about to it, contrary to their natural motion, by the force and swing of superior orbs; and as I wish we may distinguish between the more and less guilty, so I yet more wish we may distinguish between the guilty and the innocent."

HARRY MARTEN.

(1602—1681.)

An Avowed Republican.—Marten, a man of fortune and credit in his country, as Clarendon relates, was returned for Berkshire to the Parliaments of April and November, 1640. He was a Republican in opinion, and startled Clarendon on one occasion (while the latter was still Mr. Hyde, and they were on familiar terms) by saying, "I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all." This, says Clarendon, was "the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose, and would without doubt, if it had been then communicated or attempted, been the most abhorred by the whole nation of any design that could be mentioned." In 1643 Marten was expelled the House and committed to the Tower for saying, "It were better that one family should be destroyed than many," and declaring, in answer to a demand for explanation, that he meant "the King and his children." He was discharged from imprisonment after a short detention, and a resolution for his readmission to the House was passed in 1645—"which gave occasion to some to believe that the House began to be more averse from the King." He was one of the original council of state of the Commonwealth. His name, among others, was specially excepted from the act of indemnity passed on the Restoration.

He was indicted for treason in compassing and imagining the death of Charles I., and condemned to death, but petitioned Parliament for a reprieve, and his friends procured the commutation of his doom to imprisonment for life. He was consequently confined for twenty years in Chepstow Castle, dying there at the age of seventy-eight.

Insight.—Marten was renowned for his wit as well as his outspoken frankness. While he had been friendly with Cromwell, and on one occasion moved the thanks of the House to the general for his eminent services, he yet opposed his growing power, saying in the House, "If they were to be governed by a single person, their last king would have been as proper a gentleman for it as any in England, for he found no fault with his person, but his office only." When Monk was professing to serve the Commonwealth, but intriguing for the Restoration, Marten suspected his designs, and said of him, "He is like a person sent to make a suit of clothes, who brings with him a budget full of carpenter's tools, and being told that such things are not at all fit for the work he has been desired to do, answers, 'Oh, it matters not! I will do your work well enough, I warrant you.'"

Drowsy Members.—Alderman Atkins (writes Aubrey), a member of the Long Parliament, made a motion that such scandalous members as slept, and minded not the business of the House, should be put out. Harry Marten, who was wont to sleep much in the house (at least dog-sleep), starts up: "Mr. Speaker, a motion has been made to turn out the *nodders;* I desire the *noddees* may also be turned out."

The Fools and the Profane.—A godly member of the Long Parliament made a motion to have all profane and unsanctified persons expelled the house. Harry Marten stood up and moved that all fools should be put out likewise, and then there would be a thin house.

A Roland for an Oliver.—Oliver Cromwell once in the house called Harry Marten, either jestingly or scoffingly, "Sir Harry Marten." "I thank your Majesty," said Marten, rising and bowing, "I always thought when you were king I should be knighted."

A Scriptural Illustration.—Mr. Isaac D'Israeli relates the following: "In drawing up the remonstrances of the army, which changed the monarchy into a commonwealth, this Sheridan of his day had said, '*restored* to its ancient government of Commonwealth.' A member rose to reprimand and to wonder at the impudence of Harry Marten, asserting the antiquity of Commonwealth, of which he had never heard before. The wit rejoined by a whimsical illustration of the propriety of the term, and the peculiar condition of the man who had now heard it for the first time. 'There was,' said Harry, 'a text which had often troubled his spirit concerning the man who was blind from his mother's womb, but at length whose sight was *restored* to the sight *which he should have had.*'"

Spoiling a Martyr.—A curious pamphlet, republished in Lord Somers' Tracts, relates the condemnation to death of David Jenkins, a Welsh judge, and Sir Francis Butler, by a vote of the House of Commons. Jenkins, who was a stout Royalist, was brought before the Commons to

answer a charge of having, in 1642, condemned to death persons who had taken up arms against the King in the Welsh country. When desired to kneel at the bar of the House, the old judge peremptorily refused, saying, "Since you, Mr. Speaker, and this House have renounced all your duty and allegiance to your sovereign and natural liege lord, the King, and are become a den of thieves, should I bow myself in this house of Rimmon, the Lord would not pardon me in this thing." Intense excitement and confusion broke out amongst the members upon this plain speaking, and both prisoners were condemned to suffer death for high treason. Then uprose Harry Marten, and said, "Mr. Speaker, everyone must believe that this old gentleman here is fully possessed in his head that he is *pro aris et focis mori*, that he shall die a martyr for this cause, for otherwise he never would have provoked the House by such biting expressions; whereby it is apparent that if you execute him, you do what he hopes for and desires, and whose execution might have a great influence upon the people, since not condemned by a jury. Wherefore my motion is that this House would suspend the day of execution, and in the meantime force him to live in spight of his teeth." This motion restored the House to good humour; they agreed to it, and sent both prisoners off to Newgate. Marten had rightly divined the mind of the old judge. Mr. Jenkins in the retirement of his prison occupied himself in devising the details of the manner in which he should go to the scaffold. "He would eat much liquorice and gingerbread, thereby to strengthen his lungs, that he might extend his voice far and near; he would come with Bracton's book hung upon his left shoulder, with the statutes at large hung upon his right shoulder, and the Bible with a riband put round his neck and hanging on his breast. So that when they should see him die, thousands would inquire into these matters, and having found all he should tell them to be true, they would come to loath and detest the present tyranny." The elaborate programme of the old judge was, however, rendered nugatory, for his day of execution never arrived.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(1599—1658.)

His First Speech.—Cromwell was returned for Huntingdon to the Parliament which met in March, 1628. The first record of his addressing the House occurs in February of the following year. The House was receiving a report of committee concerning pardons granted by the King to certain persons censured by Parliament, when Cromwell, who had been of the committee, stood up and said, "He had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard (his old schoolmaster at Huntingdon) that Dr. Alablaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester had commanded him as his diocesan he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?" The House ordered, "That Dr. Beard of Huntingdon be written to by Mr. Speaker to

come up and testify against the bishop; the order for Dr. Beard to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell."

His Personal Appearance.—The first time (writes Sir Philip Warwick) "that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour. For the subject-matter would not bear much of *reason*, it being on behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's who had dispersed libels against the Queen for dancing, and suchlike innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council-table unto that height that one would have believed the very Government itself had been in great danger by it."

A Prophecy.—One day, when Cromwell had spoken warmly in the House, Lord Digby asked Hampden who he was; and Hampden is said to have replied, "That sloven whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King (which God forbid!)—in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

Cromwell Reprehended.—Lord Clarendon was often heard to mention one private committee in which he (when Mr. Hyde) was put accidentally into the chair, upon an enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to the Queen's manors, without the consent of the tenants; against which as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power. The committee sat in the Queen's Court, and Oliver Cromwell, being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous together with their witnesses. Cromwell ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceedings, and seconded and enlarged upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the counsel and witnesses on the other side with great clamour when they said anything that did not please them, so that Mr. Hyde was compelled to use some sharp reproofs and some threats to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell, in great fury, reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. In the end, his whole carriage

was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him that if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee and the next morning complain to the House of him.

Cromwell's Official Speeches.—My Lord General (says Carlyle) always spoke extempore; ready to speak, if his mind were full of meaning; very careless about the words he put it into. And never, except in one instance, does he seem to have taken any charge as to what report might be published of it. One of his Parliaments asking him for a correct report of a certain speech, spoken some days before, he declared "he could no remember four lines of it."

His Dissolution of the Long Parliament.—Mr. Carlyle, from several sources, gives a picturesque narrative *more suo*, which (with the liberty of slight abbreviation) will best represent this scene:—"*April* 20, 1653: Young Colonel Sidney, the celebrated Algernon, sat in the House this morning; a House of some fifty-three. Algernon has left distinct note of the affair; less distinct we have from Bulstrode, who was also there. Solid Ludlow was far off in Ireland, but gathered many details in after years; and faithfully wrote them down, in the unappeasable indignation of his heart. Combining these three originals, we have obtained the following: 'The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate upon the bill (for Parliamentary Reform), with the amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the house, clad in plain black clothes and grey worsted stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in an ordinary place.' For some time he listens to this interesting debate on the bill; beckoning once to Harrison, who came over to him, and answered dubitatingly. Whereupon the Lord General sat still for about a quarter of an hour longer. But now the question being to be put, That this bill do now pass, he beckons again to Harrison, says 'This is the time I must do it'—and so 'rose up, put off his hat, and spake. At the first, and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults'—rising higher and higher, into a very aggravated style indeed. An honourable member, Sir Peter Wentworth by name, rises to order, as we phrase it; says, 'It is strange language this; unusual within the walls of Parliament this! And from a trusted servant too; and one whom we have so highly honoured; and one ——.' 'Come, come!' exclaims my Lord General, in a very high key. 'We have had enough of this,'—and in fact my Lord General, now blazing all up into clear conflagration, exclaims, 'I will put an end to your prating,' and steps forth into the floor of the House, and 'clapping on his hat,' and occasionally 'stamping the floor with his feet,' begins a discourse which no man can report. He is heard saying, 'It is not fit that you should sit here any longer! You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing lately. You shall now give place to better men. Call them in!' adds he briefly, to Harrison, in word of command; and 'some twenty or thirty' grim musketeers enter, with

bullets in their snap-hances; grimly prompt for orders. . . 'You call yourselves a Parliament,' continues my Lord General, in clear blaze of conflagration: 'You are no Parliament; I say, you are no Parliament! Some of you are drunkards,' and his eye flashes on poor Mr. Chaloner, an official man of some value, addicted to the bottle; 'some of you are;—' and he glares into Harry Marten, and the poor Sir Peter, who rose to order, lewd livers both—'living in open contempt of God's commandments.' 'Corrupt, unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel: how can you be a Parliament for God's people? Depart, I say; and let us have done with you. In the name of God—go!' The House is of course all on its feet—uncertain almost whether not on its head: such a scene as was never seen before in any House of Commons. History reports with a shudder that my Lord General, lifting the sacred mace itself, said, 'What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away!'—and gave it to a musketeer. And now, 'Fetch him down!' says he to Harrison, flashing on the Speaker. Speaker Lenthal, more an ancient Roman than anything else,* declares he will not come till forced. 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you a hand;' on which Speaker Lenthal came down, and gloomily vanished. They all vanished, flooding gloomily, clamorously out, to their ulterior business and respective places of abode: the Long Parliament is dissolved! 'It's you that have forced me to this,' exclaims my Lord General: 'I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.'"

SIR HENRY VANE.

(1612—1662.)

Respected and Feared.—Sir Henry Vane, commonly called Vane the Younger, was son to one of the same name who was Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household to Charles I. He appears to have adopted republican principles in early life, and when little more than twenty years of age he left his native land for America, to join a people whose sentiments in politics and in religion more nearly approached his own, than did those of the circle in which he had been educated. He was elected Governor of Massachusetts before he had reached his twenty-fourth year, but he returned to England in 1637, and was sent to Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull in April, 1640. Charles, courting his abilities, knighted him, and made him joint treasurer of the navy; but he joined the party of Pym and Hampden in the Long Parliament, and thenceforward was one of the leading spirits of that side. On the restoration of Charles II. he was indicted for "helping to exclude the King from the exercise of his royal authority," and sent to the scaffold. Milton's lines—

> "Vane, young in years, but in sage council old,
> Than whom a better senator ne'er held
> The helm of Rome"—

expressed the general opinion as to Vane's abilities, and Charles himself

* See page 32, "Attempt to Arrest the Five Members."

wrote to his Chancellor (Clarendon), "he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way."*

On the Bill against Episcopacy.—Sir Henry Vane's speech in committee on the Bill against Episcopal Government, June 11, 1641, is printed in the "Speeches and Passages" of that year, previously quoted, and is remarkable for the logical closeness of its argument. The following were the opening passages: "Master Hyde,—The debate we are now upon is whether the government by archbishops, bishops, chancellors, &c., should be taken away out of the church and kingdom of England. For the right stating whereof we must remember the vote which passed yesterday, not only by the committee, but the House, which was to this effect: That this government hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudical to the civil state. So that then the question will lie thus before us, Whether a government which long experience hath set so ill a character upon, importing danger not only to our religion but the civil state, should be any longer continued amongst us, or be utterly abolished? For my own part, I am of the opinion of those who conceive that the strength of reason already set down in the preamble to this bill by yesterday's vote is a necessary decision of this question. For one of the main ends for which church government is set up is to advance and further the perfect reformation and growth of religion, which we have already voted this government doth contradict; so that it is destructive to the very end for which it should be, and (which) is most necessary and desirable; in which respect certainly we have cause enough to lay it aside, not only as useless in that it attains not its end, but as dangerous in that it destroys and contradicts it. In the second place, we have voted it prejudicial to the civil state, as having so powerful and ill an influence upon our laws, the prerogative of the King, and liberties of the subject, that it is like a spreading leprosy, which leaves nothing untainted and unaffected which it comes near. May we not therefore well say of this government, as our Saviour in the fifth of Matthew speaks of salt—(give me leave upon this occasion to make use of Scripture, as well as others have done in this debate)—where it is said that salt is good, 'but if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith will you season it? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.' So church government, in the general, is good, and that which is necessary, and which we all desire; but when any particular form of it hath once lost its savour, by being destructive to its own ends for which it is set up (as by our vote already passed we say this hath), then surely, Sir, we have no more to do but to cast it out, and endeavour, the best we can, to provide ourselves a better. But to this it hath been said that the government now in question may be so amended and reformed that it needs not be pulled quite down or abolished, because it is conceived it hath no original sin or evil in it, or if it have, it is said regeneration will take that away. Unto which I answer, I do consent that we should do with this government as

* The letter is given in Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth."

we are done by in regeneration, in which all old things are to pass away and all things are to become new; and this we must do if we desire a perfect reformation and growth of our religion, or good to our civil state. For the whole fabric of this building is so rotten and corrupt, from the very foundation of it to the top, that if we pull it not down now it will fall about the ears of all those that endeavour it, within a very few years." He then went on to say that "the universal rottenness or corruption of this government will most evidently appear by a disquisition into these ensuing particulars," &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

(1620—1678.)

The Incorruptible.—Andrew Marvell was chosen by the electors of Hull, his native town, to represent them in Parliament, in the year 1660. The newly-elected member was in a pecuniary condition which compelled him to accept the wages at that time paid by constituents to their representatives. He was almost the last representative who received wages for the performance of parliamentary duties.* Charles II., says Cooke ("History of Party"), desirous to secure the powerful support of Marvell, sent Lord Danby, his Lord Treasurer, with offers of place and of money. The royal messenger found the object of his search occupying obscure apartments in a court near the Strand; but all his blandishments failed to produce any effect on the independent soul of Marvell. The Treasurer at parting—says a pamphlet which professes to give a minute record of the circumstances—slipped into Marvell's hand an order upon the Treasury for a thousand pounds, and was moving towards his carriage, when Marvell stopped him, and taking him again up-stairs, called his servant boy, when the following colloquy ensued: "Jack, child, what had I for dinner yesterday?"—"Don't you remember, sir, you had the little shoulder of mutton, that you ordered me to bring from the woman in the market?"—Very right, child; what have I for dinner to-day?"—"Don't you know, sir, that you bid me lay by the blade-bone to broil?"—"'Tis so, very right, child; go away. My lord, do you hear that Andrew Marvell's dinner is provided? There's your piece of paper; I want it not; I knew the sort of kindness you intended. I live here to serve my constituents; the ministry may seek men for their purpose; I am not one."

Marvell and Milton's Imprisonment.—The following statement appears in the "Parliamentary History" for 1660: "Dec. 17th. The celebrated Mr. John Milton, having now laid long in custody of the sergeant-at-arms, was released by order of the House. Soon after Mr. Andrew Marvell complained that the sergeant had exacted 150*l.* fees of Mr. Milton; which was seconded by Colonel King and Colonel Shapcot. On the contrary, Sir Heneage Finch observed that Milton was Latin Secretary to Cromwell, and deserved hanging. However, this matter was referred to the Committee of Privileges to examine and decide the

* See "Parliamentary Usages—Payment of Members."

difference." Milton had been ordered to be taken into custody on the 16th of June previous, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General for having written the "Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio" against Salmasius, and another book in answer to the "Icon Basilike."

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

(1620—1683.)

A Happy Survival.—In a work entitled "Of the Use and Abuse of Parliaments, in two Historical Discourses" (1744), the first treatise, by Algernon Sidney (reprinted from an early edition) comprises "A General View of Government in Europe." In this the writer remarks: "The Parliament of France seems quite antiquated and subdued; the ghost and shadow of the defunct has appeared three or four times since Lewis the XIth; but to revive that assembly in its full and perfect vigour requires a miracle like the Resurrection. So that, in effect, we may date the demise of the Parliamentary sovereignty in France from Lewis the XIth, and the decay of that in Germany from Charles the VIth. It is in England only that the antient, generous, manly government of Europe survives, and continues in its original lustre and perfection. . . Magna Charta, instead of being superannuated, renews and recovers its pristine strength and athletic vigour by the Petition of Right, with our many other explanatory or declaratory statutes; and the annual Parliament is as well known to our laws as ever it had been famous amongst the customs of France and Germany."

Manufactured Evidence.—Algernon Sidney (writes Hume) "was in principle a republican, and had entered deeply into the war against Charles I. He had been named on the high court of justice which tried and condemned that monarch, but he thought not proper to take his seat among the judges, and had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation with zeal and courage. After the Restoration he went into voluntary banishment; but in 1677, having obtained the King's pardon, he returned to England. When the factions arising from the Popish plot began to run high, Sidney, full of those ideas of liberty which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; but his conduct was deficient in practical good sense, and he labours under the imputation of accepting French gold." At his trial in 1683, for participation in the Rye-house conspiracy, "the only witness who deposed against him was Lord Howard; but as the law required two witnesses, the deficiency was supplied by producing some of his papers, in which he maintained the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, and the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. The violent and inhuman Jeffreys was now Chief Justice, and by his direction a partial jury was easily prevailed on to give a verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days after." The judgment against him was annulled in 1689, and his attainder, like that of his associate and fellow victim Lord William Russell, was reversed.

Not an Extremist.—The ordinance for the trial of Charles I. included the name of Sidney, but respecting this he wrote: "I was at

Penshurst when the Act for the King's trial passed, and, coming up to town, I heard that my name was put in. I presently went to the Painted Chamber, where those who were nominated for judges were assembled. A debate was raised, and I positively opposed the proceeding. Cromwell using these formal words, 'I tell you, we will cut off his head with the crown on it,' I replied, 'You may take your own course, I cannot stop you; but I will keep myself clean from having any hand in this business;' and saying thus I immediately left them, and never returned."

THE FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

(1621—1683.)

Cromwell's House of Lords.—Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, the son of a Hampshire baronet, was returned for Tewkesbury at an early age. After being an active supporter of the Commonwealth, he was among the members of Parliament who went to Holland to invite the return of Charles II., by whom he was taken into favour, and made Lord Chancellor in 1672. His connection with the Habeas Corpus Act and the Exclusion Bill, and the allusions to him in Dryden's poems, cause him to be one of the best-remembered figures of our history. He died in Holland in 1683, after having been sent to the Tower and tried for treason, but acquitted. He was one of the most brilliant speakers of his time. The following passage occurred in addressing the Commons in 1659, in support of a motion, "that the other House be limited in time, and last only for the present Parliament:"—"What I shall speak of their quality, or anything else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with distinction, and to intend only of the major part; for I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the mixture of the other House to be like the composition of apothecaries, who mix something grateful to the taste to qualify their bitter drugs, which else, perhaps, would be immediately spit out and never swallowed. So, Sir, his Highness of deplorable memory to this nation, to countenance as well the want of quality as honesty in the rest, has nominated some against whom there lies no other reproach but only that nomination; but not out of any respect to their quality or regard to their virtues, but out of regard to the no-quality, the no-virtues of the rest; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express name to this other House than he hath been pleased to do; for we know a house designed for beggars and malefactors is a house of correction, and so termed by our law. But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few persons aside who, I hope, think the nomination a disgrace, and their ever coming to sit there a much greater, can we without indignation think of the rest? He who is first in their roll, a condemned coward;* one that out of fear and baseness did once what he could to betray our liberties, and now does the same for gain. The second, a person of as little sense as honesty, preferred for no other reason but his no-worth, his no-conscience; except cheating his father of all he had was thought a virtue by him, who by sad experience we find hath done as much for his

* Fiennes, condemned to death for cowardice at Bristol.

mother—his country. The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, and Independent; for the Republic, for a Protector, for everything, for nothing, but only that one thing—money. It were endless, Sir, to run through them all; to tell you of the lordships of seventeen pounds a year land of inheritance; of the farmer lordships, draymen lordships, cobbler lordships, without one foot of land but what the blood of Englishmen has been the price of. These, Sir, are to be our rulers; these the judges of our lives and fortunes; to these we are to stand bare whilst their pageant lordships deign to give us a conference on their breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much experience how insupportable servants are when they become our masters. All kinds of slavery are miserable in the account of generous minds; but that which comes accompanied with scorn and contempt stirs up every man's indignation, and is endured by none whom nature does not intend for slaves, as well as fortune. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these men the faults of their fortune any otherwise than as they make them their own; I object to you their poverty, because it is accompanied with ambition; I remind you of their quality because they themselves forget it; it is not the men I am angry with, but their Lordships. . . . I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the courage to do things which, I may boldly say, few other Christians durst so have adventured their souls to have attempted. They have not only subdued their enemies, but their masters that raised and maintained them: they have not only conquered Scotland and Ireland, but rebellious England too, and there suppressed a malignant party of magistrates and laws; and, that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed complete conquerors, without the help of philosophy they have even conquered themselves. All shame they have subdued as perfectly as all justice; the oaths they have taken they have as easily digested as their old General could himself; public covenants and engagements they have trampled under foot. In conclusion, so entire a victory they have over themselves, that their consciences are as much their servants, Mr. Speaker, as we are. But give me leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shows the confidence they have of themselves and us. After having many times trampled on the authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five times dissolved them, they hope, for those good services to the House of Commons, to be made a House of Lords."

A Retort.—The seat on the left of the throne in Parliament had been appropriated to the Duke of York, as brother of Charles II., that on the right being reserved for the Prince of Wales; but the Queen proving barren, the Duke was looked upon as successor to the Crown, and took the right-hand chair. When Shaftesbury, as Lord Chancellor, presided for the first time in the House of Lords, he resolved to replace the duke in his proper seat. He informed the duke that he was in the wrong chair, and that his place was on the other side of the throne, as only heir presumptive. The duke being unwilling to quit his seat, Lord Shaftesbury told him that he could not proceed upon business till the House was in form. At length the duke was obliged to submit, but said, in a passion,

"My lord, you are a rascal and a villain." Shaftesbury, with great composure, replied, "I am much obliged to your royal highness for not calling me likewise a coward and a papist."

Conjugal Relations.—At the opening of the eleventh session of the second Parliament of Charles II. (1672–3), the King's speech was followed by one from Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, who in the course of it said: "Let us bless God that hath given this king signally the hearts of his people, and most particularly of this Parliament, who in affection and loyalty to their prince have exceeded all their predecessors; a Parliament with whom the King hath for many years lived with all the caresses of a happy marriage. Has the King had a concern? you have wedded it. Has his Majesty wanted supplies? you have readily, cheerfully, and fully provided for them. You have relied upon the wisdom and conduct of his Majesty in all his affairs; so that you have never attempted to exceed your bounds, or to impose upon him. . . And let me say, that though this marriage be according to Moses's law, where the husband can give a bill of divorce, put her away, and take another, yet I can assure you it is as impossible for the King to part with this Parliament as it is for you to depart from that loyalty, affection, and dutiful behaviour you have hitherto showed towards him." This Parliament, to which the name of "the Long Parliament" has frequently been given, lasted nearly eighteen years, not being dissolved until 1679.

Stepping in at the Breach.—In 1673, Lord Clifford, the Lord Treasurer and head of the "Cabal," had undertaken to open a debate in the Lords, "for establishing a perpetual fund, in order to advance the prerogative, and render Parliament inconsiderable. He prepared a set speech to that purpose, which he read to the Lord Chancellor (Shaftesbury), who desired to hear it again; and, upon the second reading, he charged his memory with the substance of it, promising he would likewise come roundly into the debate. This gave him an opportunity he wished for, to be revenged of the courtiers and the Lord Clifford, who, pursuant to the determination of the Cabal, began the debate with the very speech he had showed the Lord Chancellor; while his Majesty and the Duke of York were then in the house to countenance the design. The country lords, and those who were not in the secret, stared at one another; the whole House at the end of the speech, meditating the fate of England, remained in an awful silence; when Chancellor Shaftesbury stood up, and answered Clifford's speech from the beginning to the end, showing that his propositions were extravagant; that what he aimed at would end in confusion, and the ruin of the government; that it might perhaps send the royal family abroad again, to spend their lives in exile, without hope of a return. All which he spoke with so much spirit and sharpness, that he confounded the court counsels. While he was speaking, the Duke of York, enraged at him, whispered the King, 'What a rogue have you of a Lord Chancellor!' The King briskly replied, ''Od's fish, what a fool have you of a Lord Treasurer.'"—*Parliamentary Debates*, 1668—1741.

LORD HALIFAX.

(1630—1695.)

The "Trimmer."—George Savile, Viscount Halifax, was (writes Macaulay) the first in genius among the statesmen of his times. "His polished, luminous, and animated eloquence, set off by the silver tones of his voice, was the delight of the House of Lords. He was the chief of those politicians whom the two great parties contemptuously called Trimmers. Instead of quarrelling with this nickname, he assumed it as a title of honour, and vindicated, with great vivacity, the dignity of the appellation. Everything good, he said, trims between extremes. The temperate zone trims between the climate in which men are roasted and the climate in which they are frozen. The English Church trims between the Anabaptist madness and the Papist lethargy. The English Constitution trims between Turkish despotism and Popish anarchy. Virtue is nothing but a just temper between propensities, any one of which, if indulged to excess, becomes vice. Nay, the perfection of the Supreme Being himself consists in the exact equilibrium of attributes, none of which could preponderate without disturbing the whole moral and physical order of the world. Thus Halifax was a trimmer on principle. He was also a trimmer by the constitution both of his head and of his heart."

Influential Oratory.—Rejection of the Exclusion Bill.—In October, 1680, the Parliament met. The Whigs had so great a majority in the Commons that the Exclusion Bill went through all its stages there without difficulty. The whole nation now looked with breathless anxiety to the House of Lords. The assemblage of peers was large. The King himself was present. The debate was long, earnest, and occasionally furious. Some hands were laid on the pommels of swords, in a manner which revived the recollection of the stormy Parliaments of Henry the Third and Richard the Second. Shaftesbury and Essex were joined by the treacherous Sunderland. But the genius of Halifax bore down all opposition. Deserted by his most important colleagues, and opposed to a crowd of able antagonists, he defended the cause of the Duke of York in a succession of speeches which, many years later, were remembered as masterpieces of reasoning, of wit, and of eloquence. It is seldom that oratory changes votes. Yet the attestation of contemporaries leaves no doubt that, on this occasion, votes were changed by the oratory of Halifax. The bishops, true to their doctrines, supported the principle of hereditary right, and the bill was rejected by a great majority.—*Macaulay's History.* Hume remarks that Halifax "was animated as well by the greatness of the occasion as by a rivalship to his uncle Shaftesbury, whom, during that day's debate, he seemed in the judgment of all to have totally eclipsed."

LORD SOMERS.

(1650—1716.)

Rapid Elevation.—The name of this statesman is closely associated with the Declaration of Right in 1688, and with the legislative union with

Scotland in 1707. He first came prominently into note as junior counsel for the Seven Bishops on their trial in 1688, and was sent to the Convention Parliament of that year. Under William III. he received rapid preferment. In 1693, while attorney-general, he was made keeper of the great seal, and in 1697 was raised to the woolsack. "John Somers (writes Macaulay) was the son of a country attorney. At thirty-seven he had been sitting in a stuff gown on a back bench in the Court of King's Bench. At forty-two he was the first lay dignitary of the realm. . . Without one drop of patrician blood in his veins, he had taken his place at the head of the patrician order with the quiet dignity of a man ennobled by nature. His serenity and his modesty, his self-command, proof even against the most sudden surprises of passion; his self-respect, which forced the proudest grandees of the kingdom to respect him; his urbanity, which won the hearts of the youngest lawyers of the Chancery bar, gained for him many private friends and admirers among the most respectable members of the opposition. . . The instrument known by the name of the Declaration of Right was prepared by a committee of which Somers was chairman. The fact that the low-born young barrister was appointed to so honourable and important a post in a Parliament filled with able and experienced men, only ten days after he had spoken in the House of Commons for the first time, sufficiently proves the superiority of his abilities."

His Defence at the Bar of the Commons.—Various attempts were made to impeach Somers, on charges more or less frivolous. The poet Prior, writing in February, 1700, said, "To-morrow is the great day when we expect that my Lord Chancellor will be fallen upon, though God knows what crime he is guilty of, but that of being a very great man and a wise and upright judge." In 1701, hearing that the Commons were about to vote his impeachment, Somers requested permission to address them at their bar, which was granted. When he had finished, he was asked from the chair who had informed him that there was a debate respecting him in the House. He replied, "He was strongly surprised at a question that he never knew was put to any man that came to desire the favour of being heard; and that, if the question was asked to bring the least prejudice to any man in England, he would not only be content to be under the censure of the House, but suffer the worst thing that might befall him upon earth, rather than do a dishonourable thing." The impeachment was carried by 198 against 188.

Mock Impeachment.—After sending up to the Lords their impeachment of Somers and others, in 1701, the Commons delayed progress with the matter, while the House of Lords insisted that the trials should either proceed or be dropped. The Commons demanded a joint committee of both Houses to consider the methods of proceeding, and urged that otherwise they would be "giving up the rights of the Commons of England, established by unquestionable precedents and the usage of Parliament, and making all impeachment (the greatest bulwark of the laws and liberties of England) impracticable for the future." But the Lords rejoined, "They do not find that ever such a committee was appointed on

occasion of impeachment for misdemeanors, and their lordships think themselves obliged to be extremely cautious in admitting anything new in matters relating to judicature." The Lords gave notice of their intention to bring on the trial on a certain day; the Commons passed an order forbidding any member of the House to appear at the "pretended trial." The trial being opened with the usual formalities in Westminster Hall, and no member of the Lower House appearing with evidence against the defendant, the Lords adjourned to their own chamber, and declared the impeachment dismissed.

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

(1661—1724.)

House of Commons Tact.—Confessedly one of the most influential of the members of the House of Commons was he whom the last three Parliaments of William III. elected for their Speaker; yet no man would have listened patiently for five minutes to Robert Harley anywhere but in the House of Commons. There he was supreme. The country gentlemen voted for him, though they remembered that his family went to a meeting-house. The younger members put forth their most able and graceful representative to honour him, when Henry St. John seconded his third nomination. And posterity itself had cause to be grateful to him when, employing for once this influence in its service, he joined Tory and Whig in a common demand for the best securities of the Act of Settlement. It was not genius, it was not eloquence, it was not statesmanship that had given Harley this extraordinary power. It was House of Commons tact.—*Forster on De Foe.*

Reputed Wisdom.—Harley's influence in Parliament (writes Macaulay) was out of all proportion to his ability. His intellect was both slender and slow. He was unable to take a large view of any subject. He never acquired the art of expressing himself in public with fluency and perspicuity. To the end of his life he remained a tedious, hesitating, and confused speaker. He had none of the external graces of an orator. His countenance was heavy, his figure mean and somewhat deformed, and his gestures uncouth. Yet he was heard with respect. For such as his mind was, it had been assiduously cultivated. He had that sort of industry and that sort of exactness which would have made him a respectable antiquary or King-at-Arms. He constantly had, even with his best friends, an air of mystery and reserve, which seemed to indicate that he knew some momentous secret, and that his mind was labouring with some vast design. In this way he got and long kept a high reputation for wisdom. It was not till that reputation had made him an Earl, a Knight of the Garter, Lord High Treasurer of England, and master of the fate of Europe, that his admirers began to find out that he was really a dull puzzle-headed man.

Endurance of the English People.—Pope relates that some one had observed of a measure proposed, that the people would never bear it. "None of us," replied Harley, "know how far the good people of England will bear."

LORD BOLINGBROKE.

(1678—1751).

His Parliamentary Career.—Henry St. John was returned to Parliament in 1700 for Wootton Basset, which his father had represented before him. He was twenty-eight years old at the time. All his connections were in the Whig interest, but he attached himself to the Tory party under Harley. His eloquence soon gained him influence in the House, and in 1704 he was appointed Secretary at War and of the Marine, Harley being Secretary of State. To the latter office St. John succeeded when Harley took the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in 1710, and he was raised to the peerage as Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712. It was into the hands of Addison that he had to resign the seals, when the death of Anne in 1714 put an end to the hopes of his party; and his attainder took place in the following year.

Evanescence of Parliamentary Eloquence in Former Days.—In the case of Bolingbroke (remarks Lord Brougham), the defect, so often to be deplored in contemplating the history of modern oratory, attains its very height. Meagre as are the materials by which we can aim at forming to ourselves some idea of the eloquence of most men who flourished before our own day; scanty as are the remains even of the speakers who figured during the Seven Years War, and the earlier part of the American contest—when we go back to the administration of Walpole we find those vestiges to be yet more thinly scattered over the pages of our history; and in Queen Anne's time, during which alone Bolingbroke spoke, there are absolutely none. It is correct to affirm that of this great orator—one of the very greatest, according to all contemporary history, that ever exercised the art, and these accounts are powerfully supported by his writings—not a spoken sentence remains. The contemplation of this chasm it was that made Mr. Pitt, when musing upon its brink, and calling to mind all that might be fancied of the orator from the author, and all that traditional testimony had handed down to us, sigh after a speech of Bolingbroke—desiderating it far more than the restoration of all that has perished of the treasures of the ancient world. —*Statesmen of the Time of George III.* The impression produced by Bolingbroke is shown in the Earl of Chesterfield's remark in one of the letters to his son: "I would much rather that you had Lord Bolingbroke's style and eloquence, in speaking and writing, than all the learning of the Academy of Sciences, the Royal Society, and the two Universities united."

Creation of Peers.—Oxford and Bolingbroke gazetted twelve new peers in one day. On their taking their seats, Wharton inquired if they were to vote, like a jury, by their foreman; and Bolingbroke, on hearing that the question had been carried by a majority of one, exclaimed, "If those twelve had not been enough, we would have given them another dozen." This is the solitary instance of a creation of peers in mass to carry a measure.—*Hayward's Essays.*

JOSEPH ADDISON.

(1672—1719.)

Successful Silence.—Addison sat for Malmesbury in the House of Commons which was elected in 1708. But the House of Commons (writes Macaulay) "was not the field for him; the bashfulness of his nature made his wit and eloquence useless in debate. He once rose, but could not overcome his diffidence, and ever after remained silent. Nobody can think it strange that a great writer should fail as a speaker; but many, probably, will think it strange that Addison's failure as a speaker should have had no unfavourable effect on his success as a politician. In our time a man of high rank and great fortune might, though speaking very little and very ill, hold a considerable post; but it would now be inconceivable that a mere adventurer—a man who, when out of office, must live by his pen—should in a few years become successively Under Secretary of State, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Secretary of State, without some oratorical talent. Addison, without high birth, and with little property, rose to a post which dukes—the heads of the great houses of Talbot, Russell, and Bentinck—have thought it an honour to fill. Without opening his lips in debate, he rose to a post the highest that Chatham or Fox ever reached; and this he did before he had been nine years in Parliament."

Ineffectual Conception.—It was Lord Wharton (writes Mr. O'Flanagan) "who brought Joseph Addison to Ireland, and appointed him Secretary of State. He represented the borough of Cavan in the Irish Parliament, in 1709. Though famous as an easy and graceful writer, he could not express himself with any degree of fluency. An anecdote related of him proves this. On a motion before the House, Addison rose, and having said—'Mr. Speaker, I conceive'—paused, as if frightened by the sound of his own voice. He again commenced—'I conceive Mr. Speaker'—when he stopped, until roused by cries of 'hear! hear!' when he once more essayed with—'Sir, I conceive.' Power of further utterance was denied, so he sat down amidst the scarce suppressed laughter of his brother members, which soon burst forth when a witty senator said, 'Sir, the honourable gentleman has conceived three times, and brought forth nothing.'"

SIR RICHARD STEELE.

(1671—1729.)

The "Tatler."—Steele entered the House of Commons when the Tory party, whom he had exasperated by his political writings, were in the ascendant, and they determined to put him down. Alluding to Sir Thomas Hanmer's opposition to the Commercial Treaty, in 1714, he said, "I rise to do him honour;" on which many members, who had before tried to interrupt him, called out "Tatler! Tatler!" And as he went down the house several said, "It not so easy a thing to speak in the House; he fancies, because he can scribble," &c., &c.

His Expulsion from the House of Commons.—When, upon the publication of his "Crisis," which was but the sequel to those papers

in the *Guardian* that led to his election for Stockbridge, the motion was made to expel him, for having "maliciously insinuated that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under her Majesty's Administration," the Whigs rallied to his support with what strength they could. Robert Walpole and General Stanhope took their place on either side of him as he waited at the bar, and Addison prompted him throughout his spirited and temperate defence. He spoke, says one who heard him, for near three hours, with such temper, eloquence, and unconcern as gave entire satisfaction to all who were not prepossessed against him. But perhaps the most interesting occurrence of that memorable day was the speech of Lord Finch. This young nobleman, afterwards famous as a minister and orator, owed gratitude to Steele for having repelled, in the *Guardian*, a libel on his sister, and he rose to make his maiden speech in defence of her defender. But bashfulness overcame him; and after a few confused sentences he sat down, crying out as he did so, "It is strange I cannot speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him!" Upon this such cheering rang through the House, that suddenly the young lord took heart, rose again, and made the first of a long series of able and telling speeches. Of course, however, it did not save Steele, who was expelled by a majority of nearly a hundred, in a House of four hundred members.—*Forster's Essay on Steele.*

The Silent and the Eloquent.—On the death of Queen Anne, and the breaking up of the Tory party, Steele was again returned to Parliament, for Boroughbridge, and made some figure as a speaker. He wittily described the House, at the time, as consisting very much of silent people oppressed by the choice of a great deal to say, and of eloquent people ignorant that what they said was nothing to the purpose.

Triennial Parliaments.—Steele was a warm advocate in the House of Commons of the repeal of the Act which limited the duration of Parliaments to three years. In a speech on the subject he said: "Ever since the Triennial Bill has been enacted the nation has been in a series of contentions. The first year of a Triennial Parliament has been spent in vindictive decisions and animosities about the late elections. The second session has entered into business, but rather with a spirit of contradiction to what the prevailing set of men in former Parliaments had brought to pass than for a disinterested zeal for the common good. The third session has languished in the pursuit of what little was intended to be done in the second; and the approach of an ensuing election has terrified the members into a servile management, according as their respective principals were disposed towards the question before them in the House. Thus the state of England has been like that of a vessel in distress at sea; the pilot and mariners have been wholly employed in keeping the ship from sinking; the art of navigation was useless, and they never pretended to make sail."

Not a Good Pedestrian.—William Whiston, in his "Memoirs," writes of Steele: "I shall set down one encounter I had with him at Button's coffee-house, when he was a Member of Parliament, and had been making a speech in the House of Commons, in the days of King

George I., to please the court, but against his own conscience, for the South Sea directors, then under the great disgrace of the nation; and against which South Sea scheme he had before for some time written weekly papers, till he saw he could not recover his post of Censor of the Playhouse, from which he had been turned out, which used to bring him some hundreds a year, without making such a speech. I accosted him thus: 'They say, Sir Richard, you have been making a speech in the House of Commons for the South Sea directors.' He replied, 'They do say so.' To which I answered, 'How does this agree with your former writing against that scheme?' His rejoinder was thus: 'Mr. Whiston, you can walk on foot and I cannot.' Than which a truer or an acuter answer could not have been made by anybody."

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

(1694—1773.)

A Youthful Adversary Disarmed.—Chesterfield was returned to the House of Commons when Lord Stanhope, and before he had attained full age. He spoke soon after his entrance, attacking the Oxford ministry, and said, "He never wished to spill the blood of any of his countrymen, *much less the blood of any nobleman*, but he was persuaded the safety of his country required that examples should be made of those who had betrayed it in so infamous a manner." The reply of the Government was a very prudent one. It was privately intimated to the young speaker that he had displayed great ability, but, in taking his seat although a minor,* he had exposed himself to a penalty of five hundred pounds, which would not be enforced against him unless he attempted to vote. Stanhope took the hint and left the house, to which he did not return till duly qualified.

A Hint to Statesmen.—The Earl of Chesterfield delivered a speech in the House of Lords, 1737, against the Play-house Bill. The following extract is from the "Parliamentary History:"—"It is not licentiousness, it is an useful liberty, always indulged the stage in a free country, that some great men may there meet with a just reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them. Of this we have a famous instance in the Roman history. The great Pompey, after the many victories he had obtained and the great conquests he had made, had certainly a good title to the esteem of the people of Rome; yet that great man, by some error in his conduct, became an object of general dislike. And therefore, in the representation of an old play, when Diphilus, the actor, came to repeat these words, '*Nostrâ miseriâ tu es Magnus*,' the audience immediately applied them to Pompey, who at that time was as well known by the name Magnus as by that of Pompey, and were so highly pleased with the satire that, as Cicero says, they made the actor repeat the words a hundred times over. An account of this was immediately sent to Pompey, who, instead of resenting it as an injury, was so wise as to take it for a just reproof; he

* See p. 20.

examined his conduct, he altered his measures, he regained by degrees the esteem of the people, and then he neither feared the wit nor felt the satire of the stage. This is an example which ought to be followed by great men in all countries."

Dexterity with a Difficult Subject.—A bill for the reform of the Calendar was introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Chesterfield in 1751, and in his "Letters" he thus alludes to his speech: "This bill was necessarily composed of law jargon and astronomical calculations, to both which I am an utter stranger. However, it was absolutely necessary to make the House of Lords think that I knew something of the matter, and also to make them believe that they knew something of it themselves, which they do not. For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Sclavonian to them as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well; so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them. I gave them, therefore, only an historical account of calendars, from the Egyptian down to the Gregorian, amusing them now and then with little episodes; but I was particularly attentive to the choice of my words, to the harmony and soundness of my periods, to my elocution, to my action. This succeeded, and ever will succeed. They thought I informed, because I pleased them; and many of them said that I had made the whole very clear to them, when, God knows, I had not even attempted it. Lord Macclesfield, who had the greatest share in framing the bill, and who is one of the greatest mathematicians and astronomers in Europe, spoke afterwards with infinite knowledge, and all the clearness that so intricate a matter would admit of; but, as his words, his periods, and his utterance were not near so good as mine, the preference was most unanimously, though most unjustly, given to me. This will ever be the case; every numerous assembly is a mob, let the individuals who compose it be what they will."

Bleeding for One's Country.—Maty, in his memoir of Chesterfield, relates that Lord R——, with many good qualities, and even learning and parts, had a strong desire of being thought skilful in physic, and was very expert in bleeding. Lord Chesterfield, who knew his foible, and on a particular occasion wished to have his vote, came to him one morning, and, after having conversed upon indifferent matters, complained of the headache, and desired his lordship to feel his pulse. It was found to beat high, and a hint of losing blood given. "I have no objection; and, as I hear your lordship has a masterly hand, will you favour me with trying your lancet upon me? *Apropos*," said Lord Chesterfield, after the operation, "do you go to the House to-day?" Lord R—— answered, "I did not intend to go, not being sufficiently informed of the question which is to be debated; but you, who have considered it, which side will you be of?" The earl, having gained his confidence, easily directed his judgment; he carried him to the House, and got him to vote as he pleased. He used afterwards to say that none of his friends had done so much as he, having literally bled for the good of his country.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

(1676—1745.)

A Tory Physician and his Whig Patient.—During Walpole's residence at King's College, Cambridge, he was seized with the small-pox, which was of a malignant sort, and he continued for some time in imminent danger. Dr. Brady, the famous historical advocate for the Tory principles of the English Constitution, who was his physician, said to one of the Fellows of King's College, warmly attached to the same party, "We must take care to save this young man, or we shall be accused of having purposely neglected him, because he is so violent a Whig." Notwithstanding Brady's political prejudices, he was so much pleased with the spirit and disposition of his young patient that he observed, with an affectionate attachment, "His singular escape seems to be a sure indication that he is reserved for important purposes."—*Coxe's "Walpole."*

A Long Lease of Power.—Robert Walpole was sent to Parliament for King's Lynn in 1702, when twenty-six years of age. In 1708 he was made Secretary at War, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy. He became Prime Minister for the first time in 1715, but resigned in 1717, and was reappointed in 1721, holding also the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Notwithstanding the personal dislike of George II., he was confirmed in the Premiership on the accession of that King in 1727, and continued to hold the position for fifteen years longer, making altogether twenty-one years' uninterrupted administration—the longest term a single individual has ever remained at the head of the government.

Committal to the Tower.—The accusation of corruption brought against Walpole by the Commissioners of Public Accounts was made (says Coxe) December 21st, 1711. They charged him with having taken two notes of hand—one for five hundred guineas, the other for five hundred pounds—while he was Secretary-at-War, for forage contracts in Scotland. In consequence of these reports he was heard in his own defence, January 17th, 1712. Ultimately the House resolved that he had been guilty of a high breach of trust, that he should be committed to the Tower, and expelled the House. Next morning Walpole surrendered himself a prisoner, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained till the prorogation of Parliament. A new writ having been issued for Lynn, he was re-elected; but on a petition by Samuel Taylor, the opposing candidate, the House declared Walpole incapable of serving in that Parliament. While he remained in prison he was considered a martyr to the cause of the Whigs, and visited by persons of the highest distinction and ability, his apartment exhibiting the appearance of a crowded levee.

The Office of Prime Minister, and Government by Parliament.—The first (writes Mr. Ewald) who made the office of Prime Minister, such as we now understand it to be, was Sir Robert Walpole. "It was not until his rise that the Prime Minister began to be regarded as the recognised leader of his party, the responsible adviser of the

Crown, and the head of the Cabinet. The history of the great 'minister of peace' is the history of a man who understood to the full the nature of the change from government by prerogative to government by parliament, who saw that parliamentary government and government by party were synonymous terms, and who had deeply studied the then new political doctrine that power was not dependent upon the royal approval, upon the intrinsic excellence of the measures introduced, upon ability or popularity, but upon the skilful working of a parliamentary majority. He was the first of English statesmen to recognise the advantages of a united Cabinet, and he gave proof of the light in which he regarded the influence of the House of Commons by being the first of our line of premiers who resigned office in obedience to an adverse vote of the Lower House. With the career of Sir Robert Walpole begins the history of the faults and the advantages, the patriotism and the selfishness, of government by Parliament."

Limitation of the Peerage.—In 1717 a bill was introduced by the Stanhope Ministry to limit the royal prerogative in the creation of peers. The existing number of the House of Lords was not to be increased beyond six, unless in the case of royal princes; future peerages were to be limited to the grantees and their immediate heirs; new creations were only to be made in cases of extinction; and the sixteen representative peers of Scotland were to be replaced by twenty-five hereditary peers nominated by the King. These provisions were carried in the House of Lords by a large majority, but were strenuously opposed by Walpole in the Commons, and "it may be doubted," writes Earl Stanhope the historian, "if any harangue of so much eloquence and effect had ever yet been delivered in the House." In opening his speech Walpole said: "Among the Romans the Temple of Fame was placed behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord or the grave of an extinct noble family: a policy very different from that glorious and enlightened nation, who made it their pride to hold out to the world illustrious examples of merited elevation,

'Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam.'

It is very far from my thoughts to depreciate the advantages or detract from the respect due to illustrious birth; for though the philosopher may say with the poet,

'Et genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco,'

yet the claim derived from that advantage, though fortuitous, is so generally and so justly conceded, that every endeavour to subvert the principle would merit contempt and abhorrence. But though illustrious birth forms one undisputed title to pre-eminence and superior consideration, yet surely it ought not to be the only one. The origin of high titles was derived from the will of the sovereign to reward signal services

or conspicuous merit by a recompense which, surviving to posterity, should display in all ages the virtues of the receiver and the gratitude of the donor. Is merit, then, so rarely discernible, or is gratitude so small a virtue, in our days, that the one must be supposed to be its own reward, and the other limited to a barren display of impotent goodwill? Had this bill originated with some noble peer of distinguished ancestry it would have excited less surprise; a desire to exclude others from a participation of honours is no novelty in persons of that class: *Quod ex aliorum meritis sibi arrogant, id mihi ex meis ascribi nolunt.* But it is a matter of just surprise that a bill of this nature should either have been projected or at least promoted by a gentleman (Lord Stanhope) who was not long ago seated amongst us, and who, having got into the House of Peers, is now desirous to shut the door after him. When great alterations in the Constitution are to be made, the experiment should be tried for a short time before the proposed change is finally carried into execution, lest it should produce evil instead of good; but in this case, when the bill is once sanctioned by Parliament, there can be no future hopes of redress, because the Upper House will always oppose the repeal of an Act which has so considerably increased their power. The great unanimity with which this bill has passed the Lords ought to inspire some jealousy in the Commons; for it must be obvious that whatever the Lords gain must be acquired at the expense of the Commons, and the dimininution of the regal prerogative; and that in all disputes between the Lords and Commons, when the House of Lords is immutable, the Commons must, sooner or later, be obliged to recede." Mainly in consequence of Walpole's speech, the bill was thrown out by a majority of 92.

His Part Taken.—The Lord Sunderland of the reign of George I. (writes Horace Walpole) "is said to have too much resembled as a politician the earl his father, who was so principal an actor in the reign of James II., and in bringing about the Revolution. Between the earl and the Prince of Wales grew mortal antipathy, of which an anecdote told to me by my father himself will leave no doubt. When a reconciliation had been patched up between the two courts, and my father became First Lord of the Treasury a second time, Lord Sunderland in a *tête-à-tête* with him said, 'Well, Mr. Walpole, we have settled matters for the present; but we must think whom we will have next' (meaning, in case of the King's demise). Walpole replied, 'Your lordship may think as you please, but my part is taken;' meaning, to support the established settlement."

The Orders of the Bath and Garter.—A few days before the prorogation of Parliament, May 31st, 1724, the Order of the Bath was revived, and Walpole was created a knight, and in 1726 he was installed Knight of the Garter; the value of which distinction is greatly enhanced by the consideration that, excepting Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, he was the only commoner who, since the reign of James I., had been dignified by that order.* On this event he had the honour of being congratulated by the author of the "Night Thoughts," in a poem

* See Miscellaneous section—"The Garter in the Commons."

called the "Instalment."—*Coxe's "Walpole."* In his speech in his own defence in 1741, Walpole thus alluded to his wearing of the Garter: "Is ambition imputed to me? Why then do I still continue a commoner—I, who refused a white staff and a peerage? I had, indeed, like to have forgotten the little ornament about my shoulders, which gentlemen have so repeatedly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. But surely, though this may be regarded with envy or indignation in *another place*, it cannot be supposed to raise any resentment in *this* House, where many may be pleased to see those honours which their ancestors have worn restored to the Commons."

A Bid for Place.—Sir Robert Walpole, while Prime Minister to George I., was very much detested by the Prince of Wales. On the death of the King in 1727, he was, at the first court that George II. held at Leicester House, as much disregarded as possible; but, by the following method (relates Mr. Henley), became in less than ten days respected and homaged by the whole Court. Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, and favourite of the King when Prince of Wales, had a private conference with Queen Caroline with regard to her jointure, and told her Majesty that he hoped to be able to obtain her fifty or sixty thousand per annum. Sir Robert Walpole, who had his advices of everything that happened then in private, was informed of this, and the Queen, being willing to know from the other party what they thought she ought to have, applied to Sir Robert, who, after telling her Majesty that her jointure ought to be unlimited with respect to her merit, as she had sacrificed being Empress on account of her religion (for she had refused being married to the Emperor of Germany), said that, as the nation had been involved in many wars, she could not *exiger* more than one hundred thousand pounds; which so effectually did his business that in a few days he was at the head of the administration. Compton was made Earl of Wilmington, and so far forgave Walpole his rivalry that some years later, when the minister was attacked, he rose from his bed, although suffering from fever, and went down to the House to vote for him—a circumstance which Horace Walpole mentioned as much to Wilmington's honour.

A Picture of the Court.—Horace Walpole, in his "Reminiscences," gives the following, which he terms "a true picture of courtiers." George II. and his consort "had removed from Richmond to their temporary palace in Leicester Fields on the very evening of their receiving notice of their accession to the crown; and the next day all the nobility and gentry in town crowded to kiss their hands: my mother amongst the rest, who, Sir Spencer Compton's designation, and not its evaporation, being known, could not make her way between the scornful backs and elbows of her late devotees, nor could approach nearer to the Queen than the third or fourth row; but no sooner was she descried by her Majesty than the Queen said aloud, 'There I am sure I see a friend!' The torrent divided and shrunk to either side, 'and as I came away,' said my mother, 'I might have walked over their heads, if I had pleased.'"

Ignorance of History.—On March 1st, 1733, Walpole's excise scheme was brought forward. A violent opponent of the measure had

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during the debate asserted that its object was to revive the worse practices of Empson and Dudley. So grossly ignorant of English history was the Prime Minister (writes Campbell), that he had been obliged to ask Sir Philip Yorke, sitting by him on the Treasury Bench, "who Empson and Dudley were."

Prepared for the Worst.—In his speech in defence of the Excise Bill, Sir Robert Walpole made a manly declaration of his readiness to answer for his political conduct: "Of late years," he said, "I have dwelt but little on the study of history, but I have a very good prompter, believe me (Sir Philip Yorke, the Attorney-General), and by his means I can recollect that the case of Empson and Dudley was so different from anything that can possibly be presumed from the case now before us, that I wonder how it was possible to bring them into the debate. Those men had, by virtue of old and obsolete laws, unjustly extorted great sums of money from people, under pretence that they had become liable to penalties for the breach of statutes which had for many years fallen into disuse. I must say (and I hope most of those who hear me will think) that it is very unjust to draw any parallel between their characters and mine. If my character is, or should ever come to be, in any respects like theirs, I shall deserve their fate. But while I know myself innocent, I shall depend upon the protection of the laws of my country; as long as they can protect me I am safe; and if that protection should fail, I am prepared to submit to the worst that can happen. I know that my political and ministerial life has by some gentlemen been long wished at an end, but they may ask their disappointed hearts how vain their wishes have been; and as for my natural life I have lived long enough to learn to be easy about parting with it."

Plots against his Life.—At the time of the Preston rebellion, a Jacobite, who sometimes furnished Sir Robert with intelligence, sitting alone with him one night, suddenly putting his hand into his bosom and rising, said, "Why do not I kill you now?" Walpole, starting up, replied, "Because I am a younger man, and a stronger." They sat down again, and discussed the person's information; but Sir Robert afterwards had reasons for thinking that the spy had no intention of assassination, but had hoped by intimidating to extort money from him. Yet, if no real attempt was made on his life, it was not from want of suggestions to it. One of the weekly journals pointed out Sir Robert's frequent passing Putney Bridge late at night, attended but by one or two servants, on his way to New Park, as a proper place; and after Sir Robert's death the second Earl of Egmont told me that he was once at a consultation of the Opposition, in which it was proposed to have Sir Robert murdered by a mob, of which the earl had declared his abhorrence.—*Horace Walpole's "Reminiscences."*

The Lie Direct.—Earl Russell relates that one day, in the presence of the King, Walpole "was so angry at the unfounded assertion of one of the Hanoverian ministers and favourites, that he exclaimed, with heat, 'Mentiris impudentissime.' In order to account for the use of these Latin terms, it is necessary to say, that Walpole not being able to speak

French, and George I. not understanding English, all their intercourse, down to the time of the King's death, took place in the Latin language."

Walpole's Two Drawbacks.—A friend of mine (says Dr. King), who dined with Sir Robert Walpole one day *tête-à-tête*, took occasion to compliment him on the great honour and power which he enjoyed as Prime Minister. "Doctor," says he, "I have great power, it is true; but I have two cursed drawbacks—Hanover and the ——— avarice."

A Grateful Supporter.—Sir Robert Walpole wanted to carry a question in the House of Commons, to which he knew there would be great opposition, and which was disliked by some of his own dependents. As he was passing through the Court of Requests he met a member of the contrary party, whose avarice, he imagined, would not reject a large bribe. He took him aside, and said, "Such a question comes on this day; give me your vote, and here is a bank bill of 2000*l.*," which he put into his hands. The member replied, "Sir Robert, you have lately served some of my particular friends; and when my wife was last at court, the King was very gracious to her, which must have happened at your instance. I should therefore think myself very ungrateful (putting the bank note into his pocket) if I were to refuse the favour you are now pleased to ask me."

Magnanimity.—Lord North related the following anecdote to Dr. Johnson: Sir Robert Walpole having got into his hands some treasonable letters of his inveterate enemy, William Shippen, one of the heads of the Jacobite faction, he sent for him and burned them before his face. Some time afterwards, Shippen had occasion to take the oaths to the Government in the House of Commons, and while he was doing so, Sir Robert, who stood next him and knew his principles to be the same as ever, smiled. "Egad, Robin," said Shippen, who had observed him, "that's hardly fair."

Even Temper.—Dr. Johnson had a high opinion of Sir Robert Walpole, notwithstanding that he had written against him in the early part of his life. He said of him that he was a fine fellow, and that his very enemies deemed him so before his death. He honoured his memory for having kept this country in peace many years, as also for the goodness and placability of his temper. Pulteney, Earl of Bath, in a conversation with Johnson, said that Sir Robert was of a temper so calm and equal, and so hard to be provoked, that he was very sure he never felt the bitterest invectives against him for half an hour.—*Hawkins' "Life of Johnson."*

Unusual Excitement.—In general (writes Brougham) Walpole's manner was simple, and even familiar, with a constant tendency towards gaiety. In vehemence of declamation he seldom indulged, and anything very violent was foreign to his habits at all times. Yet sometimes he deviated from this course, and once spoke under such excitement (on the motion respecting Lord Cadogan's conduct, 1717) that the blood burst from his nose, and he had to quit the House. But for this accidental relief, he probably would have afforded a singular instance of a speaker, always good-humoured and easy in his delivery beyond almost any other

dropping down dead in his declamation, from excess of vehemence; and at this time he was between forty and fifty years of age.

An Unseemly Conflict.—The following account of a scene between the brothers-in-law, Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, shortly before the retirement of the former from their joint ministry, shows that Walpole could occasionally lose his self-command. It is given in Ewald's biography:—Returning from the palace after a conference with the Queen, Walpole called upon Colonel Selwyn at Cleveland Court. Talking to Mrs. Selwyn was Townshend, and in the room were the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham. The conversation turned upon a question of foreign politics, which Walpole had advised should be abandoned. Townshend, disapproving of this suggestion of his colleague, recommended that the House of Commons should be informed of the nature of the measure, and be told that it had fallen through at the instigation of the First Lord of the Treasury. Walpole replied somewhat shortly that such a proceeding was inexpedient, and only calculated to give unnecessary trouble. To this Townshend hotly answered, "Since you object, and the House of Commons is your concern more than mine, I shall not persist in my opinion; but, as I now give way, I cannot avoid observing that, upon my honour, I think that mode of proceeding would have been most advisable." Walpole, whose rage had long been smouldering against Townshend and only wanted the slightest provocation to break out, said in his most scornful tones, "My lord, for once there is no man's sincerity which I doubt so much as your lordship's; and I never doubted it so much as when you are pleased to make such strong professions." The choleric temper of Townshend was unable to brook this taunt, and, forgetful that Mrs. Selwyn was in the room, he rushed forward, seized Walpole by his collar, and biography has to record that these two distinguished men were not ashamed to resent their wrongs by a personal struggle, which might have been approved of by the frequenters of a village taproom, but which was certainly out of place when we remember the high position of the combatants, and that the scene was laid in the house of a friend and in the presence of a lady. When the scuffle had ended, the rival ministers laid their hands on their swords, and prepared for an immediate duel. Mrs. Selwyn, in terror, was on the point of summoning the guards, but was prevented by Mr. Pelham. Happily, the friends now interposed (indeed, one is surprised that they did not interfere sooner), and a cold and hollow reconciliation between the two was effected—but neither ever forgot that day, and the bitterness with which it was remembered endured in the minds of both to the last.

Patriotism.—In his speech on his own vindication in 1741, Walpole remarked: "Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable word, when duly practised. But I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace; the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! why, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-

and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot."

The Balance of Power.—This expression occurs in the speech by Sir Robert Walpole in 1741, in which he defended himself against the motion for an address to George II. to remove him from his counsels. Alluding to the pacific policy of his administration, he said, "We were not in honour obliged to take any share in the war which the Emperor brought upon himself in the year 1733, nor were we in interest obliged to take a share in that war, as long as neither side attempted to push its conquests farther than was consistent with the balance of power in Europe, which was a case that did not happen."

His Resignation.—The immediate cause of the Minister's resignation was the virtual success of Pulteney's motion (p. 108) in January, 1742. His once powerful majority (writes Ewald) had dwindled down to three, and in a few days, when the question of the Chippenham election petition came before the House, even that feeble majority could not be commanded, and Walpole found himself for the first time for twenty years in a minority. He was strongly advised to give up the seals. "I must inform you," he writes to the Duke of Devonshire, "that the panic was so great among what I should call my own friends that they all declared my retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the public business." His own family also urged him to submit to the verdict of parliamentary fortune, and not to oppose a hostile House of Commons. Had he consulted his own wishes, he would, he said, still have remained at the head of affairs, in spite of his political reverses; but when he found that, in addition to a formidable majority in the House of Commons, and to a strong feeling against him out of doors, his Cabinet declined to serve under him and threatened desertion, he saw that there was no alternative but to tender his resignation. On handing the seals to the King, the Minister knelt down to kiss the royal hand, and it is said that his Majesty was so moved at the departure of his chief adviser, after the many years of faithful service he had rendered the Crown, that he burst into tears. Walpole was raised to the Upper House by the title of the Earl of Orford, and a handsome pension was granted him.

Faulty Premiers.—The Duke of Argyll said all First Ministers had been faulty, but that Sir Robert Walpole had the least faults of any minister with whom he had ever been concerned.

Inquiring after Robin.—When Walpole resigned, and was raised to the peerage, the old clergyman of Walsingham, who was master of the first school in which Sir Robert was instructed, went to his country seat at Houghton, and told him he had been his first master, and had predicted that he would be a great man. Being asked why he never called upon him while he was in power, he answered, "I knew that you were surrounded with so many petitioners, craving preferment, and that you had done so much for Norfolk people, that I did not wish to intrude. But," he added, in a strain of good-natured simplicity, "I always inquired how Robin went on, and was satisfied with your proceedings."

His Opinion of History.—Upon his retirement, in 1742, he went immediately to Houghton; but, accustomed all his life to political excitement, having never been fond of reading, and much of his old company failing, his time must have hung heavy on his hands. It is recorded that his son having one day proposed to read to him, and taking down a book of history, he exclaimed, "Oh, don't read history; that I know must be false:"—the judgment (remarks Earl Russell) of a man better acquainted with pamphleteers than with historians.

His Political Axiom.—Sir Robert Walpole is justly blamed (says Coxe) for a want of political decorum, and for deriding public spirit, to which Pope alludes:—

> "Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
> Of social pleasure, ill exchanged for power;
> Seen him, uncumbered with the venal tribe,
> Smile without art, and win without a bribe.
> Would he oblige me? let me only find
> He does not think me what he thinks mankind."

Although it is not possible to justify him, yet this part of his conduct has been greatly exaggerated. The political axiom generally attributed to him, that "all men have their price," was perverted by leaving out the word "those." Flowery oratory he despised; he ascribed to the interested views of themselves or their relatives the declarations of pretended patriots, of whom he said, "All *those* men have their price;" and in the event many of them justified his observation.—*Coxe's "Life."*

Character of Walpole.—Lord Campbell thus sums up the character of Walpole: "He was probably the most dexterous party-leader we have ever had—equally skilled to win royal favour, to govern the House of Commons, and to influence or be influenced by public opinion. He likewise well understood the *material* interests of the country, and, as far as was consistent with his own retention of power, he was desirous of pursuing them. But, that he might run no personal risk, he would make no attempt to improve our institutions; he was regardless of distant dangers; he plunged into a war which he admitted to be unjust and impolitic, and, by his utter neglect of literature and literary men—in spite of the example set him by his immediate predecessors, Whig and Tory—he gave to official life in England that aristocratic feeling, and vulgar, business-like tone, which it has ever since retained."—Mr. Massey, in his "History," says: "Every variety of invective which faction, jealousy, and personal hatred could suggest, was heaped upon his head; but the topics principally relied upon, and which could not be disputed, so far from being a reproach, are the very grounds on which his reputation as a wise and faithful minister must ever rest. That he was not scrupulous in the application of public money is undoubted; but the charge of personal peculation, by which the vindictive rage of his enemies sought his life as well as his honour, not only failed, but is discredited by the fact that he died largely in debt. The really vulnerable parts of his character were never attacked. The evil example of his private life; his utter contempt of decorum; the proverbial grossness of his conversation, and the perio-

dical debaucheries of Houghton, which were the talk of the whole county —all these passed uncensured. The truth is that the habits and manners of Walpole were congenial to the coarseness and depravity of the times."

WILLIAM PULTENEY.

(1682—1764.)

A Powerful Speaker.—Sir Robert Walpole said of his great rival that he feared Pulteney's tongue more than another man's sword; and his character as a debater was thus drawn by Speaker Onslow, who was also a political opponent: "He had the most popular parts for public speaking that I ever knew; animating every subject of popularity with the spirit and fire that the orators of the ancient commonwealths governed the people by; was as classical and eloquent in the speeches he did not prepare, as they were in the most studied compositions; mingling wit and pleasantry, and the application even of little stories, so properly to affect his hearers, that he would overset the best argumentation in the world, and win people over to his side, often against their own convictions, by making ridiculous that truth they were influenced by before, and making some men to be afraid and ashamed of being thought within the meaning of some bitter expression of his, or within the laugh that generally went through the town at any memorable stroke of his wit."

A Farcical Illustration.—Pulteney's speech against Walpole's Excise Bill gives us an example of his humour. "I must say," he remarked, "that the honourable gentleman has been of late mighty bountiful and liberal in his offers to the public. He has been so gracious as to ask us, 'Will you have a land tax of two shillings in the pound? a land tax of one shilling in the pound? or will you have no land tax at all? Will you have your debts paid? Will you have them soon paid? Tell me but what you want, let me but know how you can be made easy, and it shall be done for you.' These are most generous offers; but there is something so very extraordinary, so farcical in them, that really I can hardly mention them without laughing. It puts me in mind of the story of Sir Epicure Mammon in the 'Alchymist.' He was gulled of his money by fine promises; he was promised the philosopher's stone, by which he was to get mountains of gold and everything else he could desire; but all ended at last in some little thing for curing the itch."

A Horatian Bet.—On February 11th, 1741, Sandys informed Walpole in the House of Commons that he should, on the following Friday, bring an accusation of several articles against him. The minister, who received the intimation with great dignity and composure, immediately rose, thanked him for his notice, and, after requesting a candid and impartial hearing, declared that he would not fail to attend the House, as he was not conscious of any crime to deserve accusation. He laid his hand on his breast, and said, with some emotion—

"Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ."

Pulteney observed that the right honourable gentleman's logic and Latin were equally inaccurate, and declared he had misquoted Horace, who had

written *nullâ pallescere culpâ*. The minister defended his quotation, and, Pulteney repeating his assertion, he offered a wager of a guinea. Pulteney accepted the challenge, and referred the decision of the dispute to the minister's friend, Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the House, a man distinguished for classical erudition. Hardinge decided against Walpole; the guinea was immediately thrown to Pulteney, who caught it, and holding it up to the House exclaimed, "It is the only money I have received from the Treasury for many years, and it shall be the last."—*Coxe's "Life of Walpole."* The identical guinea may now be seen in the Medal Room of the British Museum, with the following memorandum in the handwriting of Pulteney:—"This guinea I desire may be kept as an heir-loom. It was won of Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Commons, he asserting the verse in Horace to be *nulli pallescere culpæ*, whereas I laid the wager of a guinea that it was *nullâ pallescere culpâ*. He sent for the book, and, being convinced that he had lost, gave me this guinea. I told him I could take the money without any blush on my side, but believed it was the only money he ever gave in the House, where the giver and receiver ought not equally to blush. This guinea, I hope, will prove to my posterity the use of knowing Latin, and encourage them in their learning."

Keyhole Tactics.—On the 21st January, 1742 (writes Coxe), Pulteney made the celebrated motion for referring to a secret committtee the papers relating to the war, which had been already presented to the House. As this motion involved in it numerous charges against the conduct of the war, stated the necessity of a parliamentary inquiry, and brought on personal invectives against the minister, Sir Robert Walpole took a considerable share in the debate, and was roused to the utmost exertions. The motion was negatived by a majority of only three, in the fullest house known for many years, for 503 members voted. The efforts were so great on both sides that numbers were brought in from the chamber of sickness. Several voted in that condition on the side of opposition; but some who intended to have supported the minister were prevented from appearing at the division. They had been placed in an adjoining apartment, belonging to Lord Walpole as auditor of the Exchequer, which communicated with the house. The adversaries, aware of this fact, filled the keyhole of the door with dirt and sand, which prevented their admission into the house till the division was over. On this occasion, as General Churchill was sitting next to the Prince of Wales, who was in the House of Commons to hear the debate, a member was brought in who had lost the use of his limbs. "So," says the prince, "I see you bring in the lame, the halt, and the blind." "Yes," replied the general, "the lame on our side, and the blind on yours."

Disparaging the Peers.—"When I have turned out Sir Robert Walpole," remarked Pulteney on one occasion, "I will retire into that hospital for invalids, the House of Peers." He afterwards entered the "hospital" as Earl of Bath.

Turning the Key on Him.—For his earldom (observes Ewald) Pulteney had but to thank his old enemy. Walpole had prompted the

King to offer the leader of the Opposition a coronet, and Pulteney had succumbed to the proposal. Soon after his refusal of office, however, he wished to decline the honour, but Walpole, well aware how public opinion would view the matter, advised the King to insist upon its original acceptance. "I remember," writes Horace Walpole, "my father's action and words when he returned from court and told me what he had done—'I have turned the key of the closet on him!' making that motion with his hand." It is said that when Pulteney received the patent of his creation as Earl of Bath he flung the parchment down and trampled upon it.

Insignificant Men.—By the fall of Walpole, Lord Bath enjoyed for some days a kind of sovereign power. But he ruined his character, and, from a most glorious eminence, sank down to a degree of contempt. The first time Sir Robert (who was now Earl of Orford) met him in the House of Lords, he threw out this reproach: "My Lord Bath, you and I are now two as insignificant men as any in England."—*Dr. King's "Anecdotes."*

Party Relations.—On the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole in 1742, the formation of an administration was, at his suggestion, offered to Pulteney, on condition that no prosecution should be instituted against the late minister. To this condition Pulteney declined to agree, saying, "Even should my inclination induce me to accede to these terms, yet it might not be in my power to fulfil my engagement, the heads of parties being like the heads of snakes, which are carried on by their tails."

HENRY PELHAM.

(1696—1754.)

His Intrepidity.—In the debates on the Excise Bill, in March, 1733, Pelham warmly supported that measure, in defiance of party and popular clamour. During this period of agitation he not only defended the Minister (Walpole) in Parliament, but on one occasion evinced his personal attachment by an act of great intrepidity. After the last debate on the bill, as Sir Robert Walpole was passing through the lobby of the House of Commons, accompanied by Mr. Pelham, he was surrounded by a clamorous mob, not of rabble, but of well-dressed persons. When the two friends had nearly reached the steps leading to Alice's coffee-house, some individuals seized Sir Robert's cloak, and, as the collar was tightly fastened, nearly strangled him. At this moment of danger Mr. Pelham attacked the assailants, pushed Sir Robert into the passage leading to the coffee-house, and, drawing his sword, stationed himself at the entrance, exclaiming in a firm and determined tone, "Now, gentlemen, who will be the first to fall?" This spirited defiance overawed the assailants, who quietly dispersed.—*Coxe's "Pelham Administration."* The archdeacon adds in a foot-note that the above is a correct version of the occurrence, which was inaccurately given in his "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole."

A Posthumous Malediction.—The principal article of the Ways and Means in 1752 was the land tax, which the Minister (Mr. Pelham)

entertained hopes of reducing to the ordinary rate of two shillings in the pound. He discovered, however, that this reduction could not be effected without trenching on the sinking fund, and thus depreciating the public securities, and therefore he determined to continue the tax at three shillings. This resolution was resisted by some violent members, whom Lord Orford sarcastically terms "the sad refuse of all the last Opposition," who contended that the land was already too much burdened to admit of the continuance of a tax at three shillings. Mr. Pelham and his adherents, in reply, alluded to the great rise in the value of land, which, they said, rendered reduction unnecessary. The arguments and influence of the Minister prevailed, and the resolution was carried in the committee by 176 against 50. On the report the opposition was still more feeble; and Mr. Sydenham concluded a speech which closed the discussion, by a ludicrous parody of the well-known epitaph on Sir John Vanbrugh, which he applied to Mr. Pelham—

"Lie heavy on him, *land*, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee."

The resolution was finally adopted by a majority of 58 against 19.—*Ibid.*

THE FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

(1693—1768.)

The Duke and the Leadership of the Commons.—The Duke became First Lord of the Treasury on the death of his brother, Henry Pelham, in 1754. He had some difficulty in finding a leader of the House of Commons, and opened negotiations with Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland. Macaulay writes: "The proposition which he made was that Fox should be Secretary of State, with the lead of the House of Commons; that the disposal of the secret service money—or, in plain words, the business of buying members of Parliament—should be left to the First Lord of the Treasury; but that Fox should be exactly informed of the way in which this fund was employed. To these conditions Fox assented. But the next day everything was in confusion. Newcastle had changed his mind. The conversation which took place between Fox and the duke is one of the most curious in English history. 'My brother,' said Newcastle, 'when he was at the Treasury, never told anybody what he did with the secret service money. No more will I.' The answer was obvious. Pelham had been not only First Lord of the Treasury, but also manager of the House of Commons; and it was therefore unnecessary for him to confide to any other person his dealings with the members of that House. 'But how,' said Fox, 'can I lead in the Commons without information on this head? How can I talk to gentlemen when I do not know which of them have received gratifications and which have not? And who,' he continued, 'is to have the disposal of places?' 'I myself,' said the duke. 'How then am I to manage the House of Commons?' 'Oh, let the members of the House of Commons come to me!' Fox then mentioned the general election which was approaching, and asked how the ministerial boroughs were to be filled up. 'Do not trouble yourself,' said Newcastle; 'that is

all settled.' This was too much for human nature to bear. Fox refused to accept the Secretaryship of State on such terms; and the duke confided the management of the House of Commons to a dull, harmless man, whose name is almost forgotten in our time, Sir Thomas Robinson. 'Sir Thomas Robinson lead us!' said Pitt to Fox. 'The duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us.'"

A Living Caricature.—There is scarcely any public man in our history of whose manners and conversation so many particulars have been preserved. Single stories may be unfounded or exaggerated. But all the stories about him, whether told by people who were perpetually seeing him in Parliament and attending his levee in Lincoln's Inn-fields, or by Grub-street writers who never had more than a glimpse of his star through the windows of his gilded coach, are of the same character. Horace Walpole and Smollett differed in their tastes and opinions as much as two human beings could differ. They kept quite different society. Walpole played at cards with countesses, and corresponded with ambassadors. Smollett passed his life surrounded by printers' devils and famished scribblers. Yet Walpole's duke and Smollett's duke are as like as if they were both from one hand. Smollett's Newcastle runs out of his dressing-room with his face covered with soapsuds to embrace the Moorish envoy. Walpole's Newcastle pushes his way into the Duke of Grafton's sick room to kiss the old nobleman's plasters. No man was so unmercifully satirised. But in truth he was himself a satire ready made. All that the art of the satirist does for other men, nature had done for him. Whatever was absurd about him stood out with grotesque prominence from the rest of the character. He was a living, moving, talking caricature. His gait was a shuffling trot; his utterance a rapid stutter; he was always in a hurry; he was never in time; he abounded in fulsome caresses and in hysterical tears. His oratory resembled that of Justice Shallow. It was nonsense effervescent with animal spirits and impertinence. Of his ignorance many anecdotes remain, some well authenticated, some probably invented at coffee-houses, but all exquisitely characteristic. "Oh—yes—yes—to be sure—Annapolis must be defended—troops must be sent to Annapolis—Pray where is Annapolis?" "Cape Breton an island! wonderful!—show it me on the map. So it is, sure enough. My dear sir, you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island." And this man was, during nearly thirty years, Secretary of State, and, during near ten years, First Lord of the Treasury!—*Macaulay on Horace Walpole.* Somebody said t'other day, "Yet sure the Duke of Newcastle does not want parts." "No," replied Lord Talbot, "for he has done without them for forty years."—*Walpole's Letters to Mann.*

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

(1690—1764.)

A Distinguished Judge.—Sir Philip Yorke, who has previously been referred to as Attorney-General in Sir Robert Walpole's Administration, was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1733, and

created a peer by the title of Baron Hardwicke. Being afterwards elevated to the woolsack, he remained Lord Chancellor for twenty years, and he is distinguished as never having had a decision reversed, and only three even appealed against.

Very Peremptory.—On the day, writes Campbell, that Lord Talbot died (Feb. 14th, 1737), the great seal was delivered up by his executors into the hands of George II. Lord Hardwicke was now regarded as decidedly the most useful man to be introduced into the Cabinet, and to preside on the woolsack as Chancellor. But, there being some difficulty as to the accompanying arrangements, the great seal remained for a whole week in the personal custody of the King. Meanwhile, as Parliament was sitting, and there was no Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, it was necessary to provide a Speaker for the House of Lords, and the great seal, while in the King's possession, was (somewhat irregularly) put to a commission authorising Lord Hardwicke to act in that capacity. He accordingly did act for several days as Speaker, without being Chancellor. During this interval it is related that Walpole, resisting some of Hardwicke's demands, said to him by way of threat, "I must offer the seals to Fazakerly!" "Fazakerly!" exclaimed Hardwicke, "impossible! he is certainly a Tory—perhaps a Jacobite!" "It's all very true," coolly replied Sir Robert, taking out his watch; "but if by one o'clock you do not accept my offer, Fazakerly, by two, becomes Lord Keeper, and one of the stanchest Whigs in all England." The bargain was immediately closed, and Lord Hardwicke was contented with the promise that the next Tellership should be bestowed upon his son.

Titles and Trappings.—The Earl of Hardwicke had been so long known and spoken of as Lord Chancellor, that many of his friends even had forgotten his ordinary title. Upon his first appearance at the royal levee after his resignation (1756) he was announced as the Earl of Hardwicke, but the King, with whom he had been much in favour, not recognising the title, merely replied by his usual cold question, "How long has his lordship been in town?" When he advanced, the alteration in his appearance caused by the absence of the wig and robes completed the delusion; the Earl left the presence-chamber without being recognised by the master whom he had served so long.—*Cooke's "History of Party."*

THE EARL OF BUTE.

(1713—1792.)

An Unpopular Minister.—The First Lord of the Treasury (says Macaulay) was detested by many as a Tory, by many as a favourite, and by many as a Scot. He could hardly walk the streets in safety without disguising himself. A gentleman who died not many years ago used to say that he once recognised the favourite earl in the piazza of Covent Garden, muffled in a large coat, and with a hat and wig drawn down over his brows. His lordship's established type with the mob was a jackboot —a wretched pun on his Christian name and title. A jackboot, generally

accompanied by a petticoat, was sometimes fastened on a gallows, and sometimes committed to the flames.

"Blood Full of Prerogative."—In a conversation with Boswell in 1775, Dr. Johnson thus summed up the character of the Earl of Bute, who, when Prime Minister in 1762, had put Johnson on the pension list: "Our several ministers in this reign have outbid each other in concessions to the people. Lord Bute, though a very honourable man—a man who meant well, a man who had his blood full of prerogative—was a theoretical statesman, a book-minister, and thought the country could be governed by the influence of the Crown alone." He went on to say, "There is now no prime minister: there is only an agent for government in the House of Commons. We are governed by the Cabinet, but there is no one head there since Sir Robert Walpole's time."

A Minute Gun Speech.—Lord Bute delivered a speech in favour of the Cider Bill in the House of Lords, on the 28th March, 1763, in reply to Lord Hardwicke, who opposed the measure. His delivery on this occasion was so particularly slow and solemn that Charles Townshend, standing on the steps of the throne, called out, in an audible whisper, "Minute guns!" "These," says Lord Campbell, "might be considered as announcing the funeral of Lord Bute's Ministry."

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

(1708—1778.)

The Terrible Cornet.—The antagonist whom William Pitt first encountered, on his entering into public life (after having served in the Blues), was the veteran Walpole, who instinctively dreaded him the moment he heard his voice, and exclaimed, "We must muzzle that terrible cornet of horse!"—*Lord Brougham's "Statesmen."*

Chatham's Personal Characteristics.—Those who saw him in his decay (writes Macaulay)—when his health was broken, when his mind was untuned, when he had been removed from that stormy assembly of which he thoroughly knew the temper, and over which he possessed unbounded influence, to a small, a torpid, and an unfriendly audience—say that his speaking was then, for the most part, a low, monotonous muttering, audible only to those who sat close to him; that when violently excited he sometimes raised his voice for a few minutes, but that it soon sank again into an unintelligible murmur. Such was the Earl of Chatham; but such was not William Pitt. His figure, when he first appeared in Parliament, was strikingly graceful and commanding, his features high and noble, his eye full of fire. His voice, even when it sank to a whisper, was heard to the remotest benches; and when he strained it to its full extent, the sound rose like the swell of an organ of a great cathedral, shook the house with its peal, and was heard through lobbies and down staircases to the Court of Requests and the precincts of Westminster Hall. He cultivated all these eminent advantages with the most assiduous care. His action is described by a very malignant observer as equal to that of Garrick. His play of countenance was

wonderful; he frequently disconcerted a hostile orator by a single glance of indignation or scorn. Every tone, from the impassioned cry to the thrilling aside, was perfectly at his command. It is by no means improbable that the pains which he took to improve his great personal advantages had, in some respects, a prejudicial operation, and tended to nourish in him that passion for theatrical effect which was one of the most conspicuous blemishes in his character.

His Imposing Manner.—In his earlier time, his whole manner is represented as having been beyond conception animated and imposing. Indeed, the things which he effected principally by means of it, or at least which nothing but a most striking and commanding tone could have made it possible to attempt, almost exceed belief. Some of these sallies are, indeed, examples of that approach made to the ludicrous by the sublime which has been charged upon him as a prevailing fault. It is related that once, in the House of Commons, he began a speech with the words, "Sugar, Mr. Speaker,"—and then, observing a smile to pervade the audience, he paused, looked fiercely around, and with a loud voice, rising in its notes and swelling into vehement anger, he is said to have pronounced again the word "Sugar!" three times; and having thus quelled the House, and extinguished every appearance of levity or laughter, turned round and disdainfully asked, "Who will laugh at sugar now?"*—*Brougham's "Statesmen."*

Fixing a Charge.—On one occasion Chatham said, "Who are the evil advisers of his Majesty? I would say to them, Is it you? Is it you? Is it you?" (pointing to the ministers, until he came near Lord Mansfield). There were several lords around him, and Lord Chatham said, "My lords, please to take your seats." When they had sat down, he pointed to Lord Mansfield, and said, "Is it you? *Methinks Felix trembles.*"

Compelling a Retractation.—Charles Butler relates that Mr. Moreton, the Chief Justice of Chester, happened to say in the House, "King, Lords, and Commons, or (directing his eye towards Pitt), as that right honourable member would call them, Commons, Lords, and King." Pitt arose with great deliberation, and called to order. "I have," he said, "heard frequently in this House doctrines which have surprised me; but now my blood runs cold. I desire the words of the honourable member may be taken down." The clerks of the House wrote the words. "Bring them to me," said Pitt, in his loudest voice. By this time Mr. Moreton was frightened out of his senses. "Sir," he said, addressing himself to the Speaker, "I am sorry to have given any offence to the right honourable member or to the House. I meant nothing. King, Lords, and Commons—Lords, King, and Commons—Commons, Lords, and King; *tria juncta in uno.* I meant nothing; indeed, I meant nothing." "I don't wish to push the matter further," said Pitt. "The moment a man

* Mr. Disraeli wrote, in his "Life of Bentinck:" "Sugar was an article of colonial produce which had been embarrassing, if not fatal, to many governments. Strange that a manufacture which charms infancy and soothes old age should so frequently occasion political disaster."

acknowledges his error, he ceases to be guilty. I have a great regard for the honourable member, and, as an instance of that regard, I give him this advice: whenever that member *means* nothing, I recommend him to *say* nothing."

Chatham and the French Minister.—A letter published in the "Grenville Papers," from Mr. Jenkinson to Mr. Grenville, June 23rd, 1761, contains the following passage: "Bussi is horrified with Mr. Pitt's presence, which makes him act in the manner he does." The editor of the Papers adds: "In one of Stanley's most secret letters to Mr. Pitt, he says, 'M. de Bussi was nominated minister at our court before the expedition against Belleisle was even thought of here. When the Duc de Choiseul informed me of the awe with which he was struck by you, he said he was not surprised at it—*car le pauvre diable tremblait de peur en partant;* he was so much frightened that he wrote for a passport to return. The Duc showed me this request in his own hand—the Duc was with the King, at Marli, when he received it. His reflection upon it was: '*Apparemment, sire, qu'il a deplû à M. Pitt, qui l'aura fait sauter par les fenêtres.*' I replied, '*Je n'aurais pas trouvé bon dans ce cas de faire la même gambade par manière de représailles.*'"

Peremptory Orders.—Earl Russell writes of Pitt: "He commanded his expeditions against France by placing a sheet of paper over the orders he gave, and leaving at the bottom of the page on which they were written only room for the signatures of the Lords of the Admiralty." And again: "My grandfather, Lord Torrington, told me that the first William Pitt sent a messenger to the Admiralty that the Channel fleet must sail on the Tuesday following. The Board of Admiralty answered that it was impossible that the fleet could be ready by Tuesday. Mr. Pitt rejoined that in that case he should recommend to the King to name a new Board of Admiralty. The Channel fleet sailed on the Tuesday."

His Oratory.—Macaulay observes, in his essay on Chatham, "He was no speaker of set speeches. His few prepared discourses were complete failures. The elaborate panegyric which he pronounced on General Wolfe was considered as the very worst of all his performances. 'No man,' says a critic who had often heard him, 'ever knew so little what he was going to say.' Indeed, his facility amounted to a vice. He was not the master, but the slave of his own speech. So little self-command had he when once he felt the impulse, that he did not like to take part in a debate when his mind was full of an important secret of state. 'I must sit still,' he once said to Lord Shelburne on such an occasion; 'for, when once I am up, everything that is in my mind comes out.'"—Lord Brougham remarks, "He was prolix in the whole texture of his discourse, and he was certainly the first who introduced into our Senate the practice, adopted in the American War by Mr. Burke, and continued by others, of long speeches—speeches of two and three hours—by which oratory has gained little, and business less."—Grattan said, "I heard him several times when I was at the Temple—on the American War, on the King's speech in 1770, and on the privileges of Parliament. He was very great, and very odd. He spoke in a style of conversation; not, however, what I expected;

it was not a speech, for he never came with a prepared harangue. His style was not regular oratory, like Cicero or Demosthenes, but it was very fine and very elevated. He appeared more like a grave character advising than mingling in the debate. His gesture was always graceful; he was an incomparable actor. Had it not been so, it would have appeared ridiculous. His address to the tapestry* and to Lord Effingham's memory required a fine actor, and he was that actor."

Employment of Indians by Chatham.—The Earl of Chatham's famous speech against the employment of Indians in the war with the American colonies, was followed by his adversaries (soon afterwards, if not at the time) with the retort that he himself had employed Indians in a similar conflict. The following particulars were communicated to Lord Brougham by "a most accomplished and venerable person, the ornament of a former age," and appear in an appendix to the "Sketches of Statesmen of the Time of George III." :—"The very same thing had been done in the former war carried on in Canada, by his authority and under his own immediate superintendence; the French had arrayed a tribe of these savage warriors against us, and we, without scruple, arrayed another against them. This he thought fit to deny in the most positive manner, although the ministers offered to produce documents written by himself that proved it, from among the papers at the Secretary's office. A warm debate ensued, and at length Lord Amherst, the general who commanded our troops in that Canadian war, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that it compelled him to rise, and most unwillingly (for he greatly respected Lord Chatham) falter out a few words; enough, however, to acknowledge the fact—a fact admitted generally, and even assumed by the Opposition lords who spoke afterwards. They seemed to lay the question quietly by, as far as it concerned Lord Chatham's veracity, and only insisted upon the difference between the two wars—the one foreign, the other civil; arguing, also, that we might have been under some necessity of using retaliation, since the French certainly first began the practice so justly abhorred. The *Annual Register* for 1777 states that Mr. Burke took the same course in the House of Commons. Upon hearing what had passed in the House of Lords, Lord Bute exclaimed with astonishment, 'Did Pitt really deny it? Why, I have letters of his still by me, singing *Io Pœans* over the advantages we gained through our Indian allies.' Could what he thus said have been untrue, when it was almost a soliloquy spoken rather *before* than *to* his wife and daughters, the only persons present? The letters he mentioned were neither official nor confidential, but such common notes as might pass between him and Lord Chatham while still upon a footing of some intimacy. It must be observed that, in 1777, Lord Bute had long withdrawn from all political connections, lived in great

* "I invoke the genius of the Constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty, and establish the religion of Britain, against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than Popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us."—*Speech against the Employment of Indians in the War with America.*

retirement, and had no intercourse whatever with the people then in power."

Strong Terms respecting a King's Speech.—The Speech from the Throne in 1770, respecting the affair of Falkland's Island, had stated that the Spanish Government had disowned the act of its officer. Lord Chatham said: "There never was a more odious, a more infamous falsehood imposed on a great nation. It degrades the King, it insults the Parliament. His Majesty has been advised to affirm an absolute falsehood. My Lords, I beg your attention, and I hope I shall be understood when I repeat that it is an absolute, a palpable falsehood. The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by his theft. In vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and should be treated accordingly."

The Dignity of the House of Commons.—Henry Fox, writing to Lord Hartington on the subject of the Berwick election in 1754, at which Wilkes, although unsuccessful, spent between 3000*l.* and 4000*l.*, says: "Mr. Wilkes, a friend it seems of Pitt's, petitioned against the younger Delaval, chose at Berwick, on account of bribery only. The younger Delaval made a speech on his being thus attacked, full of wit, humour, and buffoonery, which kept the House in a continued roar of laughter. Mr. Pitt came down from the gallery and took it up in his highest tone of dignity. He was astonished when he heard what had been the occasion of their mirth. Was the dignity of the House of Commons on so sure foundations that they might venture themselves to shake it? Had it not, on the contrary, by gradations, been diminishing for years, till now we were brought to the very brink of the precipice, where, if ever, a stand must be made?"—*Lord Waldegrave's "Memoirs."*

A Forecast of Reform.—In a debate on the right of Parliament to tax the American colonies, in December, 1765, Pitt made the following remarks: "There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in the House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number. Or will you tell me that he is represented by any representative of a borough?—a borough which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw? This is what is called the rotten part of the Constitution. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man. It does not deserve a serious refutation."

Stabbing the Constitution.—In the debate (May 1st, 1770) which arose on Lord Marchmont's famous midnight motion, "That any interference of the Lords respecting the Middlesex election would be unconstitutional," Lord Chatham exclaimed, "If the Constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour."

A Confession of Error.—No one (writes Coxe) can suspect Pitt of paying a tribute of applause to the memory of Walpole from mean and

adulatory motives; yet even he observed, in the House of Commons, that Sir Robert Walpole was a very able minister. Perceiving several members laugh, he added, "The more I reflect on my conduct the more I blame myself for opposing the Excise Bill;" and then concluded by saying, with his usual energy, "Let those who are ashamed to confess their errors laugh out. Can it be deemed adulation to praise a minister who is no more?" The whole House seemed abashed, and became silent.

The "Gentle Shepherd."—Dashwood's financial statement (1762) had been confused and absurd beyond belief, and had been received by the House with roars of laughter. He had sense enough to be conscious of his unfitness for the high situation which he held, and exclaimed, in a comical fit of despair, "What shall I do? The boys will point at me in the street, and cry, 'There goes the worst Chancellor of the Exchequer that ever was.'" George Grenville came to the rescue, and spoke strongly on his favourite theme, the profusion with which the late war had been carried on. That profusion, he said, had made taxes necessary. He called on the gentlemen opposite to him to say where they would have a tax laid, and dwelt on this topic with his usual prolixity. "Let them tell me where," he repeated in a monotonous and somewhat fretful tone. "I say, sir, let them tell me where. I repeat it, sir; I am entitled to say to them, Tell me where." Unluckily for him, Pitt had come down to the house that night, and had been bitterly provoked by the reflections thrown on the war. He revenged himself by murmuring, in a whine resembling Grenville's, a line of a well-known song, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where." "If," cried Grenville, "gentlemen are to be treated in this way ——" Pitt, as was his fashion when he meant to mark extreme contempt, rose deliberately, made his bow, and walked out of the house, leaving his brother-in-law in convulsions of rage, and everybody else in convulsions of laughter. It was long before Grenville lost the nickname of the Gentle Shepherd.—*Macaulay's Essay on Chatham.*

A Clinical Consultation.—Mr. Pitt's plan when he had the gout was to have no fire in his room, but to load himself with bed-clothes. At his house at Hayes he slept in a long room, at one end of which was his bed, and his lady's at the other. His way was, when he thought the Duke of Newcastle had fallen into any mistake, to send for him and read him a lecture. The duke was sent for once, and came, when Mr. Pitt was confined to bed by the gout. There was, as usual, no fire in the room; the day was very chilly, and the duke, as usual, afraid of catching cold. The duke first sat down on Mrs. Pitt's bed, as the warmest place; then drew up his legs into it, as he got colder. The lecture, unluckily, continuing a considerable time, the duke at length fairly lodged himself under Mrs. Pitt's bed-clothes. A person from whom I had the story suddenly going in saw the two ministers in bed, at the two ends of the room, while Pitt's long nose and black beard, unshaved for some days, added to the grotesque nature of the scene.—*Walpoliana.*

Youth and Age.—There is a statement (writes Warburton, in his "Memoirs of Horace Walpole") which, having found its way into such an authority as "Chandler's Debates," has been incorporated in works

pretending to historical accuracy. On a debate arising out of the Bill for the Encouragement and Increase of Seamen, in 1740, Pitt is represented as attacking Mr. Horace Walpole (uncle of the more celebrated Horace) for having ventured on a reference to his youth. The fact is that these debates were imaginary, or constructed on a very slight foundation. Dr. Johnson, as is well known, before he had obtained his colossal reputation, drew up fictitious reports of what took place in the House of Commons. Mr. Horace Walpole having in a discussion been severely handled by Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, all of whom were much his juniors, lamented that though he had been so long in business young men should be found so much better informed in political matters than himself. He added that he had at least one consolation in remembering that his own son, being twenty years of age, must be as much the superior of Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles, as they were wiser than himself. Pitt, having his youth thus mercilessly flung in his face, got up in a rage, commencing, "With the greatest reverence to the grey hairs of the gentleman——" but was stopped by Mr. Walpole pulling off his wig, and disclosing a grizzled poll beneath. This excited very general laughter, in which Pitt joined with such heartiness as quite to forget his anger.

Professional Knowledge versus Eloquence.—Malone, the editor of Shakspeare, who was in the habit of noting anecdotes he heard in society, is the authority for the following: On one occasion Pitt made a very long and able speech in the Privy Council relative to some naval matter. Everyone present was struck by the force of his eloquence. Lord Anson, who was no orator, being then at the head of the Admiralty, and differing entirely in opinion from Mr. Pitt, got up, and only said these words: "My Lords, Mr. Secretary is very eloquent, and has stated his own opinion very plausibly. I am no orator, and all I shall say is that he knows nothing at all of what he has been talking about." This short reply, together with the confidence the Council had in Lord Anson's professional skill, had such an effect on every one present that they immediately determined against Mr. Pitt's proposition.

Effect of his Elevation to the Peerage.—Those (says Macaulay) who had most loved and honoured the great Commoner were loudest in invective against the new-made Lord. London had hitherto been true to him through every vicissitude. When the citizens learned that he had been sent for from Somersetshire, that he had been closeted with the King at Richmond, and that he was to be First Minister, they had been in transports of joy. Preparations were made for a grand entertainment and for a general illumination. The lamps had actually been placed round the Monument, when the *Gazette* announced that the object of all this enthusiasm was an Earl. Instantly the feast was countermanded, The lamps were taken down. The newspapers raised the roar of obloquy. Pamphlets, made up of calumny and scurrility, filled the shops of all the booksellers. . . It was now the fashion to compare the two Williams, William Pulteney and William Pitt. Both, it was said, had, by eloquence and simulated patriotism, acquired a great ascendancy in the House of Commons and in the country. Both had been entrusted with

the office of reforming the Government. Both had, when at the height of power and popularity, been seduced by the splendour of the coronet. Both had been made earls, and both had at once become objects of aversion and scorn to the nation which a few hours before had regarded them with affection and veneration. The clamour against Pitt appears to have had a serious effect on the foreign relations of the country. His name had till now acted like a spell at Versailles and Saint Ildefonso. English travellers on the Continent had remarked that nothing more was necessary to silence a whole room full of boasting Frenchmen than to drop a hint of the probability that Mr. Pitt would return to power. In an instant there was deep silence: all shoulders rose, and all faces were lengthened. Now, unhappily, every foreign court, in learning that he was recalled to office, learned also that he no longer possessed the hearts of his countrymen. Ceasing to be loved at home, he ceased to be feared abroad. The name of Pitt had been a charmed name. Our envoys tried in vain to conjure with the name of Chatham.

Insulting the Lion.—In December, 1777, an adjournment of the House for six weeks was proposed by the Ministry, Lord North promising that after the holidays he would lay before it a plan for treating with the Americans. Burke and Fox abused Lord North, and told him the Ministers thought of nothing but keeping their places; and they argued strongly against adjourning for more than the Christmas days in times of such imminent danger. The Duke of Richmond and Lord Chatham urged the same plea, but Lord Suffolk (writes Horace Walpole) "had the indecency to tell Lord Chatham that he only wanted the House to sit because he was sure he would be allowed to give his advice nowhere else. This brutality from so stupid a creature to an old man who had made so great a figure was severely treated in the public papers."

The Death of Chatham.—The following account of this event is abridged from Earl Russell's "Life of Fox:"—The Duke of Richmond gave notice that on the 7th of April, 1778, he would move an address to the King, entreating him to withdraw his fleets and armies from America, and make peace with the revolted colonies. Lord Chatham was at the time at Hayes, slowly recovering from a fit of the gout; but the moment he heard of the intended address, he resolved to attend the House of Lords, and neither his family nor his friends could induce him to desist from his purpose. On the 7th of April, accordingly, he came into the House with feeble steps, leaning with one arm on his son, William Pitt, and with the other on his son-in-law, Lord Mahon. After the Duke of Richmond had spoken, Lord Chatham rose. "The earl spoke," writes Lord Camden to the Duke of Grafton, "but was not like himself; his speech faltered, his sentences broken, and his mind not master of itself. His words were shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire which he, Prometheus like, had stolen from heaven, and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken. Your grace sees even I, who am a mere prose man, am tempted to be poetical while I am discoursing of this extraordinary man's genius." The Duke of Richmond answered Lord Chatham. He rose to reply, but nature was exhausted;

"he fell back," says Lord Camden, "upon his seat, and was to all appearance in the agonies of death. This threw the whole House into confusion; every person was upon his legs in a moment, hurrying from one place to another, some sending for assistance, others producing salts, and others reviving spirits. Many crowding about the earl to observe his countenance; all affected; most part really concerned; and even those who might have felt a real pleasure at the accident, yet put on the appearance of distress." Lord Chatham was carried into the Prince's chamber, and laid upon the table, supported by pillows. After a few days he recovered sufficiently to be removed to Hayes. But the attack was fatal. He expired at Hayes on the 11th of May following.

Examples of his Eloquence.—Lord Brougham gives the following, among other examples of Chatham's oratory, in his "Historical Sketches of Statesmen":—

"All our knowledge of the peculiar nature of his oratory rests upon a few scattered fragments. There is, however, some security for our deducing from these a correct notion of it, because they certainly, according to all accounts, were the portions of his discourse which produced the most extraordinary effect, on which its fame rests, and by which its quality is to be ascertained.

"His remark on confidence, when it was asked by the Ministry of 1776, for whom he had some forbearance rather than any great respect, is well known. He said their characters were fair enough, and he was always glad to see such persons engaged in the public service; but, turning to them with a smile, very courteous but not very respectful, he said, 'Confide in you? Oh, no; you must pardon me, gentlemen. *Youth* is the season of credulity; confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom!'

"Some one, having spoken of the obstinacy of America, said 'that she was almost in open rebellion.' Mr. Pitt exclaimed, 'I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to let themselves be made slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest!'* Then, speaking of the attempt to keep her down—'In a just cause of quarrel you may crush America to atoms; but in this crying injustice' (Stamp Act) 'I am one who will lift up my hands against it. In such a cause even your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace—to sheathe the sword, not in its scabbard, but in the bowels of your countrymen?'

"'Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; and three words of their barbarous Latin, *nullus liber homo*, are worth all the

* He added (remarks Russell), in allusion to a previous quotation of precedents, "I come not here armed at all points with law cases and Acts of Parliament, with the Statute-books doubled down in dog's-ears, to defend the cause of liberty."

classics. Yet their virtues were never tried in a question so important as this' (the pretension of privilege in the House of Commons). 'A breach is made in the constitution—the battlements are dismantled—the citadel is open to the first invader—the walls totter—the place is no longer tenable. What, then, remains for us but to stand foremost in the breach, to repair it, or to perish in it? Unlimited power corrupts the possessor; and this I know, that where law ends, there tyranny begins.'

"Again, he said: 'Magna Charta—the Petition of Right—the Bill of Rights—form the Bible of the English constitution. Had some of the King's unhappy predecessors trusted less to the commentary of their advisers, and been better read in the text itself, the glorious Revolution might have remained only possible in theory, and their fate would not now have stood upon record, a formidable example to all their successors.'

"In 1775 he made a most brilliant speech on the war. Speaking of General Gage's inactivity, he said it could not be blamed; it was inevitable. 'But what a miserable condition,' he exclaimed, 'is ours, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible! You must repeal these Acts' (he said, alluding to the Boston Ports and Massachusetts Bay Bills), 'and you WILL repeal them. I pledge myself for it, that you will repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not finally repealed.' Every one knows how true this prophecy proved. The concluding sentence of the speech has been often cited: 'If the Ministers persevere in misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone.'

"Again, in 1777, after describing the cause of the war and 'the traffic and barter driven with every little pitiful German prince that sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign country,' he adds, 'The mercenary aid on which you rely irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies, whom you overrun with the sordid sons of rapine and of plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never! never! never!'

"There are other celebrated passages of his speeches in all men's mouths. His indignant and contemptuous answer to the Minister's boast of driving the Americans before the army—'I might as well think of driving them before me with this crutch!'—is well known. Perhaps the finest of them all is his allusion to the maxim of English law, that every man's house is his castle. 'The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail—its roof may shake—the wind may blow through it—the storm may enter—the rain may enter—but the King of England cannot enter!—all his force dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement!'"

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD.

(1705—1793.)

Secret of Success in Parliament.—Lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters to his son, thus wrote of Mansfield, then Mr. Murray, Solicitor-General: "Your fate depends upon your success as a speaker, and take my word for it that success turns more upon manner than matter. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Murray are, beyond comparison, the best speakers. Why? Only because they are the best orators. They alone can inflame or quiet the House; they alone are attended to in that numerous and noisy assembly, that you might hear a pin fall while either of them is speaking. Is it that their matter is better, or their arguments stronger, than other people's? Does the House expect extraordinary information from them? Not in the least; but the House expects pleasure from them, and therefore attends; finds it, and therefore approves."

Pitt's Antagonism.—Throughout the whole course of Murray's career in the House of Commons, he was the invariable object of Pitt's unsparing invective. "Pitt," says Lord Waldegrave, "undertook the difficult task of silencing Murray, the Attorney-General, the ablest man, as well as the ablest debater, in the House of Commons." Dissimilarity of character, no less than of political principles, added bitterness to the eloquence of Pitt. Despising the policy and distrusting the principles of Murray, he eagerly availed himself of every occasion which presented itself of expressing his indignant sarcasms. Brilliant and argumentative as was the oratory of Murray, he did not always possess the nerve necessary to ward off or to return assaults so terrible as these, and for the most part he bore, in agitated silence, the attacks to which he did not venture to make any reply. In a letter from Lord Holland, describing a speech just given, the writer says, "In both Mr. Pitt's speeches every word was *Murray*, yet so managed that neither he nor anybody else could or did take public notice of it, or in any degree reprehend him. I sat near Murray, who suffered for an hour."—*Roscoe's "British Lawyers."*

Mansfield's Powers in Debate.—One of the first occasions (says Roscoe) on which Lord Mansfield distinguished himself in the House of Lords, after his elevation to the peerage, was in the debate on the Bill for the Amendment of the Habeas Corpus Act. A gentleman having been impressed and confined in the Savoy, his friends applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*; but, as the imprisonment was not for any criminal matter, it was found that the statute of 31 Car. II., c. 2, did not apply. This palpable deficiency in the law attracted the attention of some friends to liberty, who introduced a bill into the House of Commons for the purpose of extending the provisions of the statute of Charles II. to cases where the imprisonment was not upon any criminal charge. The bill passed the Lower House, but was violently opposed in the House of Lords by Lord Mansfield and Lord Hardwicke. The King himself talked openly against the bill at his levee, and the supporters of it were understood to incur his displeasure. Such was the earnestness and so great the ingenuity and eloquence which Lord Mansfield exerted on the occasion, that the bill was

ultimately rejected. "The fate of the bill," says Horace Walpole, "which could not be procured by the sanction of the judges, Lord Mansfield was forced to take upon himself. He spoke for two hours and a half; his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I am not averse to own that I never heard so much argument, so much sense, so much oratory united. His deviations into the abstruse minutiæ of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of the oration. Perhaps it was the only speech which, in my time at least, had real effect—that is, convinced many persons; nor did I ever know how true a votary I was to liberty, till I found that I was not one of the number staggered by that speech."

LORD NORTH.

(1732—1792.)

A Pattern of Good Humour.—A few only of his sayings have reached us, and those, as might be expected, are rather things which he had chanced to coat over with some sarcasm or epigram that tended to preserve them; they consequently are far from giving an idea of his habitual pleasantry, and the gaiety of thought which generally pervaded his speeches. Thus, when a vehement declaimer, calling aloud for his head, turned round and perceived his victim unconsciously indulging in a soft slumber, and, becoming still more exasperated, denounced the Minister as capable of sleeping while he ruined his country, the latter only complained how cruel it was to be denied a solace which other criminals so often enjoyed—that of having a night's rest before their fate. When surprised in a like indulgence during the performance of a very inferior artist, who, however, showed equal indignation at so ill-timed a recreation, he contented himself with observing how hard it was that he should be grudged so very natural a release from considerable suffering; but, as if recollecting himself, added that it was somewhat unjust in the gentleman to complain of him for taking the remedy which he had himself been considerate enough to administer. The same good humour and drollery quitted him not when in opposition. Every one has heard of the speech which, if it had failed to injure the objects of its attack, was very effectual in fixing a name on its honest and much respected author. On Mr. Martin's proposal to have a starling placed near the chair and taught to repeat the cry of "Infamous coalition!" Lord North coolly suggested that, as long as the worthy member was preserved to them, it would be a needless waste of the public money, since the starling might well perform his office by deputy.*—*Brougham's "Statesmen."* Earl Russell gives the following more concisely: "North's good humour and readiness were of admirable service to him when the invectives of his opponents would have discomfited a more serious Minister. He often indulged in real or seeming slumber; an opponent in the midst of an invective exclaimed, 'Even now, in the midst of these perils, the noble lord is asleep.' 'I

* "I submit that this House is in possession of a Martin, who will serve the purpose quite as well."—*Russell's "Life of Fox."*

wish to God I was,' rejoined Lord North. Alderman Sawbridge, having accompanied the presentation of a petition from Billingsgate with accusations of more than ordinary virulence, Lord North began his reply in the following words: 'I cannot deny that the hon. alderman speaks not only the sentiments, but the very language of his constituents.'"

Extracting a Compliment.—Butler relates that the assault of Mr. Adam on Mr. Fox, and of Colonel Fullarton on Lord Shelburne, had once put the House into the worst possible humour, and there was more or less savageness in everything that was said. Lord North deprecated the too great readiness to take offence which then seemed to possess the House. "One member," he said, "who spoke of me, called me 'that thing called a Minister.' To be sure," he said, patting his large form, "I am a thing; the member, therefore, when he called me a thing said what was true, and I could not be angry with him. But when he added, 'that thing called a Minister,' he called me that thing which of all things he himself wished most to be, and therefore I took it as a compliment."

Sleeping through the Centuries.—On an occasion when Colonel Barré brought forward a motion on the British navy, Lord North said to a friend of his who was sitting next him in the House, "We shall have a tedious speech from Barré to-night. I dare say he'll give us our naval history from the beginning, not forgetting Sir Francis Drake and the Armada. All this is nothing to me, so let me sleep on, and wake me when we come near our own times." His friend at length roused him, when Lord North exclaimed, "Where are we?" "At the battle of La Hogue, my lord." "Oh, my dear friend," he replied, "you have woke me a century too soon!"—*Harford's "Recollections of Wilberforce."*

A New Member.—Once, when speaking in the House, Lord North was interrupted by the barking of a dog which had crept in. He turned round, and archly said, "Mr. Speaker, I am interrupted by a new member." The dog was driven out, but got in again, and recommenced barking, when Lord North, in his dry way, added, "Spoke once."

Fretting.—The Duke of Newcastle (says Horace Walpole) went to Lord North at Bushey Park, to lament the miscarriage at Charleston (during the War of Independence), and to inquire into his cousin Clinton's behaviour; but finding Lord North treat the affair with his usual indifference and jollity, took notice of it to him. "Faith, my lord," said Lord North, "if fretting would make me thin, I would be as sorry as your grace; but since it will not have that effect, I bear it as well as I can."

Impudent Silence.—Colonel Luttrell moved in the House of Commons, April 12th, 1774, that the sheriffs of Middlesex should be called to answer at the bar for their conduct in summoning Wilkes instead of himself to serve in Parliament. After a long pause, Charles Fox rose and said Colonel Luttrell should not want a second; and then poured out a torrent of invective against Lord North for his pusillanimity, and for what he called his impudent and shameless silence. Lord North, with great quickness and humour, replied that he had never before heard of impudent silence; that he had, indeed, seen gentlemen on their legs whose shameless impudence had shocked all mankind.

Laughing at the Bankers.—At the meeting of Parliament, January 13th, 1774, when the Address was moved in the House of Commons, Mr. Prescott, a very rich banker, complained of the late regulation of the gold coin, by which, he said, there was not a banker in England that had not lost £500. Lord North laughed, and made the House laugh at him, by saying he was glad the loss had fallen on those who were the best able to bear it.—*Walpole's "George III."*

Complimenting his Adversary.—In the debate on an address in 1777, Lord George Germaine was severely attacked by Fox for his conduct of the American war, the speaker calling him an ill-omened and inauspicious character. Lord North (writes Walpole) handsomely defended Lord George, and owned he had invited him into the Administration. He said he was glad Fox had abandoned him, an old hulk, to attack a man-of-war; but afterwards he perhaps hurt Lord George as much as Fox had done, for the latter coming to the Treasury bench, Lord North, who was thought not to love Lord George, said in his hearing, "Charles, I am glad you did not fall on me to-day, for you was in full feather."

Good Quarters.—Horace Walpole gives the following in his "Journal":—Jan. 27, 1778. Charles Fox, in an admirable speech, attacked Lord North on having called himself an unfortunate Minister, and proved that all the disgraces had happened by ignorance, blunders, and misconduct, not by misfortune. Lord North answered with some humour, and, as Fox had accused him of idleness and listening to flatterers, he said he passed a great deal of time in that House, where he could not be idle, and it was plain was not *flattered.* : . Lord North, being asked, the day before the Parliament met after the holidays, if the army had good quarters at Philadelphia, replied, "So good that I wish I was to pass the next three months there"—meaning, rather than in the House of Commons.

North and Parliamentary Reform.—The prevailing notion in 1780 (writes Earl Russell) was to diminish the representation of the boroughs and increase that of the counties; or, at all events, to add 100 to the representation of the counties, by way, as it were, of diluting the noxious ingredients. Lord Chatham highly approved of this remedy; but Lord North, with characteristic humour, said, "Some ask, with Lear, for a hundred knights; and some, with Goneril, for fifty; but I say, with Regan, what need of one?"

The Opposition Over the Water.—During the American War, Lord North, at a City dinner, having announced the receipt of intelligence of an important advantage gained over the "rebels," and being taken to task by Charles Fox and Colonel Barré, who were present, for applying such language to "our fellow-subjects in America," exclaimed, with the inimitable talent for good-humoured raillery which distinguished him, "Well, then, to please you, I will call them *the gentlemen in opposition on the other side of the water.*" This has been told me (writes Lord Campbell) as a traditionary anecdote not hitherto in print.

A Reluctant Apology.—In one of the debates on the American war, in 1782, Colonel Barré attacked Lord North violently, calling him the

scourge of the country. Upon this Lord North, for almost the only time in his life, lost his temper, and said "he had been used, from that quarter, to language so uncivil, so brutal, so insolent——." At these words the House got into an uproar, and Mr. T. Townshend called upon Lord North to apologise. Lord North said he was ready to ask pardon of the House, but not of Barré. At the end of a tumult of three hours, he consented to ask pardon even of Barré."—*Russell's "Life of Fox."*

The Fall of Lord North.—In the session of 1782, the ministry of Lord North had several times narrowly escaped a vote of censure. "On the 20th of March," says Earl Russell, "Lord Surrey was to renew the motion in a different shape. When the day arrived, the House was remarkably crowded, and curiosity was on tiptoe to learn the event. Before Lord Surrey commenced, Lord North rose, and said he had some information to give to the House, which might make any further proceeding in the motion unnecessary, and might require an adjournment. Upon these words there was great confusion, many members calling out, 'No adjournment!' some 'Lord Surrey! Lord Surrey!' and some 'Lord North! Lord North!' Upon this Mr. Fox rose and moved, 'That Lord Surrey be now heard;' upon which Lord North, with great quickness, said, 'And I rise to speak to that motion.' Lord North then said he could assure the House, with authority, that the present Administration was no more, and that his Majesty had come to the full determination of changing his ministers. He then took leave of the House as minister, thanking them for the honourable support they had given him during so long a course of years, and in so many trying situations. . . Lord North had borne his elevation with modesty; he showed equanimity in his fall. A trifling circumstance evinced his good humour. On the evening when he announced his resignation to the House of Commons, snow was falling, and the weather was bitterly cold. Lord North kept his carriage. As he was passing through the greatcoat room of the House of Commons, many members (chiefly his opponents) crowded the passage. When his carriage was announced, he put one or two of his friends into it, and then, making a bow to his opponents, said, 'Good night, gentlemen; it is the first time I have known the advantage of being in the secret.' Mr. Adam, from whom I heard this anecdote, says in his memoranda, 'No man ever showed more calmness, cheerfulness, and serenity. The temper of his whole family was the same. I dined with him that day, and was witness to it.'"

On the Defensive.—Sir N. Wraxall records a good example of the power Lord North could exhibit. He had been violently attacked by Sir Richard Hill for his conduct of the American war, and in reply said that, far from deprecating agitation of the subject, he demanded it. He denied that he had caused the calamities of the war, and called on his accusers to bring forward a circumstantial charge against him. "I found," said he, "the American war when I became minister. *I* did not create it. On the contrary, it was the war of the country, the Parliament, and the people. But if the gentlemen opposite think otherwise, let them come forward and accuse me. I shall not shrink—I am ready to meet and

to repel their charge. Nay, I demand it as a matter of justice. There can exist no reason now for withholding it. I am wholly unprotected. The Minister of this day has a House of Commons to accuse me, a House of Peers to try me. He is master of all the written evidence that can exist against me. And as to parole testimony" (fixing his eyes on Dundas), "almost all those individuals who were my confidential friends, in whom I reposed my secrets, are now his friends. Yet I court the inquiry. But if, when thus called upon, they do not grant it, I must insist that they do not henceforward argue upon the charge as if it were proved."

JOHN WILKES.

(1727—1797.)

The Middlesex Elections.—Wilkes had a seat in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury, but was expelled from the House in 1764, for the publication of libels in the celebrated No. 45 of the *North Briton*, &c. He left the country to avoid sentence of the Court of King's Bench for the same offence, and was outlawed in consequence. At the general election in 1768 he returned, and offered himself for the City of London, where he was in a minority, but immediately after was elected for Middlesex. Between the time of his election and the assembling of Parliament, he surrendered himself to the Court, and obtained a reversal of the outlawry, but was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The House resolved by 219 to 137 that he be expelled; but at the election which ensued he was again returned, when a motion was carried by 235 to 89 that, having suffered expulsion, "he was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament." Three times the electors of Middlesex persisted in his return, with the same result; and on the last occasion the House gave the seat to Colonel Luttrell, who had polled only 296 votes against Wilkes's 1143. The conduct of the House was denounced by Lord Camden (then Lord Chancellor) as a direct attack upon the first principles of the constitution—for which assertion of the popular right to choose a representative his lordship was dismissed from the Government. The Earl of Chatham spoke in a similar strain. The Common Council of the City of London presented to the King a strongly worded remonstrance against the course his Ministers had adopted, and a bold denunciation of the House of Commons, for which many of that body would have had the principal movers of the address committed to the Tower; but fear of the popular indignation prevented them from proceeding to extremity. In this memorable address (which greatly offended the King) the City declared, "The majority of the House of Commons have deprived your people of their dearest rights. They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second. A deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this Parliament, for the acts of the legislature itself can no more be valid without a legal House of Commons, than without a legal Prince upon the throne. Representatives of the people are essential to the making of

laws, and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The present House of Commons do not represent the people." ("Addresses, &c., presented from the Court of Common Council to the King, 1760—1778.") Luttrell continued to hold the seat for Middlesex until the Parliament was dissolved and a new one elected in 1774, when Wilkes was triumphantly returned, and took his seat without opposition. He moved repeatedly for the revisal of the proceedings relative to his former election, and to have the orders about his expulsion erased from the Journals, and in this he succeeded in 1782.

Wilkes as a Speaker.—If we are to judge (writes Brougham) of his speaking by the very few samples preserved of it, we should indeed form a very humble estimate of its merits, "Constant declamation about rights, and liberties, and tyrants, and corruption, with hardly the merit of the most ordinary common-places on these hackneyed topics, seem to fill up its measure—with neither fact, nor argument, nor point, nor anything at all happy or new in the handling of the threadbare material. But what it wanted in force it probably made up in fury; and as calling names is an easy work to do, the enraged multitude as easily are pleased with what suits their excited feelings, gratifying the craving which excitement produces for more stimulus. That he failed, and signally failed, whenever he was called upon to address an audience which rejects such matter, is very certain. In Parliament he was seldom or never heard after his own case had ceased to occupy the public attention; and nothing can be worse than his address to the Court of Common Pleas when he was discharged. The occasion, too, on which he failed was a great one, when a victory for a constitutional principle had been gained perhaps by him—certainly in his person. All the people of London were hanging on the lips of their leader; yet nothing could be worse or feebler than his speech, of which the burden was a topic as much out of place as possible in a court of justice, where the strict letter of the law had alone prevailed, and that topic was verily handled with miserable inefficiency. 'Liberty, my lords, liberty has been the object of my life! Liberty——' and so forth. He might about as well have sung a song, or lifted his hat and given three cheers."

A Newspaper Speech.—He spoke a speech in Parliament of which no one heard a word, and said aside to a friend, who urged the fruitlessness of the attempt at making the House listen, "Speak it I must, for it has been printed in the newspapers this half hour."

His Patriotism.—In public (says Russell) he affected a patriotism which he was far from feeling—indeed, he rather made a boast of his insincerity. Standing on the hustings at Brentford, his opponent said to him, "I will take the sense of the meeting." "And I will take the nonsense," replied Wilkes, "and we shall see who has the best of it." Some years after, when his popularity had declined, the King, receiving him at his levee, asked him after his friend Serjeant Glyn. "Sir," said Wilkes, "he is not a friend of mine; he was a Wilkeite, which I never was."

Ready for Anything.—Lord Brougham relates that Colonel Luttrell and Wilkes were standing on the Brentford hustings, when the latter asked his adversary privately whether he thought there were more fools or rogues among the multitude of Wilkeites spread out before them. "I'll tell them what you say, and put an end to you," said the colonel; but perceiving the threat gave Wilkes no alarm, he added, "Surely you don't mean to say you could stand here one hour after I did so?" "Why," the answer was, "*you* would not be alive one instant after." "How so?" "I should merely say it was a fabrication, and they would destroy you in the twinkling of an eye!"

Two Opinions.—At one time Mr. Wilkes came up to the Speaker in the chair, and told him that he had a petition to present to the House from a set of the greatest scoundrels and miscreants upon earth. When called upon, however, shortly afterwards to present it, he said, with the gravest possible face, "Sir, I hold in my hand a petition from a most intelligent, independent, and enlightened body of men."—*Life of Lord Sidmouth.*

Strong Language.—Duel Between Wilkes and Martin.—While the House of Commons was debating the complaint of the King against the *North Briton*, in 1763, an incident arose which is thus referred to by Horace Walpole, in his letters to Mann: "One Mr. Martin, who has much the same quarrel with Mr. Wilkes as King George, and who chose to suspend his resentment, like his Majesty, till with proper dignity he could notify his wrath to Parliament, did express his indignation with rather less temper than the King had done, calling Mr. Wilkes to his face 'cowardly scoundrel.' Mr. Wilkes inquired of Mr. Martin by letter next morning if he, Mr. Wilkes, was meant by him, Mr. Martin, under this periphrasis. Mr. Martin replied in the affirmative, and accompanied his answer with a challenge. They immediately went into Hyde Park, and, at the second fire, Mr. Wilkes received a bullet in his body." The wound was considered dangerous, and to another person Walpole wrote: "Wilkes has been shot by Martin, and instead of being burnt at an *auto da fé*, as the Bishop of Gloucester intended, is reverenced as a saint by the mob, and, if he dies, I suppose the people will squint themselves into convulsions at his tomb, in honour of his memory." Wilkes, it is well known, squinted horribly.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

(1725—1767.)

A Logician out of Place.—When Sir Philip Yorke's friend and correspondent, James Harris, took his seat in the House of Commons, Charles Townshend inquired of some member who he was; and being told in reply that he was a gentleman who had written on the subject of logic and grammar, he exclaimed, "Why does he come here, where he will hear nothing of either?"

A Champagne Speech.—Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann, May 12th, 1767, mentions "a wonderful speech made by Charles

Townshend last Friday, apropos to nothing, and yet about everything—about ministers, past, present, and to come—himself in particular, whom I think rather past than to come. It was all wit and folly, satire and indiscretion. He was half drunk when he made it, and yet that did but serve to raise the idea of his abilities." Writing to Miss Berry on the same subject, he says, "The speech lasted an hour, with torrents of wit, ridicule, vanity, lies, and beautiful language. Nobody but he could have made that speech; and nobody but he would have made it if they could. It was at once a proof that his abilities were superior to those of all men, and his judgment below that of any man. It showed him capable of being, and unfit to be, first minister. The House was in a roar of rapture, and some clapped their hands with ecstacy, like an audience in a theatre. In this speech he beat Lord Chatham in language, Burke in metaphors, Grenville in presumption, Rigby in impudence, himself in folly, and everybody in good humour."

Pitt's Offer of the Chancellorship.—On undertaking the formation of a ministry in succession to Lord Rockingham, the elder Pitt thus wrote to Charles Townshend: "Sir, you are of too great a magnitude not to be in a responsible place: I intend to propose you to the King to-morrow for Chancellor of the Exchequer, and must desire to have your answer to-night by nine o'clock." Unprecedented (says Horace Walpole) as this method was of imposing an office of such consequence in so ungracious a manner (for it was ordering Townshend to accept 2700*l.* a year in lieu of 7000*l.*, and intimated that, accepting or refusing, he must quit the post of Paymaster), yet it was singularly well adapted to the man. It was telling him that no other man in England was so fit for that difficult employment; and it was telling him at the same time that, though his great abilities rendered him a useful servant, the lightness of his character made those talents not formidable in an enemy. Pitt had judged rightly. Townshend did not dare to fling both offices in his face; but, without being incensed or flattered, fell into the most ridiculous distress imaginable. All he felt was the menace and the loss of the Paymaster's place; and instead of concealing the affront or his own anxiety, he sat at home in his nightgown, received all that came, showed Pitt's mandate to them and commented on it, despatched messengers for his brother and the Duke of Grafton, who were out of town, and as the time lapsed ran to the window on every coach that passed to see if they were arrived. At last he determined on suing for leave to remain Paymaster, to which Pitt listened; then, with his usual fluctuation, Townshend repented of not accepting the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, so leading a situation in the House of Commons, and begged he might have it. Pitt replied the place was full, being then inclined to retain Mr. Dowdeswell. Townshend renewed his supplication with tears, but for some time Pitt was firm. At length he yielded to the Duke of Grafton's intercession; and that very day Townshend told the King that Mr. Pitt had again pressed and persuaded him to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt diverted himself with his inconsistencies, and suffered him to be his Chancellor.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

(1733—1805.)

Youthful Boldness.—Alexander Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn) practised in his earlier years at the Scottish bar, but in 1757, having been provoked into using some violent language against one of his seniors, he was called upon by the bench to apologise, on pain of deprivation. Instead of doing so, he took off his gown and said, "My lords, I neither retract nor apologise, but I will save you the trouble of deprivation; there is my gown, and I will never wear it more; *virtute me involvo.*" He then went up to London, and, entering on practice there, eventually became Lord Chancellor.

A Ministerial Watchman.—Wedderburn was, says Brougham, one of the few lawyers who have shone as much in political affairs as in Westminster Hall. When he entered the House of Commons he became, in a very short time, one of the two main supports of its ministerial leader (Lord North); the other was Thurlow; and while they remained there to defend him Lord North might well be, as Gibbon has described the "Palinurus of the state," indulging in slumbers, with his Attorney and Solicitor General on either hand remaining at their posts to watch out the long debate.

Completing a Quotation.—Lord Campbell relates that George Grenville, leader of the opposition, having brought forward his famous Bill for the Trial of Controverted Elections* (March 22nd, 1770), it was opposed by Lord North and the Government; and De Grey, the Attorney-General, made a long speech against its dangerous innovations, concluding thus: "In short, sir, although there no doubt have hitherto been irregularities and even abuses while the House retained to itself its constitutional power of deciding election petitions, it is better to endure the evils of which we know the extent, than, in a sudden start of disgust and humoursome passion, fly to others that we know not of." Wedderburn (then in opposition), rising immediately after, continued Hamlet's soliloquy—

> "And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;
> And enterprises of great pith and moment
> With this regard their current turn awry,
> And lose the name of action."

The Two Baths.—When Miss Pulteney was created Baroness Bath, there being a Marquis of Bath, of another family, existing, Lord Radnor made a motion in the House of Lords against the patent, contending that it was unconstitutional and illegal to create two peers with the same title, and that great inconvenience would arise from it; as in their lordships' proceedings "Bath" might often appear opposed to "Bath." Lord Loughborough thereupon said: "My lords, in this case there is a sure way of preventing the future antagonism which haunts the imagination of the noble earl, for, the heir-apparent of the marquis being a bachelor, he may marry the young and beautiful baroness, and then Bath will be merged in Bath!"

* See "Miscellaneous" section—"Controverted Elections."

EARL CAMDEN.

(1713—1794.)

A Forty Days' Tyranny.—On the occasion of an Order in Council being promulgated to prohibit the exportation of corn (December, 1766), Lord Camden defended the proceeding in these terms: "The necessity of a measure renders it not only excusable, but legal; and consequently a judge, when the necessity is proved, may, without hesitation, declare that act legal which would be clearly illegal where such necessity did not exist. The Crown is the sole executive power, and is therefore intrusted by the Constitution to take upon itself whatever the safety of the State may require during the recess of Parliament, *which is at most but a forty days' tyranny.*" The power exercised on this occasion was so moderate that Junius Brutus would not have hesitated to entrust it even to the discretion of a Nero.—*Lord Charlemont's Correspondence.*

Creation of Peers.—Lord Campbell mentions that in the course of the debate on the appointment of the Prince of Wales as Regent (January 22nd, 1789), Lord Camden got into a scrape, in obviating the objection to the suspension of the power of making peers, by saying that "on any urgent call for a peerage it might be conferred by Act of Parliament"—a proceeding which appeared to their lordships so unconstitutional and republican that he was obliged to explain and retract.

"Unwhig."—Lord Camden, writing to the Duke of Grafton (August 1st, 1782) respecting his intention of resigning the Privy Seal, said: "Considering the perilous condition of the public at this conjuncture, I should be much concerned if your grace was to take a hasty resolution of retiring just now, because your retreat would certainly be followed by other resignations, and would totally 'unwhig' the Administration, if I may use the expression." The only other occasion (says Campbell) I recollect of this word being used was when Mr. Fox, on the King's illness, having contended that the heir-apparent was entitled as of right to be Regent, Mr. Pitt said, "For this doctrine I will *unwhig* him for the rest of his days."

A Friend of Freedom.—When the Libel Act was under discussion in the House of Lords (relates Brougham), in 1792, Chancellor Thurlow, as the last effort to retain the law in judicial hands, asked if Lord Camden would object to a clause being inserted granting a new trial, in case the court were dissatisfied with a verdict for the defendant. "What!" exclaimed the veteran friend of freedom; "after a verdict of acquittal?" "Yes," said Lord Thurlow. "No, I thank you," was the memorable reply, and the last words spoken in public by this great man. The bill immediately was passed.

LORD THURLOW.

(1732—1806.)

Leaving the Lawyer Behind.—Thurlow, as Attorney-General, took an active part, on the Government side, in the debates which preluded the outbreak of the American colonists. It is amusing (remarks

Campbell) to find him declaring that he did not speak on such occasions as a lawyer; "that he always did, and always would, leave the lawyer in Westminster Hall, and be in that House only a member of Parliament."

Thurlow Abashed.—Mr. Fox having moved, in 1777, for the production of certain papers relating to the American war, Thurlow, then Attorney-General, opposed the motion on behalf of the Government. The "Parliamentary History" says: "He was contending against the ill policy of giving such information at the present critical moment, when news came from the Lords that the ministers in the upper house had agreed to the same motion. This intelligence produced a great deal of laughter amongst the minority, and the whisper, reaching the Attorney-General, threw him into a little confusion; but, having recovered from it, he quitted the defence of the Administration, and said that, 'let ministers do as they please in this or in any other House, he, as a member of Parliament, never would give his vote for making public the circumstances of a negotiation during its progress.' However, this did not stifle the laugh, which continued for some time." Lord Campbell ascribes the laughter to "the phenomenon that, for once in his life, Thurlow appeared to be abashed."

The Great Seal Stolen.—Early in the morning of the 24th of March, 1784 (says Campbell), "some thieves broke into the house of Lord Thurlow, in Great Ormond Street, which then bordered on the country. They carried off the great seal, two silver-hilted swords belonging to the Chancellor's officers, and a small sum of money. Though a reward was offered for their discovery, the thieves never could be traced. A charge was brought against the Whigs that, to prevent the then threatened dissolution, they had burglariously broken into the Lord Chancellor's house, and feloniously stolen and carried off the *Clavis Regni*." The theft and the custodian of the seal are thus alluded to in "The Rolliad":—

"The rugged Thurlow, who, with sullen scowl,
In surly mood, at friend and foe will growl,
Of proud prerogative the stern support,
Defends the entrance of Great George's court
'Gainst factious Whigs, lest they who stole the seal
The sacred diadem itself should steal.
So have I seen, near village butcher's stall
(If things so great may be compared with small),
A mastiff guarding on a market day,
With snarling vigilance, his master's tray."

Thurlow's Gush of Loyalty.—The question of the Regency, on the illness of George III. in 1788, gave rise to vehement debates and much political intrigue. Lord Chancellor Thurlow's conduct in the matter is well known; he negotiated with the Whigs for the Regency, while he still occupied the woolsack for the Tories, who opposed it. On the 10th of December, 1788, Pitt presented a report to the House of Commons on the King's mental incapacity, and moved for the appointment of a committee to search for precedents. A similar motion was made the following day in the Lords. Thurlow, who by this time had

come to the conclusion that his interest lay on the King's side, left the woolsack and addressed the House, concluding his speech with this exclamation—"And when I forget my King may my God forget me!" It seems scarcely possible (says Earl Stanhope, in his "Life of Pitt") to exaggerate the strong impression which that half-sentence made. Within the house itself the effect perhaps was not so satisfactory. Wilkes, who was standing under the throne, eyed the Chancellor askance, and muttered, "God forget you! He will see you d—— first!" Burke at the same moment exclaimed, with equal wit and with no profaneness, "The best thing that can happen to you!" Pitt also was on the steps of the throne. On Lord Thurlow's imprecation he is said to have rushed out of the house, exclaiming several times, "Oh, what a rascal!" In allusion to this scene, Burke afterwards remarked in the House of Commons: "The other House were not yet, perhaps, recovered from that extraordinary burst of the pathetic which had been exhibited the other evening; they had not yet dried their eyes, or been restored to their former placidity, and were unqualified to attend to new business. The tears shed in that House, on the occasion to which he alluded, were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of lords for their expiring places. The iron tears which flowed down Pluto's cheek rather resembled the dismal bubbling of the Styx than the gentle murmuring streams of Aganippe."

Betrayed by his Hat.—Lord Campbell relates that when a council was to be held at Windsor, to determine the course which ministers should pursue on the Regency question, Thurlow had been there some time before any of his colleagues arrived. He was to be brought back to London by one of them, and, the moment of departure being come, the Chancellor's hat was nowhere to be found. After a fruitless search in the apartment where the council had been held, a page came with the hat in his hand, saying aloud, and with great *naïveté*, "My lord, I found it in the closet of his royal highness the Prince of Wales." The other ministers were still in the hall, and Thurlow's confusion corroborated the inference which they drew.

A Scarecrow to the Houses.—With reference to precedents cited of the Chancellor having directed the use of the great seal during the King's incapacity, Burke remarked, "But what is to be done when the Crown is in a *deliquium?* It was intended, he had heard, to set up a man (Thurlow) with black brows and a large wig, a kind of scarecrow to the two Houses, who was to give a factitious assent in the royal name, and this to be binding on the people at large."

An Imposing Aspect.—Although pretending (says Campbell) to despise the opinion of others, he was acting a part, and his aspect was more solemn and imposing than almost any other person's in public life—so much so that Mr. Fox used to say "it proved him dishonest, since no man could *be* so wise as Thurlow *looked*."

A Masked Battery.—Speaking generally, it was only on great occasions that he signalised himself. He was a kind of *guarda costa* vessel, which cannot meet every turn and winding of a frigate that assails her, but, when the opportunity offers, pours a broadside which seldom fails

of sinking the assailant. His lordship, however, possessed a weapon which he often brought into action with great skill and effect. He would appear to be ignorant upon the subject in debate, and with affected respect, but visible derision, to seek for information upon it, pointing out, with a kind of dry solemn humour, contradictions and absurdities, which he professed his own inability to explain, and calling upon his adversaries for their explanation. It was a kind of masked battery of the most searching questions and distressing observations; it often discomfited his adversary, and seldom failed to force him into a very embarrassing position of defence; it was the more effective as, when he was playing it off, his lordship showed he had the command of much more formidable artillery.—*Butler's "Reminiscences."*

A Crushing Reply.—At times (says Butler) Lord Thurlow was superlatively great. It was my good fortune to hear his celebrated reply to the Duke of Grafton during the inquiry into Lord Sandwich's administration of Greenwich Hospital. His grace's action and delivery when he addressed the House were singularly dignified and graceful; but his matter was not equal to his manner. He reproached Lord Thurlow with his plebeian extraction, and his recent admission into the peerage. Particular circumstances caused Lord Thurlow's reply to make a deep impression on me. His lordship had spoken too often, and began to be heard with a civil, but visible, impatience. Under these circumstances, he was attacked in the manner we have mentioned. He rose from the woolsack, and advanced slowly to the place whence the Chancellor generally addresses the House; then, fixing on the duke the look of Jove when he grasps the thunder, "I am amazed," he said in a level tone of voice, "at the attack the noble duke has made on me. Yes, my lords"—considerably raising his voice—"I am amazed at his grace's speech. The noble duke cannot look before him, behind him, and on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer who owes his seat in this House to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these as to being *the accident of an accident?* To all these noble lords the language of the noble duke is as applicable and as insulting as it is to myself. But I don't fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do; but I must say, my lords, that the peerage solicited me, not I the peerage. Nay, more; I can say, and will say, that as a peer of Parliament, as Speaker of this right honourable House, as Keeper of the Great Seal, as guardian of his Majesty's conscience, as Lord High Chancellor of England—nay, even in that character alone in which the noble duke would think it an affront to be considered—as A MAN—I am at this moment as respectable—I beg leave to add I am at this time as much respected—as the proudest peer I now look down upon." The effect of this speech, both within the walls of Parliament and out of them, was prodigious. It gave Lord Thurlow an ascendancy in the House which no Chancellor had ever possessed; it invested him, in public opinion, with a character of independence and honour; and this, though he was ever on the unpopular side in politics, made him always popular with the people.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

(1737—1805.)

The Shelburne Ministry.—When Lord North resigned in March, 1782, the King offered Lord Shelburne to place him at the head of the Treasury, but he declined undertaking the formation of a ministry, in deference to the Marquis of Rockingham. "My lord," said Shelburne to the latter, "you could stand without me, but I could not without you." A Cabinet was therefore formed by the marquis, in which Shelburne and Fox became Secretaries of State, and Burke Paymaster. Lord Rockingham dying in the following July, Lord Shelburne took the Premiership, and, the Fox party resigning, he adorned his new Board (as Walpole remarks) with "the most useful acquisition, and by the most artful address, of his whole administration—by offering the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer to young William Pitt, who readily accepted them, and the more difficult task of enlisting himself as the rival of Charles Fox, who had wished to have him his friend."

Flattery Missing its Mark.—Horace Walpole reports that Lord Shelburne, on coming into office, told Chancellor Thurlow, as a new discovery he had just made, that he was amazed at the genius he found in the King. The Chancellor laughed in his face, and instead of reporting the encomium to the King, as Shelburne expected, told it to everybody else with contempt.

Provoking.—Lord Shelburne (remarked S. Rogers) could say the most provoking things, and yet appear quite unconscious of their being so. In one of his speeches, alluding to Lord Carlisle, he said, "The noble lord has written a comedy." "No, a tragedy." "Oh, I beg pardon; I thought it was a comedy."

Duel between Lord Shelburne and Colonel Fullarton.—Colonel Fullarton, member for Plympton, complained to the House, on the 20th March, 1780, of the "ungentleman-like behaviour of the Earl of Shelburne, who had in effect dared to say that he and his regiment were as ready to act against the liberties of England as against her enemies." A hostile meeting was the result, two days after. "Colonel Fullarton," says the *Annual Register*, "desired Lord Shelburne to fire, which his lordship declined, and Colonel Fullarton was ordered by the seconds to fire. He fired and missed. Lord Shelburne returned it and missed. Mr. Fullarton then fired his second pistol, and hit Lord Shelburne in the right groin." The seconds interposed, but his lordship refused to deliver up his other pistol, which was still loaded. The colonel returned to his position, and repeatedly desired his lordship to fire at him; but Lord Shelburne replied, "Sure, sir, you don't think I would fire my pistol at you," and fired it in the air. Colonel Fullarton then said, "As your lordship is wounded, and has fired in the air, it is impossible for me to go on." Hereupon the seconds declared that their principals had both behaved as men of the strictest honour. The Court of Common Council, having heard of the affair, sent officially to inquire "after his lordship's safety, endangered in consequence of his upright and spirited conduct in Parliament."

WILLIAM PITT.

(1759—1806.)

A Child's Ambition.—In August, 1766, when the world was agitated by the news that Mr. Pitt had become Earl of Chatham, little William exclaimed, "I am glad that I am not the eldest son. I want to speak in the House of Commons, like papa."

Precocious Criticism.—When he was at home (writes Macaulay), he had frequent opportunities of hearing important debates at Westminster; and he heard them, not only with interest and enjoyment, but with a close scientific attention resembling that with which a diligent pupil at Guy's Hospital watches every turn of the hand of a great surgeon through a difficult operation. On one of these occasions, Pitt, a youth whose abilities were as yet known only to his family and to a small knot of college friends, was introduced on the steps of the throne in the House of Lords to Fox, who was his senior by eleven years, and who was already the greatest debater and one of the greatest orators that had appeared in England. Fox used afterwards to relate that, as the discussion proceeded, Pitt repeatedly turned to him and said, "But surely, Mr. Fox, that might be met thus;" or "Yes; but he lays himself open to this retort." What the particular criticisms were, Fox had forgotten; but he said he was much struck at the time by the precocity of a lad who, through the whole sitting, seemed to be thinking only how all the speeches on both sides could be answered.

"Never was a Boy."—The following entry occurs in the Journal of Francis Horner, 1805: "On one occasion, with Ward and John Ponsonby, when there was a great deal of conversation about the exercises and sports of the common people, the impolicy of suppressing them, &c., and when we ran over the names of the different public men, in the state and the law, whose opinions upon such a point of policy might come to be of importance, I hazarded Pitt's name. 'Oh!' exclaimed Windham, 'Pitt never was a boy; besides, such questions won't conduce to make a minister.'"

Rising Men.—When he first entered Parliament Pitt lived much in what may be termed a select club of his personal friends, young men of great talent, most of whom looked up to him as their political leader. They were about twenty-five in number, and met at the house of a man named Goosetree, in Pall Mall. Among them were Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden), Althorp (afterwards Lord Spencer), Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), Robinson (afterwards Lord Rokeby), Smith (afterwards Lord Carrington), Lords Duncannon, Euston, &c.—*Harford's "Recollections of Wilberforce."*

Pitt's First Speech.—On the 26th of February (1781), Mr. Burke's renewed Bill for the Reduction of the Civil List was rejected by 233 to 190. On this occasion Mr Sheridan and Mr. John Townshend made their first speeches. But, above all, Mr. William Pitt spoke with a fluency, a precision, a dignity, and a method which are usually the acquirements of many years of practice. Lord North declared it was the best *first* speech

he had ever heard. The effect appears to have been prodigious. By no one was Mr. Pitt's success more warmly greeted than by Mr. Fox. Lord Holland has related an anecdote which illustrates the presence of mind of the young orator. "As Mr. Fox hurried up to Mr. Pitt to compliment him on his speech, an old member, said to be General Grant, passed by and said, 'Ay, Mr. Fox, you are praising young Pitt for his speech. You may well do so; for, excepting yourself, there's no man in the house can make such another; and, old as I am, I expect and hope to hear you both battling it within these walls as I have done your fathers before.' Mr. Fox, disconcerted at the awkward turn of the compliment, was silent, and looked foolish; but young Pitt, with great delicacy, readiness, and felicity of expression, answered, 'I have no doubt, general, you would like to attain the age of Methuselah.'" Before long Mr. Fox had an opportunity of testifying in public the admiration he had avowed in private; and early in the following year, in praising a speech of Mr. Pitt, he said "he could no longer lament the loss of Lord Chatham, for he was again living in his son, with all his virtues and all his talents."—*Russell's "Life of Fox."* Macaulay relates in his biography: "Pitt made his first speech in favour of Burke's plan of economical reform. Fox stood up at the same moment, but instantly gave way. The lofty yet animated deportment of the young member, his perfect self-possession, the readiness with which he replied to the orators who had preceded him, the silver tones of his voice, the perfect structure of his unpremeditated sentences, astonished and delighted his hearers. Burke, moved even to tears, exclaimed, 'It is not a chip of the old block; it is the old block itself.' 'Pitt will be one of the first men in Parliament,' said a member of the Opposition to Fox. 'He is so already,' answered Fox, in whose nature envy had no place. It is a curious fact, well remembered by some who were very recently living, that soon after this debate Pitt's name was put up by Fox at Brookes's."

Agamemnon and Achilles.—A debate on the Army Estimates took place in the House of Commons, December, 1781. Lord George Germaine had taken occasion two days before to declare that, be the consequences what they might, he would never consent to sign the independence of the colonies. Lord North, on the contrary, had shown strong symptoms of yielding. Pitt was inveighing with much force against these discordant counsels at so perilous a juncture, when the two ministers whom he arraigned drew close and began to whisper, while Mr. Welbore Ellis, a grey-haired placeman of diminutive size, the butt of "Junius" under the by-name of Grildrig, bent down his tiny head between them. Here Pitt paused in his argument, and, glancing at the group, exclaimed, "I will wait until the unanimity is a little better restored. I will wait until the Nestor of the Treasury has reconciled the difference between the Agamemnon and the Achilles of the American war."—*Stanhope's "Life of Pitt."*

Speaking under Difficulties.—Wilberforce said: "When Pitt undertook, on February 21st, 1783, the difficult task of defending the recent peace, I well remember that he was so oppressed by a severe sick-headache as to be scarcely able to hold up his head. Fox assailed him in

a very able speech, in the midst of which Pitt was obliged, from actual sickness, to retire to the entry door called Solomon's Porch, behind the Speaker's chair. I seem to see him holding the door in one hand, while he yielded to his malady, and turning his ear towards the House, that, if possible, he might not lose a single sentence that Fox uttered. Never do I recollect to have witnessed such a triumph of mind over physical depression. When Fox sat down he replied to him with great ability, though with less brilliancy than usual; but on a renewal of the same discussion, a few days after, in a different form, he made one of the finest speeches ever delivered in Parliament."

The King's Criticism on his Oratory.—On one occasion, in Pitt's earlier career as a Minister (1784), George III. thus wrote to him on his conduct of a debate: "I cannot conclude without expressing my fullest approbation of the conduct of Mr. Pitt on Monday. In particular, his employing a razor against his antagonists, and never condescending to run into that rudeness which, though common in that House, certainly never becomes a gentleman. If he proceeds in this mode of oratory, he will bring debates into a shape more creditable, and correct that, as well as, I trust, many more evils, which time and temper only can effect."

An "Inspired" Speaker.—Harford relates that on the breaking up of the House, after the memorable debate on the slave trade in which Pitt spoke so finely (1792), Windham, who was by no means partial to Pitt, and who did not take the abolition side, met Wilberforce and accosted him thus: "Really, if your friend Pitt should speak often as he did last night, he will make converts of us all. It was as if he were inspired."

His Most Effective Speech.—On the 18th of May, 1803, war was declared, and on the 23rd and 24th occurred one of the most memorable debates which ever took place in the House of Commons. On the first night Pitt spoke, and on the second, Fox, and both exerted their highest powers. Of Pitt's speech Lord Malmesbury says: "Pitt's speech last night was the finest he ever made. Never was any speech so cheered, or so incessantly and loudly applauded." But the best account we have of this speech is from a letter of Lord Dudley, then Mr. Ward, to the Rev. E. Copleston (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff): "Whatever may have been its comparative merits, its effects were astonishing, and, I believe, unequalled. When he came in, which he did not till after Lord Hawkesbury had been speaking nearly an hour, all the attention of the House was withdrawn for some moments from the orator and fixed on him; and as he walked up to his place, his name was repeated aloud by many persons, for want, I imagine, of some other way to express their feelings. Erskine and Whitbread were heard with impatience, and when, at the end of a tedious hour and a half, he rose (twenty minutes to eight), there was first a violent and almost universal cry of 'Mr. Pitt! Mr. Pitt!' He was then cheered before he had uttered a syllable—a mark of approbation which was repeated at almost all the brilliant passages and remarkable sentiments; and when he sat down (nine), there followed one of the longest, most eager, and most enthusiastic bursts of applause I ever

heard in any place on any occasion. As far as I observed, however, it was confined to the parliamentary 'Hear him! Hear him!' but it is possible the exclamations in the body of the house might have hindered me from hearing the clapping of hands in the gallery. This wonderful agitation, you will readily perceive, it would not be fair to ascribe wholly to the superiority of his eloquence on that particular occasion. He was applauded before he spoke,* which is alone a sufficient proof. Much must be attributed to his return at such an awful moment to an assembly which he had been accustomed to rule, from which he had been long absent [he had resigned office in 1801], and in which he had not left a successor; some little, perhaps, to his addressing a new Parliament, in which there were many members by whom he had never or rarely been heard, and whose curiosity must of course have been raised to the highest pitch."—*Russell's "Life of Fox."*

Lord Lytton's lines in "St. Stephen's" recall the circumstances which lent to many of Pitt's speeches so much of their effect:—

"If read the orations, and forgot the age,
Words that breathed fire are ashes on the page.
Oh to have heard them in the breathless hall,
When Europe paled before the maddening Gaul;
When marts resounded with the trumpet's blare,
Fleets on the deep and banners in the air. . .
The very faults that later critics find
Were merits then—the unhesitating mind,
The self-reliance, lofty and severe,
That grand monotony—a soul sincere,
That scorn of fancy, that firm grasp of fact,
That dread to theorise in the hour to act,
Seem'd form'd to brave the elemental shock,
And type to England her own Ocean-rock."

The British Constitution.—In his speech on Fox's motion for an address to the King, in March, 1784, Pitt thus described the British Constitution: "The Constitution of this country is its glory. But in what a nice adjustment does its excellence consist! Equally free from the distractions of democracy and the tyranny of monarchy, its happiness is to be found in its mixture of parts. It was this mixed constitution which the wisdom of our ancestors devised, and which it will be our wisdom inviolably to support. They experienced all the vicissitudes and distractions of a republic. They felt all the vassalage and despotism of a simple monarchy. They abandoned both, and, by blending each together, extracted a system which has been the envy and admiration of the world."

Forbidding the Banns.—The finest, in all probability, of his speeches (remarks Brougham) is that upon the peace of 1783 and the Coalition, when he closed his magnificent peroration by that noble yet

* This was evidently most unusual in Pitt's time, although it has since become a common practice. The passage also shows that "Hear him!" was then the parliamentary sign of approbation.

simple figure, "And if this inauspicious union be not already consummated, in the name of my country I forbid the banns."

Eve.—Pitt one night, alluding to his small number of adherents on the Declaratory Bill, said that he appeared in the House of Commons as Eve in the garden of God, single and naked, yet not ashamed.—*Orford's Memoirs.*

Exceptions.—On his Additional Force Bill, in 1805, Pitt had a meeting of country gentlemen to consider the measure. One of them objected to a clause for calling out the force, which he insisted should not be done "except in case of actual invasion." Pitt replied, "That would be too late;" but the gentleman still insisted on the case of "actual invasion." By-and-by they came to another clause to render the force more disposable; the same gentleman objected again, and insisted very warmly that he never would consent to its being sent out of England. "Except, I suppose," rejoined Pitt, "in case of actual invasion."

His Classical Studies.—Pitt (said Lord Grenville) "ascribed his fluency to the following circumstances: At Hayes (his father's seat), where they lived in great seclusion, it was his custom in the morning to construe his author, Virgil or Livy, to his tutor, Mr. Wilson; and in the afternoon, after tea, to translate the same passage freely, with the book open before him, to his father and the rest of the family. He often mentioned this to me as the way he thought he acquired his fluency in public speaking; and it is remarkable that in conversation, when an ancient writer was quoted, he always turned the passage into English (for his own use, as it seemed) before he appeared completely to enter into it—a habit I ascribe to this practice." Redhead Yorke mentions his being present when somebody quoted the following passage from the "De Claris Oratoribus" of Cicero to Mr. Pitt: "Est cum eloquentia sicut flammâ: materie alitur, motû excitatur, et urendo clarescit." It was observed that it was untranslatable, on which Mr. Pitt immediately replied, "No, I should translate it thus: 'It is with eloquence as with a flame. It requires fuel to feed it, motion to excite it, and it brightens as it burns.'"—*S. Rogers' "Recollections."*

His Style.—Lord Brougham mentions that Pitt's style was called by Mr. Windham "a state-paper style," in allusion to its combined dignity and poverty; and the same nice observer, referring to the eminently skilful way in which Pitt balanced his phrases, sailed near the wind, and seemed to disclose much whilst he kept the greater part of his meaning to himself, declared that "he verily believed Mr. Pitt could speak a king's speech off-hand."

Finished Oratory.—Wilberforce said that Pitt came into Parliament so accomplished an orator that in the arrangement of his matter, the force of his reasoning, and in all the graces of finished elocution, his first speeches were almost equal to his last. Mr. Windham's speeches, he said, were known to have been prepared with assiduous care; and, though interspersed with anecdotes which seemed spontaneous, to have been written down before delivery. Sheridan's were so diligently elaborated that he had been known often, before the occurrence of a great debate, to

shut himself in his room, day after day, where he was heard declaiming for hours.

Pitt's Disinterestedness. — In the diary of the Right Hon. George Rose occurs the following: "March 19, 1801.—With Mr. Pitt alone the whole evening, when a conversation arose about his own situation. On mentioning to him that an intention had been expressed by many friends of bringing forward a motion in the House of Commons respecting a grant to him, he assured me in the most solemn manner of his fixed determination on no consideration whatever to accept anything from the public; rather than do which he would struggle with any difficulties; that if he had had the good fortune to carry the country safe through all its dangers, and to have seen it in a state of prosperity, he should have had a pride in accepting such a grant; but that under all the present circumstances of the situation of the country, and of himself, it was utterly inconsistent with his feelings to receive anything. In all which (notwithstanding the severe pressure I am sure he has upon him) I could not do otherwise than entirely concur with him."

A Reconciliation Prevented. — Lord Brougham relates the following as a "singular instance of the great effects of trivial circumstances." During the co-operation of all parties against Mr. Addington's Government, in the spring of 1804, Mr. Pitt and Mr. C. Long were one night passing the door of Brookes's club-house, on their way from the House of Commons, when Mr. Pitt, who had not been there since the Coalition of 1784, said he had a great mind to go in and sup. His wary friend said, "I think you had better not," and turned aside the well-conceived intention. When we reflect, says Brougham, on the high favour Mr. Pitt was then in with the Whigs, and consider the nature of Mr. Fox as well as his own, we can have little doubt of the cordial friendship which such a night would have cemented, and that the union of the two parties would have been complete.

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

(1749—1806.)

Fox and Pitt in Childhood.—In 1767, Lady Holland, mother of Fox, paid a visit to Lady Chatham, of which she gave the following account to her husband: "I have been this morning with Lady Hester Pitt; and there is little William Pitt, now eight years old, and really the cleverest child I ever saw, and brought up so strictly and so proper in his behaviour that—mark my words—that little boy will be a thorn in Charles's side as long as he lives." A very singular prediction (remarks Earl Russell), showing not only the early cleverness of the two boys, but the cherished ambition of their parents, the wise strictness of Lord and Lady Chatham, and the sagacity of Lady Holland. It is (wrote Walpole) a singular and perhaps a totally novel combination of circumstances that Charles Fox and William Pitt, the second sons of Henry Lord Holland and William Lord Chatham, who themselves were second sons, should

become rivals and the first men in the House of Commons, as their fathers had been a little more than twenty years before.

First Appearance of Fox in Parliament, and his Early Speeches.—Charles Fox was returned for Midhurst in May, 1768, when he was only nineteen years and four months old. He took his seat in the following November.* He made his first speech in the House of Commons on the 9th of March, 1769, when he was little more than twenty years of age. It seems to have been on a point of order—a singular topic for so young a man. On the 8th of May he spoke against the petition of the electors of Middlesex in favour of their right of electing Wilkes. Of this speech Horace Walpole observes: "Charles Fox, not yet twenty-one, answered Burke with great quickness and parts, but with confidence equally premature." Sir Richard Heron, in a letter to Sir Charles Bunbury, says: "Mr. Fox, who, I suppose, was your schoolfellow, and who is but twenty, made a great figure last night upon the petition of the Middlesex freeholders. He spoke with great spirit, in very parliamentary language, and entered very deeply into the question on constitutional principle." Lord Holland, proud of his favourite boy, writes thus to his friend Mr. Campbell, of Cawdor: "I am told (and willingly believe it) Charles Fox spoke extremely well. It was all off-hand, all argumentative, in reply to Mr. Burke and Mr. Wedderburne, and excessively well indeed. I hear it spoke of by everybody as a most extraordinary thing, and I am, you see, not a little pleased with it. I am told Charles could never make a better speech than he did on Monday."—*Russell's "Life of Fox."* Horace Walpole writes to Sir Horace Mann in April, 1772: "I went to the House of Commons the other day to hear Charles Fox, contrary to a resolution I had made never to set my foot there again. It is strange how disuse makes one awkward; I felt a palpitation, as if I were going to speak there myself. The object answered: Fox's abilities are amazing at so very early a period, especially under the circumstances of such a dissolute life. He was just arrived from Newmarket, had sat up drinking all night, and had not been in bed. How such talents make one laugh at Tully's rules for an orator, and his indefatigable application. His laboured orations are puerile in comparison of this boy's manly reason."

An Artist's Sketch.—Lord Holland relates the following apropos of the personal appearance of Fox: "I have in my possession a singular proof of the figure and impression Mr. Fox made on his first appearance as an orator. A young artist, and I believe a reporter of debates, a Mr. Surtees, of Mainforth, happened to be in the gallery when he first spoke. At that period no stranger was allowed to make notes, or take any paper or note-book into the gallery for that purpose. But this gentleman, struck with the appearance of the youthful orator, tore off part of his shirt, and sketched on it, with a pencil or burnt stick, a likeness of him, which he afterwards tried to finish at his lodgings, and which, owing to

* S. Rogers mentions, on Fox's authority, that he was abroad at the time of his election.

the care of Mr. Sharpe and kindness of Mr. Fletcher, is still preserved in my possession at Holland House, retaining many traits of resemblance to the dark, intelligent, and animated features of Mr. Fox."

Characteristics of his Speeches.—"Conversation" Sharpe relates of Mr. Fox that he sometimes put the arguments of his adversaries in such an advantageous light that his friends were alarmed lest he should fail to answer them. To state one by one the arguments of the Opposition, and one by one to reply to them, was the characteristic of his speaking, and without the aid of this text upon which to hang his comments he could make little progress. The opening of his speeches was almost always bad. Until he got warmed with his subject he hesitated and stammered, and he often continued for long together in a tame and common-place strain. Even in his highest flights he indulged in incessant repetitions, was negligent in his language, and was neither polished nor exact in his style. Notwithstanding these defects, he exercised a prodigious influence over his hearers. "He forgot himself," says Sir James Mackintosh, "and everything around him. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and convictions."—*Quarterly Review.* "In the most imperfect relic of Fox's speeches," said Erskine, "the bones of a giant are to be discovered."

The Magician's Wand.—Macaulay mentions that a French gentleman expressed some surprise at the immense influence which Fox, a man of pleasure, ruined by the dice-box and the turf, exercised over the English nation. "You have not," said Pitt, "been under the wand of the magician."

A Curt Dismissal.—Fox took office under the Administration of Lord North in 1770, but, disagreeing with his chiefs on their policy with regard to America, and showing a leaning towards more liberal measures generally, he was dismissed in 1774 by the following laconic letter from the head of the Government: "Sir,—His Majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name.—NORTH." Nine years after this, he and North jointly formed the celebrated Coalition Ministry under the Duke of Portland.

The Westminster Scrutiny.—At the general election of 1784 Fox was returned for Westminster, after a contest which lasted from the 1st of April to the 16th of May. Lord Hood was at the top of the poll, Fox being next, with 6233 votes, against 5998 for the defeated Tory candidate, Sir Cecil Wray. The latter demanded a scrutiny, and the high bailiff of Westminster (a member of the Tory party) took upon himself on this account to withhold the return to the writ. Nothwithstanding repeated motions in the House, which were defeated by the Ministerialists, the matter stood over for eight months, Fox being compelled meanwhile to find a seat for a Scotch borough. Soon after the meeting of Parliament in 1785, the high bailiff was called to the bar of the House and examined on the subject, when he gave evidence that the scrutiny would probably take more than two years. Mr. Welbore Ellis moved that

the high bailiff should be commanded to make a return to the writ; but an amendment to the contrary effect was carried by 174 to 35. Motion and counter-motion were repeatedly made, with similar result, until, on the 3rd of March, the Pitt party were beaten by 162 to 124, and the direction to the high bailiff was consequently issued. Hood and Fox were returned, and Fox then brought an action in the Court of Common Pleas against the high bailiff for not returning him in the first instance, laying his damages at £100,000. The action was tried before Lord Loughborough, and the jury gave Fox the verdict, with damages of £2000, which Fox allotted to the charities of Westminster.

Quelling Interruption.—But for the inferiority of the subject (remarks Brougham), the speech upon the Westminster scrutiny, in 1784, might perhaps be placed at the head of all Fox's speeches. A fortunate cry of "Order!" which he early raised in the very exordium, by affirming that "far from expecting any indulgence, he could scarcely hope for bare justice from the House," gave him occasion for dwelling on this topic, and pressing it home with aditional illustration; till the redoubled blows and repeated bursts of extemporaneous declamation almost overpowered the audience, while they wholly bore down any further interruption.

Election Pleasantries.—Many stories illustrative of Fox's good emper and ready wit at election times were current in his own day. Among them was one of his canvass at Westminster, where a shopkeeper on the opposite side, whom he asked for his vote and interest, produced a halter, which he said was all he could give him. Fox thanked the man, but said he could not think of depriving him of it, as no doubt it was a family relic.

The King's Dislike to Fox.—When Fox kissed hands on becoming one of the Coalition Ministry in 1783, Lord Townshend said "he saw the King turn back his ears and eyes just like the horse at Astley's when the tailor he had determined to throw was getting on him."

Good Humour in Defeat.—On the 18th of December, 1783, Mr. Fox was dismissed from office. On the following day Mr. Pitt was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Upon the same day (says Russell) the House of Commons met. At three o'clock Lord North entered the house and took his seat on the Opposition bench. Mr. Fox, who soon followed, finding Mr. Dundas on the same bench, jocularly took him by the arm, saying, "What business have you on this?—go over to the Treasury bench." This incident, raising a laugh in which both parties joined, was a good humoured prelude to one of the most violent party contests of modern times.

The Right of Inquiry into Ministerial Negotiations.—In the spring of 1792, a vote of censure upon Pitt was proposed for his conduct in arming against Russia, while at the same time pursuing negotiations with that power to adjust difficulties respecting Turkey. The speech of Fox on the occasion, against the Minister, is a good example of his style, and at the same time so forcibly conveys ideas repeatedly urged in the House of Commons under almost identical circumstances, that it

might be considered the model on which similar complaints have since been founded. In the opening of his speech Mr. Fox said: "Never was there an occasion in which a minister was exhibited to this House in circumstances so ungracious as those under which he at present appears. Last session of Parliament we had no fewer than four debates upon the question of the armament in which the right honourable gentleman involved this country, without condescending to explain the object which he had in view. The minority of this House stood forth against the monstrous measure of involving the country without unfolding the reason. The minister proudly and obstinately refused, and called on the majority to support him. We gave our opinion at large on the subject, and with effect, as it turned out, on the public mind. On that of the right honourable gentleman, however, we were not successful; for what was his conduct? He replied to us, 'I hear what you say. I could answer all your charges; but I know my duty to my king too well to submit, at this moment, to expose the secrets of the State, and to lay the reasons before you of the measure on which I demand your confidence. I choose rather to lie for a time under all the imputations which you may heap upon me, trusting to the explanations which will come at last.' Such was explicitly his language. However I might differ from the right honourable gentleman in opinion, I felt for his situation. There was in this excuse some shadow of reason by which it might be possible to defend him, when the whole of his conduct came to be investigated. I thought it hard to goad him, when perhaps he considered it as unsafe to expose what he was doing. But when the conclusion of the negotiation had loosed him from his fetters, when he had cast off the trammels that bound him, I thought that, like the horse described by Homer (if I remembered I would quote the lines), exulting in the fresh pastures after he had freed himself from the bridle, the right honourable gentleman would have been eager to meet us with every sort of explanation and satisfaction. I thought that, restrained by no delicacy, and panting only for the moment that was to restore him to the means of developing and of expatiating upon every part of his conduct that was mysterious; of clearing up that which had been reprobated, of repelling on the heads of his adversaries those very accusations with which they had loaded him — the right honourable gentleman would have had but one wish, that of coming forward in a bold and manly manner, and endeavouring to make his cause good against us in the face of the world. Has he done so? Has he even given us the means of inquiring fully and fairly into his conduct? No such thing. He lays before us a set of papers, sufficient indeed, as I shall contend, to found a strong criminal charge of misconduct against him, but evidently mutilated, garbled, and imperfect, with a view of precluding that full inquiry which his conduct demands, and which we had every reason to expect he would not have shrunk from on this day." After a lengthy review of the whole of the circumstances, the speaker concluded as follows: "A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas), in excuse for withholding papers, asked what foreign power would negotiate with an English Cabinet if their secrets were likely to be developed and exposed

to the idle curiosity of a House of Commons? I do not dread such a consequence, but, if I must be pushed to extremes, if nothing were left me but an option between opposite evils, I should have no hesitation in choosing. 'Better have no dealings with them at all,' I should answer, 'if the right of inquiry into every part of a negotiation they think fit, and of knowing why they are to vote the money of their constituents, be denied the House of Commons.' But there is something like a reason why no foreign power will negotiate with us, and that a much better reason than a dread of disclosing their secrets, in the right honourable gentleman's example. I declare, therefore, for the genius of our Constitution, against the practice of his Majesty's ministers. I declare that the duties of this House are, vigilance in preference to secrecy, deliberation in preference to dispatch." The vote of censure was rejected by 244 to 116.

Fox and his Party.—Fox (says Earl Russell) was a great speaker, and, in the words of Burke, the greatest debater the world ever saw. Not place or power, but reputation as an orator, was the object of his ambition, as he declares in one of his earliest letters to an intimate friend and relation. He inspired affection rather than admiration. In his worst days an observer said of his party, "There are only forty of them, but every one of them is ready to be hanged for Fox."—Sir James Mackintosh records the words of Burke, six years after intercourse between himself and Fox had ceased: "To be sure, he is a man made to be loved."

The Sovereign People.—In the beginning of May, 1798, the Duke of Norfolk presided at a great dinner of the Whig Club. At the close of the evening he gave as a toast, "Our Sovereign—the People;" or, as Lord Holland relates it, "The People—our Sovereign." Upon the report of these doings he was dismissed by the Crown from the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Fox, glad to defend what he considered the true doctrine, went afterwards to the Whig Club, and gave the same toast which had caused so much offence in the mouth of the Duke of Norfolk. For this Pitt struck his name out of the Privy Council.

"All the Talents."—On the death of Pitt (January 23rd, 1806), the King, in spite of his antipathy to Fox, was compelled to apply to Lord Granville to form a Ministry in which he knew that statesman must be included. Its leading members were Lord Granville as First Lord of the Treasury; Fox, Windham, and Spencer, Secretaries of State; Erskine, Lord Chancellor; Addington, Privy Seal; Grey, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Henry Petty, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sheridan, Paymaster General. To this combination the name of "All the Talents" was first applied by its friends, and afterwards as a term of ridicule by its opponents, especially Mr. Canning.

The Commons not a Place of Much Importance.—When Sir Charles Grey was made a peer, his son was thus written to by Fox: "I am very much concerned to hear of your father's peerage, more especially as I understand it vexes you very much. It is undoubtedly a provoking event; but, according to my notions, the constitution of the country is

declining so rapidly, that the House of Commons has in a great measure ceased, and will shortly entirely cease, to be a place of much importance."

Foxiana.—The following facts respecting Fox are given in S. Rogers' "Recollections":—Lord Grenville said, "his speeches were full of repetitions. He used to say that it was necessary to *hammer it into them;* but I rather think he could not do otherwise.—Lord Holland related that when Fox first entered office, being dissatisfied with his handwriting, he took lessons.—George III. (said the Duke of Wellington) was no listener. When Fox came out of the closet once, somebody said, "You have had a long audience." "Given one, you mean," was his answer.

Grattan's Character of Fox.—His name excites tenderness and wonder. To do justice to that immortal person, you must not limit your view to his country. His genius was not confined to England; it was seen three thousand miles off, in communicating freedom to the Americans; it was visible I know not how far off, in ameliorating the condition of the Indian; it was discernible on the coast of Africa, in accomplishing the abolition of the slave trade. You are to measure the magnitude of his mind by parallels of latitude. His heart was as soft as that of a woman; his intellect was adamant.—*Curran and his Contemporaries.*

Duel between Fox and Mr. Adam.—Earl Russell gives the following account of this affair:—Mr. Fox had made a vehement attack on Mr. Adam, who, having changed from the Opposition to the Ministerial side, gave as a reason for his change that, although the ministers were not very competent, no persons more competent were to be found among their opponents. Mr. Fox, confounding mental power with moral rectitude, described the minister as turning round on his new defender, and saying to him, "Begone, begone, wretch! who delightest in libelling mankind, confounding virtue and vice, and insulting the man whom thou pretendest to defend, by saying to his face that he certainly is infamous, but that there are others still more so." Mr Adam having in vain endeavoured to obtain an explanation of this speech from Mr. Fox, to be inserted in the newspapers, sent Major Humberston to arrange the particulars of a hostile meeting. The meeting accordingly took place in Hyde Park, at eight in the morning of the 29th of November, 1799. After the ground had been measured, Mr. Adam desired Mr. Fox to fire; to which Mr. Fox replied, "Sir, I have no quarrel with you, do you fire." Mr. Adam fired; Mr. Fox then fired without effect. Upon this the seconds, Colonel Fitzpatrick and Major Humberston, interfered, asking Mr. Adam if he was satisfied. Mr. Adam replied, "Will Mr. Fox declare he meant no personal attack upon my character?" Upon which Mr. Fox said, "That was no place for apologies," and desired Mr. Adam to go on. Mr. Adam fired his second pistol without effect. Mr. Fox fired his remaining pistol in the air, and said that, as the affair was ended, he had no difficulty in declaring he meant no more personal affront to Mr. Adam than he did to either of the other gentlemen present. Mr. Adam replied, "Sir, you have behaved like a man of honour." Mr. Fox then mentioned that he believed himself wounded. On opening his waistcoat, it was found that Mr. Adam's first ball had taken effect, but that the wound was

very slight. The wits of the Opposition said that Mr. Adam had used Government powder, notorious for being deficient in strength. No men were greater friends in after life than Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam.

The Rivals at Peace.—Pitt and Fox both died in the same year (1806), the former in January and the latter in September. Their graves, in Westminster Abbey, are situated within a few inches of each other. Sir Walter Scott thus moralises on the fact, in the introduction to the first canto of "Marmion":—

"Where—taming thought to human pride!—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier;
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
The solemn echo seems to cry—
'Here let their discord with them die.
Speak not for those a separate doom,
Whom fate made brothers in the tomb;
But, search the land of living men,
Where wilt thou find their like agen?'"

EDMUND BURKE.

(1729—1797.)

Burke in the Strangers' Gallery.—One giant attraction would draw the youthful genius from his desk, his journeys, and even from the intellectual tables of his friends. It was Burke's frequent and favourite custom to go alone to the House of Commons; to there ensconce himself in the gallery, and to sit for hours, his attention absorbed, and his mind enrapt in the scene beneath him. "Some of these men," he remarked to a friend, "talk like Demosthenes or Cicero; and I feel when I am listening to them as if I were in Athens or Rome." Soon these nightly visits became his passion; a strange fascination drew him again and again to the same place. No doubt the magic of his own master spirit was upon him, and the spell was working. He might be compared to the young eagle accustoming its eye to the sun before it soared aloft.—*Burke's "Life of Burke."*

His Acquisition of Estate.—Burke obtained initiation into political life when he was about thirty years of age, by taking the post of secretary to Gerard Hamilton (of the "single speech") at a salary of 300*l.* a year. Prior to this he had been earning a small and precarious living by editing Dodsley's "Register," and similar occupations. In 1765 he left Hamilton's service, and shortly after became secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, acting in that capacity until the fall of the Rockingham Ministry in 1766. Two years later he startled his friends by purchasing for more than 20,000*l.* an estate called "The Gregories," near Beaconsfield. The Marquis advanced 10,000*l.* of this sum on a bond which it was understood would never be reclaimed; and during fourteen years prior to his death, he is said to have assisted Burke in a similar

manner with sums amounting to about 30,000*l.* (Macknight's "Life and Times of Burke.") On visiting Burke for the first time in his mansion, Johnson exclaimed in a reverie, "*Non equidem invideo;*" and on taking leave of him remarked, "I wish you all the success which ought to be wished you; which can possibly be wished you, indeed, by an honest man."

His First Speech.—In January, 1766 (writes Prior), Mr. Burke seized the first opportunity of taking an active part in the discussion concerning America. Mr. Pitt (the elder) immediately followed Mr. Burke in the debate, and complimented him by observing that "the young member had proved himself a very able advocate. He had himself intended to enter at length into the details, but he had been anticipated with so much ingenuity and eloquence that there was little left for him to say. He congratulated him on his success, and his friends on the value of the acquisition they had made." On his quitting the House, all his friends crowded round him, expressing the greatest pleasure at the result, the praise of Mr. Pitt being of itself, in the general opinion, a passport to fame.

Representative and Constituents.—When Burke was elected for Bristol in 1774, in returning thanks from the hustings he thus explained his views of the relations which should subsist between a member of Parliament and his constituents: "Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion, high respect; their business, unremitted attention. . . But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion. . . Authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution. Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but Parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of *Parliament*."

A Bull.—In the course of his speech during the debate on the budget of 1772, Burke said: "The minister comes down in state, attended by his

—creatures of all denominations—beasts clean and unclean. With such, however, as they are, he comes down, opens his budget, and edifies us all with his speech. What is the consequence? One half of the House goes away. A gentleman on the other side gets up, and harangues upon the state of the nation; and, in order to keep matters even, another half retires at the close of his speech. A third gentleman follows their example, and rids the House of another half (a loud laugh through the House). Sir (said he, turning the laugh with some address), I take the blunder to myself, and confess my satisfaction at having said anything that can put the House in good humour."

A False Quantity.—Mr. Burke (relates Harford), in the course of some very severe animadversions which he made on Lord North, for want of due economy in his management of the public purse, introduced the well-known aphorism, *Magnum vectigal est parsimonia*, but was guilty of a false quantity by saying *vectigal*. Lord North, while this philippic went on, had been half asleep, and sat heaving backwards and forwards like a great turtle; but the sound of a false quantity instantly aroused him, and opening his eyes he exclaimed, in a very marked and distinct manner, "*Vectigal*." "I thank the noble lord," said Burke, with happy adroitness, "for the correction, the more particularly as it affords me the opportunity of repeating a maxim which he greatly needs to have reiterated upon him." He then thundered out, "*Magnum vectigal est parsimonia*."

"Order" in the Veins.—An attempt to prevent the publication of proceedings of the House was warmly opposed by Burke, and supported by a member named Onslow, who endeavoured to add weight to his opinions by claiming descent from three Speakers of the Commons. To this Burke scornfully replied: "I have not the advantage of a parliamentary genealogy. I was not born, like the honourable gentleman, with 'Order' running through my veins. But as that gentleman boasts of his father (Speaker Onslow), his son will never boast of him. The parliamentary line is cut off."

A Patchwork Cabinet.—In a debate on the taxation of the American colonies, April 19, 1774, Mr. Burke thus spoke of the ministry formed by the Earl of Chatham in 1766: "He made an administration so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, 'Sir, your name? Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one—I beg a thousand pardons.' I venture to say it did so happen that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed."

A Turnspit a Member of Parliament.—Burke delivered a celebrated speech in the House of Commons, in the year 1780, on the subject of economy in the civil and other national establishments. Treating of the management of the royal household, and the sinecure offices which gave excuse for lavish expenditure, he said: "At the beginning of his Majesty's reign Lord Talbot came to the administration of a great department of the household. Economy was then announced as a maxim of the reign. Lord Talbot attempted to reform the kitchen. But his whole scheme of economy was dashed to pieces; his department became more expensive than ever; the civil list debts accumulated. Why? It was truly from a cause which, although perfectly adequate to the effect, one would not have instantly guessed—it was because the turnspit in the King's kitchen was a member of Parliament. The King's domestic servants were all undone; his tradesmen remained unpaid and became bankrupt—because the turnspit of the King's kitchen was a member of Parliament! His Majesty's slumbers were interrupted, his pillow was stuffed with thorns, and his peace of mind entirely broken—because the turnspit of the King's kitchen was a member of Parliament! The judges were unpaid; the justice of the kingdom bent and gave way; the foreign ministers remained inactive and unprovided; the system of Europe was dissolved; the chain of our alliances was broken; all the wheels of government at home and abroad were stopped—because the King's turnspit was a member of Parliament!"

Honour where Due.—While speaking on the Civil List, Burke was annoyed by the repeated interruptions of a member who occupied a position in the royal household, and who, among other ejaculations, called upon the orator to remember his duty as a subject to the King. At this the speaker paused, and remarked that "he was perfectly ready to honour the King, but he did not feel himself constrained therefore to honour the King's man-servant, his maid-servant, his ox, and"—fixing his eyes upon the obnoxious intruder—"his ass!"

Optimism.—When a message from the King was read in the House of Commons, April 15th, 1782, recommending economy in the public expenditure, Burke rose to speak, and characterised the royal message as "the best of messages to the best of people from the best of kings.

Burke Seeking a Sinecure.—While the ministerial negotiatiations which followed the death of the Marquis of Rockingham were in progress in 1782, Horace Walpole relates that he received a letter from Burke asking an interview. His business was to desire Walpole to propose to his brother, Sir Edmund Walpole, to resign his office of Clerk of the Pells (producing then £7000 a year), in consideration of receiving the full yearly value of it for life. The resignation was to be made that very day, that Lord John Cavendish, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might bestow it on Burke before his lordship resigned office. Walpole was astonished at the request, and gave a dubious answer. He continues: "Burke made his son write to me that night and come to me the next morning to persuade me of the goodness of the security; but I so amply exposed to him the improbability of a man's resigning £7000 a year for no

reason, and merely on a promise of indemnification, that the son saw the folly of the proposal and gave it up. One passage the son dropped that was very memorable. He said his father had always intended to get the office of Clerk of the Pells. This struck me, and explained what I had never comprehended, which was why in Mr. Burke's reforming bill that office had not been mentioned among the great sinecures that were to be annihilated on the deaths of the present incumbents."

The "Oftener-if-need-be's."—Burke (says Prior) opposed a motion by Mr. Flood for parliamentary reform, which produced a very candid confession from Mr. Fox, that though *he* thought such a measure advisable, the country at large did not seem to be of the same opinion. A jest of Burke on this question, widely disseminated in private society, threw much ridicule upon the enthusiasts in this cause. A new party of Reformers, he said, had arisen, still more pure in their creed than the rest, who deemed annual parliaments not sufficiently frequent, and quoted in support of their doctrine the latter words of the statute of Edward III., that "a parliament shall be holden every year once, and *more often if need be*." How to designate these gentlemen from their less orthodox associates he knew not, unless, indeed, their tenets furnished the hint, and they be known as the *Oftener-if-need-be's*.

The Bright Particular Star.—In the session 1780–1, speaking on Irish affairs, Burke thus referred to the state of Ireland: "So many and such great revolutions had happened of late, that he was not much surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) treat the loss of the supremacy of this country over Ireland as a matter of very little consequence. Thus one star, and that the brightest ornament of our orrery, having been supposed to be lost, those who were accustomed to watch and inspect our political heaven ought not to wonder that it should be followed by the loss of another.

> 'So star would follow star, and light light,
> Till all was darkness and eternal night.'"

The Spiritual Peers.—A phrase that has often been used in reference to the presence of the bishops in the House of Lords is to be found in Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution":—"We have not," he says, "relegated religion to obscure municipalities or rustic villages. No! We will have her to exalt her mitred front in Courts and Parliaments."

Young America.—Several of Burke's most famous sayings occurred in his speech in favour of conciliation with America, in the House of Commons on the 22nd of March, 1775. For example, with reference to the rapid growth of the American colonies, he said: "No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people—a people who are still, as it were, but in their gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I

contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraint of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigour relents; I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Compromise.—It was in the speech just referred to that Mr. Burke also remarked: "We Englishmen stop very short of the principles upon which we support any given part of our constitution, or even the whole of it together. . . This is nothing but what is natural and proper. All government—indeed, every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act—is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants. As we must give away some natural liberty to enjoy civil advantages, so we must sacrifice some civil liberties for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire."

An Exciting Oration.—February 6, 1778, was (writes Horace Walpole) memorable for the *chef-d'œuvre* of Burke's orations. He called Burgoyne's talk with the American Indians the "sublimity of bombast absurdity," in which he demanded the assistance of seventeen Indian nations by considerations of our holy religion, by regard for our constitution; and, though he enjoined them not to scalp men, women, or children alive, he promised to pay them for any scalps of the dead. Seventeen interpreters from the several nations, said he, could not have given them any idea of his reasons—but, added Burke, the invitation was just as if, at a riot on Tower Hill, the keeper of the wild beasts had turned them loose, but adding, "My gentle lions, my sentimental wolves, my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth, but take care not to hurt men, women, or children." He then grew serious, and as the former part had excited the warmest and most continued bursts of laughter even from Lord North, Rigby, and the Ministers themselves, so he drew such a pathetic picture of the cruelties of the King's army—particularly in the alleged case of a young woman on whose ransom, not beauty, they quarrelled, and murdered her—that he drew iron tears down Barré's cheek, who implored him to print his speech, and said, with many invectives against the bishops, that it ought to be pasted up on every church under their proclamation for the fast, and that he himself would paste it upon some. Governor Johnstone said he was now glad that strangers were excluded, as, if they had been admitted, Burke's speech would have excited them to tear the Ministers to pieces as they went out of the house.

Biding his Time.—Directly after the return of Warren Hastings from India, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons that he would make a motion respecting his conduct. Nothing further transpired in the matter for some months, until at last Major Scott, a friend of Hastings,

called upon Burke in the House to produce his charges. Mr. Burke's haughty reply to the major was the relation of the anecdote of the great Duke of Parma, who, being challenged by Henry IV. of France to bring his forces into open field, and instantly decide their disputes, answered, with a smile, "that he knew very well what he had to do, and was not come so far to be directed by an enemy."

Burke and Warren Hastings.—There was one man (writes Earl Russell) who had watched Hastings' conduct, and for five years had made it his peculiar study. He rose from that study convinced that Mr. Hastings had overstepped all the limits of conventional law, and broken the bonds of primitive morality. That man was Mr. Burke. He justified his animosity by alleging the patience and perseverance of his inquiries. He was not actuated, he said, by ignorance, inadvertency, or passion. "Anger, indeed, he had felt, but surely not a blamable anger; for who ever heard of a digesting anger, a collating anger, an examining anger, a deliberating anger, a selecting anger?" Yet this plea (continues Earl Russell) is not quite conclusive. Mr. Burke kindled his anger by the perusal of bulky documents, and heaped up the fuel of his indignation by poring over a vast mass of despatches.

The Grasshopper.—Sir Philip Francis once waited upon Burke by appointment, to read over to him some papers respecting Mr. Hastings' delinquencies. He called on Burke on his way to the house of a friend with whom he was engaged to dine. He found him in his garden holding a grasshopper. "What a beautiful animal is this!" said Burke. "Observe its structure—its legs, its wings, its eyes." "How can you," said Sir Philip, "lose your time in admiring such an animal, when you have so many objects of moment to attend to?" "Yet Socrates," said Burke, "according to the exhibition of him in Aristophanes, attended to a much less animal; he actually measured the proportion which its size bore to the space it passed over in a skip. I think the skip of a grasshopper does not exceed its length. Let us see." "My dear friend," said Sir Philip, "I am in a great hurry; let us walk in, and let me read my papers to you." Into the house they walked. Sir Philip began to read, and Burke appeared to listen. At length, Sir Philip having mislaid a paper, a pause ensued. "I think," said Burke, "that naturalists are now agreed that *locusta*, not *cicada*, is the Latin word for grasshopper. What's your opinion, Sir Philip?" "My opinion," answered Sir Philip, packing up his papers and preparing to move off, "is that till the grasshopper is out of your head it will be idle to talk to you of the concerns of India."—*Butler's "Reminiscences."*

A Nightcap Wanted.—During one of the debates on Lord Pigott's recall from Madras, Burke had twice given way to other speakers, when, observing the chairman of the India Company proceeding to read a variety of well-known public papers, instead of adducing any new arguments, he interrupted him by observing, "That if it were the object of the honourable member to tire and thin the House by reading all the heavy folios on the table, he supposed in courtesy he must submit; but to prepare for the task he begged leave to send for his nightcap." This

produced general laughter, and was followed by a shout to him of "Go on! go on!"

The Lion Discomfited.—In a new Parliament which met in May, 1784, Burke was not viewed with much favour by many of the members. A prejudice or combination (says Prior), chiefly of the younger members of the House, was formed so strong against him, that the moment of his rising became a signal for coughing or other symptoms of pointed dislike, by men who had no chance of success against him in any other manner. On one occasion, instead of threatening, like Mr. Tierney when similarly assailed, to "speak for three hours longer," he stopped short in his argument to remark that "he could teach a pack of hounds to yelp with more melody and equal comprehension." At another time, having occasion to rise with papers in his hands, a rough country gentleman, who had more ear, perhaps, for this melody of the hounds than for political discussion, exclaimed, with something of a look of despair, "I hope the honourable gentleman does not mean to read that large bundle of papers and bore us with a long speech into the bargain." Burke is said to have felt so much irritation that, incapable of utterance for some minutes, he ran out of the house. "Never before," said the facetious George Selwyn, who told the story with great effect, "did I see the fable realised —a lion put to flight by the braying of an ass."

Burke and Wedderburn.—On December 3rd, 1777, an incident occurred in Burke's parliamentary life of which (remarks Prior) we have no other instance. "There were high words," writes Mr. Crawford to Lord Ossory, "between Wedderburn and Burke, which so offended the latter that he went out of the house, and I believe intended to challenge Wedderburn, but was prevented by a letter from Wedderburn, and an explanation likewise, which he sent through Charles" (Fox). He had, it appears, laughed at a part of Wedderburn's speech when dead silence reigned in the house, so that it was heard; this produced irritation, followed by what he understood to be either rudeness or a personal threat; and thence the misunderstanding, which, however, was soon forgotten by both.

Two made One.—On the day when the celebrated junction between the parties of Mr. Fox and Lord North was declared, Mr. Burke and Colonel North entered the House of Commons together, just as the Speaker was beginning to count the House, and as he pointed to them, and in the customary manner called out "One, two——" Mr. Burke interrupted him with, "Pardon me, sir; we were two yesterday, but are only one to-day."—*Life of Lord Sidmouth.*

The Rupture between Burke and Fox.—Earl Stanhope gives the following account of this occurrence:—The progress of the Canada Bill (1791) was fraught with an interest far beyond its own. It was made memorable by a collateral incident which it produced—by the utter breach and lasting estrangement of the two great leaders of the Opposition. In arguing against the Canada Bill, Fox had not scrupled to draw some illustrations from the recent changes in France; nor had he forborne from some reflections—or what seemed so—on the recent writings

of Burke. A debate on a different subject had given Fox another opportunity for going over the same ground. On this second occasion Burke, who was not present on the first, had risen with signs of strong emotion; but, the hour being late, and the House exhausted, he was stopped by loud cries of "Question!" chiefly from the friends of Fox. At a later period Fox is known to have regretted the injudicious zeal of those who would not allow Burke to answer his remarks upon the spot. "The contention," he said, "might have been fiercer and hotter, but the remembrance of it would not have settled so deep and rankled so long." . . On the 6th of May the expectation of the House was wound up to the highest pitch. But by that time the friends of Fox had discovered that it was highly irregular and blamable to foist reflections upon France into debates upon Canada. This irregularity, which had not struck them while the practice was continued by Fox, appeared to them in the strongest light the moment a reply was announced by Burke. When, therefore, on the 6th of May, Burke rose in his place, and was proceeding with solemn earnestness to inveigh against the evil and the error of the French Revolution, there appeared a fixed design to interrupt him. Member after member from his own side started up to call him to order. There was, as Burke said, a most disorderly rage for order. When at last he was suffered in some measure to proceed, chafed and goaded as he had been, and even at length by Fox among the rest, he no doubt spoke against "the right honourable gentleman" (for now he dropped the name of friend) much more bitterly and strongly than he had at first designed. "Certainly," he said, "it is indiscreet at any period, but especially at my time of life, to provoke enemies, or to give my friends occasion to desert me. Yet, if my firm and steady adherence to the British Constitution place me in such a dilemma, I am ready to risk all, and with my last words to exclaim, Fly from the French Constitution!" Fox here whispered across to him that there was no loss of friends. "Yes," rejoined Burke; "yes, there is a loss of friends. I know the price of my conduct. I have done my duty at the price of my friend. Our friendship is at an end!" And thus ended a friendship of twenty-five years.

Entertaining his Friends.—While in town, Burke often asked political and literary friends to dine or sup, as it happened, on beefsteaks or a leg of mutton, and commonly gave no more than his invitation professed. Of this an instance is related, which (says Prior) as an after dinner story tells amusingly. Having been detained late in the House, he asked Fox, Lord John Cavendish, and two or three more of the party to sup, when, on announcing the object of their visit to Mrs. Burke, a look of annoyance and despair sufficiently told the ill-provided state of the larder. A pause ensued. "Surely," said the host, with a comic face, "there is beef enough!" Fox and two or three others, making an apology for momentary absence, hurried off to a neighbouring tavern, provided themselves each with a dish of such fare as could be procured, and, amid much laughter from all parties—particularly the master of the house, who cracked some jokes on their skill as waiters—passed an amusing evening.

Making Election Sure.—An instance of Burke's promptitude to seize any incident that offered to aid or illustrate his aim at the moment, was told frequently by the eminent dissenting divine, Robert Hall, as having come under his own knowledge. While canvassing Bristol, Burke and his friends entered a house where the wife of the owner was reading her Bible. "I have called, madam, to solicit the favour of your husband's vote and interest in the present election. You, I perceive," placing his finger on a passage that caught his eye, "are 'making your calling and election sure.'"

"Ditto to Mr. Burke."—When Burke, on his election for Bristol in 1774, had returned thanks to his constituents in an eloquent speech from the hustings, "a humorous incident terminated the day's triumph. Mr. Cruger, Burke's colleague, a worthy merchant in the American trade and a citizen of Bristol, but no orator, was dumbfounded by the eloquence of his mighty coadjutor. When his own turn came to thank the electors, he had recourse to a speech which, though savouring of his counting-house, was under the circumstances about the best he could make. He cried out, 'Gentlemen, I say ditto to Mr. Burke! ditto to Mr. Burke!' A roar of laughter and applause marked the approval of his audience."

The Day of No Judgment.—Dining with Pitt at Downing-street one day in the year 1791, Burke strove to alarm Pitt on the aggressive nature of French principles, and the propagandism of revolution. Pitt made rather light of the danger, and said, in colloquial phrase, "This country and constitution were safe to the day of judgment." "Yes," Burke quickly retorted, "but 'tis the day of *no* judgment that I am afraid of."

The Small and Noisy.—Burke describes this class of politicians in his most vigorous style: "Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, while thousands of great cattle beneath the shadow of the British oak chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field, that of course they are many in number, or that, after all, they are other than the little, shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome, insects of the hour."

The Dagger Scene.—It was on the second reading of the Aliens Bill, the 28th of December, 1792, that Burke enacted the celebrated dagger scene. Lord Sidmouth used to relate to his friends this version of the scene: "When Burke, after only a few preliminary remarks, the House being totally unprepared, fumbled in his bosom, and suddenly drew out the dagger and threw it on the floor, his extravagant gesture excited a general disposition to titter, by which most men would have been disconcerted; but he, observing he had failed of making the intended impression, immediately collected himself for an effort, and by a few brilliant sentences recalled the seriousness of the House. 'Let us,' said he, 'keep French principles from our heads, and French daggers from our hearts; let us preserve all our blandishments in life, and all our consolations in death, all the blessings of time, and all the hopes of eternity.'"—It

appears from a statement by the Earl of Eldon in his grandfather's "Life" that the dagger had been sent from France to a manufacturer at Birmingham, with an order for a large number to be made like it, and that Burke had only received it that same day from Sir James Bland Burgess, on his way down to the House.

Good Speeches never without Effect.—It is extremely discouraging (remarks Prior) to be constantly out-voted, when possibly not out-argued; to spend time, labour, and ingenuity, "to watch, fast, and sweat night after night," as Burke himself forcibly expresses it, and not emerge from the slough of constant minorities. No person felt this more than Burke; yet none has more ably stated the necessity and even advantages resulting to the country and to the members so situated from a well-directed opposition, than he has done in a conversation with Sir Joshua Reynolds. "Mr. Burke," said the painter, "I do not mean to flatter; but when posterity reads one of your speeches in Parliament, it will be difficult to believe that you took so much pains, knowing with certainty that it could produce no effect; that not one vote would be gained by it." "Waiving your compliment to me," said the orator, "I shall say in general that it is very well worth while for a man to take pains to speak well in Parliament. A man who has vanity speaks to display his talents; and if a man speaks well, he gradually establishes a certain reputation and consequence in the general opinion, which sooner or later will have its political reward. Besides, though not one vote is gained, a good speech has its effect. Though an Act of Parliament which has been ably opposed passes into a law, yet in its progress it is modelled and softened in such a manner, that we see plainly the minister has been told that the members attached to him are so sensible of its injustice or absurdity from what they have heard, that it must be altered."

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

(1751—1816.)

His First Speech.—He made his first speech in Parliament on the 20th November, 1780, when a petition was presented to the House complaining of the undue election of the sitting members for Stafford (himself and Mr. Monckton). It was on this night, as Woodfall used to relate, that Sheridan, after he had spoken, came up to him in the gallery, and asked, with much anxiety, what he thought of his first attempt. The answer of Woodfall, as he had the courage afterwards to own, was, "I am sorry to say I do not think that this is your line; you had much better have stuck to your former pursuits." On hearing which, Sheridan rested his head on his hand a few minutes, and then vehemently exclaimed, "It is in me, however, and by G— it shall come out!"—*Moore's "Sheridan."*

The "Angry Boy."—A debate occurred, February 17th, 1783, on the preliminary articles of peace, at the close of the American War of Independence, when the following passage between Pitt and Sheridan enlivened and excited the House. Mr. Pitt (says the "Parliamentary

History") was pointedly severe on the gentlemen who had spoken against the Address, and particularly on Mr. Sheridan. "No man admired more than he did the abilities of that right honourable gentleman—the elegant sallies of his thought, the gay effusions of his fancy, his dramatic turns and his epigrammatic point; and if they were reserved for the proper stage they would, no doubt, receive what the right honourable gentleman's abilities always did receive, the plaudits of the audience; and it would be his fortune *sui plausu gaudere theatri*. But this was not the proper scene for the exhibition of those elegancies." Mr. Sheridan, on rising to explain, said: "On the particular sort of personality which the right honourable gentleman has thought proper to make use, I need not make any comment. The propriety, the taste, the gentlemanly point of it, must have been obvious to the House. But let me assure the right honourable gentleman that I do now, and will at any time he chooses to repeat this sort of allusion, meet it with the most sincere good humour. Nay, I will say more: flattered and encouraged by the right honourable gentleman's panegyric on my talents, if ever I again engage in the compositions he alludes to, I may be tempted to an act of presumption—to attempt an improvement on one of Ben Jonson's best characters—the character of the Angry Boy, in the 'Alchymist.'"

Invidious.—Lord Eldon left an anecdote book in manuscript, in which he noted the following: During the debates on the India Bill, at which period John Robinson was Secretary to the Treasury, Sheridan, on one evening when Fox's majorities were decreasing, said, "Mr. Speaker, this is not at all to be wondered at, when a member is employed to corrupt everybody in order to obtain votes." Upon this there was a great outcry made by almost everybody in the House. "Who is it? Name him! Name him!" "Sir," said Sheridan to the Speaker, "I shall not name the person. It is an unpleasant and invidious thing to do so, and therefore I shall not name him. But don't suppose, sir, that I abstain because there is any difficulty in naming him; I could do that, sir, *as soon as you could say Jack Robinson.*"

A Demosthenes.—A member of Lord North's administration made a speech which was highly commended by Mr. Rigby, who pronounced it the finest he had ever heard, a proof of which was, he said, that it was the speech which had most galled the Opposition. To this Sheridan replied that if those speeches were the best that gave most offence, Rigby himself was the Demosthenes of the House.

The Begums Speech.—The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan, in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing, and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread fast through the town. Within four-and-twenty hours,

Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyrights of the speech, if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham, twenty years later, said the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste—such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan—the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.—*Macaulay on Warren Hastings.* Nevertheless, as Lord Brougham remarks, the effect of this speech was, no doubt, owing partly to the occasion and the attendant circumstances. Although so telling at the time as an oration, it would not bear the test of perusal. Moore, who had the short-hand writer's report before him, declared it to be "trashy bombast."

His Speech on the Impeachment.—Mr. W. F. Rae sums up the most interesting particulars as to Sheridan's speech on this occasion: "After the trial had begun, Sheridan addressed the House of Lords, as one of the managers of the impeachment, on the same charge which had been the subject of his great speech in the House of Commons. The unprecedented success he had achieved on the first occasion made the second an ordeal of an unusually trying kind. To acquit himself as well a second time was to fall short of the expectations that had been raised. So greatly was the public curiosity excited, that fifty guineas were offered for a seat in Westminster Hall. He followed Burke, whose opening speech—wherein, in the name of the people of India, the Commons of England, and of human nature itself, he solemnly impeached Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors—was one of the most finished and impassioned ever delivered by that wonderful master of language, and ever heard by an English audience. Yet Sheridan successfully bore the double test of comparison with himself and with Burke, and for three successive days electrified his hearers. Without a tithe of Burke's profundity, and with no portion of his genius, he was better able to influence an audience and excite their admiration, for, in addition to being an impressive orator, he was also a consummate actor."—Lord Brougham mentions a trait which had its share in the general effect: "His admirable manner was aided by an eye peculiarly piercing. It had the singularity of never winking."

Repelling Criticism.—Law (afterwards Lord Ellenborough) was called upon to settle the answer to the articles of impeachment in the Hastings trial. He was (says Lord Campbell) most afraid of Sheridan, but ventured to try to ridicule a figurative observation of his that "the treasures in the zenana of the Begum were an offering laid by the hand of piety on the altar of a saint," by asking "how the lady was to be considered a saint, and how the camels when they bore the treasure were to be laid upon the altar?" Sheridan: "This is the first time in my life

that I ever heard of special pleading on a metaphor, or a bill of indictment against a trope; but such is the turn of the learned gentleman's mind that when he attempts to be humorous no jest can be found, and when serious no fact is visible."

An Unfettered Press.—The few sentences (remarks Brougham) with which Sheridan thrilled the House on the liberty of the press, in 1810, were worth, perhaps, more than all his elaborated epigrams and forced flowers on the Begum charge, or all his denunciations of Napoleon. "Give them," said he, "a corrupt House of Lords, give them a venal House of Commons, give them a tyrannical Prince, give them a truckling Court, and let me have but an unfettered Press, I will defy them to encroach a hair's breadth upon the liberties of England."

Untimely Relief from Taxation.—Pitt, having proposed a repeal of certain taxes in 1792, his policy was thus censured by Sheridan: "A new feeling of hope is to be inspired into the people, a new feeling of gratitude is to be planted in their bosoms—they are to be taught to petition for relief from taxes. This is a very delicate subject for gentlemen to speak on; it lays an embargo on the House. No man can put himself into the ungracious state of opposing the repeal of afflicting taxes. Who can deny to the poor family the boon of getting their candles a halfpenny cheaper? Should a severe sense of duty urge any gentleman to look the true situation of the country in the face, and to oppose this artful and insidious way of attacking the privileges of the Commons House of Parliament, I well know how easily a cry may be raised against him, and with what facility he may be made the victim of a little well managed misrepresentation. I remember a line or two of some verses made upon my honourable friend [Fox] by one of his constituents, which have never failed to produce a torrent of applause, not from the elegance of the poetry so much as from the sturdy *ad captandum* praise which it gives him. My friend, who with all his merits has certainly no pretension to this praise, will pardon me for repeating it:

> 'Whenever a tax in the House was projected,
> Great Fox he rose up and always objected.'

Now this, which is certainly untrue, may be turned very neatly to the detriment of those who may think it their duty to inquire before they act—to ascertain whether we really have a surplus before we give up our income; and at any rate the grace ought to come constitutionally from that branch of the legislature which has the power of the purse, and which has been so unmercifully called on, by the same right honourable gentleman, to draw the strings. Why has he not waited and given to the House the grace of originating the measure? The truth is, it has craftily been considered as the best answer to all the imputations against him for the Russian and Spanish armaments; so at least other men, who have less candour and respect for him than I possess, might insinuate. They might draw strange conclusions from the circumstances; and the nation might be brought to think that blunders are more advantageous to them than wisdom—that when he is convicted of error he is distributing to

them relief. A session without a blunder would be a session of calamity; but an armament would be desirable. 'I have,' he might say, 'involved you in a quarrel with Spain—here, there's a tax upon malt for you. I have made the English name ridiculous all over the world by bullying Russia—here, take back the female servants, I have no use for them. I have involved you in a war with Tippoo Saib—take your candles a half-penny cheaper in the pound.' Thus they are taught to love misfortune, to be enamoured of misconduct; and if an administration should succeed him, under which wisdom and prudence should produce their usual effects of security and quiet, the right honourable gentleman would be at the head of the most violent and clamorous opposition that this country ever witnessed. They would call out importunately for a change: 'Give us back that bustling and dangerous administration, that went on arming and unarming, taxing and untaxing; who committed so many blunders that they were for ever making atonement; who broke our heads that they might give us a plaster. We abhor this uniform system of order and quiet.'"

His Wit and its Elaboration.—How little (says Brougham) Sheridan's wit was the inspiration of the moment all men were aware who knew his habits; but a singular proof of this was presented by Mr. Moore, when he came to write his "Life;" for we there find given to the world, with a frankness which must almost have made their author shake in his grave, the secret note-books of this famous wit; and we are thus enabled to trace the jokes in embryo, with which he had so often made the walls of St. Stephen's shake, in a merriment excited by the happy appearance of sudden, unpremeditated effusion. Take an instance from this author, giving extracts from the commonplace book of the wit: "He employs his fancy in his narrative, and keeps his recollections for his wit." Again, the same idea is expanded into—"When he makes his jokes you applaud the accuracy of his memory, and 'tis only when he states his facts that you admire the flights of his imagination." But the thought was too good to be thus wasted on the desert air of a common-place book. So forth it came at the expense of Kelly, who, having been a composer of music, became a wine-merchant. "You will," said the *ready* wit, "import your music and compose your wine." Nor was this service exacted from the old idea thought sufficient; so in the House of Commons an easy and apparently off-hand parenthesis was thus filled with it, at Mr. Dundas's cost and charge: "who generally resorts to his memory for his jokes, and to his imagination for his facts."

Resisting Temptation.—Once (relates Lord Byron) I saw Sheridan cry, after a splendid dinner. I had the honour of sitting next him. The occasion of his tears was some observation or other upon the subject of the sturdiness of the Whigs in resisting office and keeping to their principles. Sheridan turned round, "Sir, it is easy for my Lord C., or Earl G., or Marquis B., or Lord H., with thousands upon thousands a-year, some of it either presently derived or inherited in sinecure or acquisitions from the public money, to boast of their patriotism and keep aloof from temptation; but they do not know from what temptation those have kept

aloof who had equal pride, at least equal talents, and not unequal passions, and nevertheless knew not in the course of their lives what it was to have a shilling of their own." And in saying this he wept.

An Ambiguous Compliment.—"Before my departure from England," says Gibbon in his "Autobiography," "I was present at the august spectacle of Mr. Hastings' trial, in Westminster Hall. It is not my province to absolve or condemn the Governor of India, but Mr. Sheridan's eloquence demanded my applause; nor could I hear without emotion the personal compliment which he paid me in the presence of the British nation." The passage in the speech of the orator that afforded so much gratification to the historian is thus reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, June 14th, 1788: "He said that the facts that made up the volume of narrative were unparalleled in atrociousness, and that nothing equal in criminality was to be traced either in ancient or modern history, in the correct periods of Tacitus, or the luminous page of Gibbon." On being asked by some one, at the conclusion of the speech, how he came to compliment Gibbon with the epithet "luminous," Sheridan answered, in a half-whisper, "I said '*vo*luminous.'"—Byron, in his "Monody on the Death of Sheridan," thus alludes to the appreciation in which a meed of praise from Sheridan was held:—

> "In whose acclaim the loftiest voices vied,
> The praised—the proud—who made his praise their pride."

EDWARD GIBBON.

(1737—1794.)

A Mute Member.—The historian of the Roman Empire was returned for Liskeard in 1774, and sat in Parliament for eight sessions. Prudence, he says in his "Autobiography," condemned him to acquiesce in the humble station of a mute. "Timidity was fortified by pride, and even the success of my pen discouraged the trial of my voice." In a letter to a friend he writes, "I am still a mute: it is more tremendous than I imagined; the great speakers fill me with despair, the bad ones with terror." Gibbon supported Lord North's administration by his vote, and was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. He was employed by the Government, at the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1778, to draw up the official manifesto on that occasion.

A Contrast.—In a letter to a friend in 1783, describing his life at Lausanne, the ex-M.P. says: "Acknowledge that such a life is more conducive to happiness than five nights in the week passed in the House of Commons, or five mornings spent at the Custom House." But in his "Autobiography" he remarks, "I never found my mind more vigorous, nor my composition more happy, than in the winter hurry of society and Parliament."

His Application for Diplomatic Employment.—The following letter is given in Gibbon's "Autobiography and Correspondence." The communication is without date, nor does the name of the nobleman

to whom it was addressed appear: "My Lord,—I am ignorant (as I ought to be) of the present state of our negotiations for peace; I am likewise ignorant how far I may appear qualified to co-operate in this important and salutary work. If, from any advantages of language or local connections, your lordship should think my services might be usefully employed, particularly in any future intercourse with the Court of France, permit me to say that my love of ease and literary leisure shall never stand in competition with the obligations of duty and gratitude which I owe to his Majesty's Government." Gibbon also applied to Lord Thurlow, soliciting an appointment as Secretary to the Embassy to Paris, in 1783. Of the result he writes: "The scheme is completely vanished, and I support the disappointment with heroic patience."

WILLIAM WINDHAM.

(1750—1810.)

Political Training.—In 1783, Mr. Windham was appointed principal secretary to Lord Northington, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Before leaving England he called upon his friend Dr. Johnson, to whom he expressed, says Boswell, some modest and virtuous doubts whether he could bring himself to practise those arts which it is supposed a person in that situation has occasion to employ. "Don't be afraid, sir," said Johnson, with a pleasant smile; "you will soon make a very pretty rascal."

A Very Palpable Hit.—Sometimes he would convulse the House by a happy, startling, and most unexpected allusion; as when on the Walcheren question, speaking of a *coup-de-main* on Antwerp, which had been its professed object, he suddenly said, "A *coup-de-main* in the Scheldt! You might as well talk of a *coup-de-main* in the Court of Chancery." Sir William Grant (Master of the Rolls) having just entered and taken his seat, probably suggested this excellent jest; and assuredly no man enjoyed it more. His habitual gravity was overpowered in an instant, and he was seen absolutely to roll about on the bench which he had just occupied.—*Brougham's "Statesmen."*

Homely Saxon.—"When some phrase of his," says Lord Brougham, "long after it was first used, seemed to invite attack, and a great cheer followed, as if he had unwittingly fallen into the scrape, he stopped and added, 'Why, I said it on purpose!' or, as he pronounced it, 'a purpose;' for no man more delighted in the old pronunciation, as well as the pure Saxon idiom of our language, which yet he could enrich and dignify with the importations of classical phraseology."

Instability.—Mr. Windham (says Earl Russell) was unstable and irresolute. He said one day to Lord Henry Petty, who was sitting beside him, towards the end of his speech, "Which way did I say I would vote?"

Convenient Illustration.—Windham's happiness in illustration was thus alluded to by Lord John Russell, in speaking on Parliamentary Reform in 1854: "I know to those who do not like the measure a fit

time is always wanting. Mr. Windham, who was a great master of illustration and allusion, when a measure of reform was introduced in a time of public quiet and peace, said, 'You are like the man in the *Spectator*, who had every symptom of the gout except the pain; you are going to deal with a disease that causes you no inconvenience.' Times changed, and there was a vast deal of commotion, and agitation, and excitement, and still Mr. Windham opposed reform, saying, 'Surely you will not repair your house in a hurricane!' On both occasions he was ready with an illustration, and so it is with many of those who now say that this is not the time to introduce a measure of Parliamentary reform."

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

(1740—1818.)

An Unready Speaker.—Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the "Junius" letters, was unsuccessful as a speaker. His own theory on the subject is given by Lady Francis in her "Reminiscences:"—"Here I may account for his not being a ready speaker in Parliament, except when roused by indignation or feeling, when he electrified the House. He accounted for it from Lord Bacon's well-known axiom, 'Reading makes a full man, writing an exact man, speaking a ready man.' 'I had enough and too much of the former, and none of the latter, in my youth. A vessel may be too full to part easily with its contents, and few orators are very exact men; besides, I had too much sensibility, and felt the House was against me. The House was Pitt's, and Pitt could not despise me, but he tried to make it believe he did.'" Lady Francis adds another reason for his hesitation in speaking—namely, extreme anxiety to weigh every word lest it should convict him of being "Junius."

An Appeal from Son to Father.—Sir Nathaniel Wraxall writes as follows of Francis: "However inferior he was to Burke in all the flowers of diction, more than once he electrified the House by passages of a pathos which arrested every hearer. A beautiful specimen of his ability in this point occurred during the debates on Pitt's India Bill. One of the regulations abolished the trial by jury for delinquents returning from India, and instituted a new tribunal for inquiring into their misdemeanors. Against such an inroad on the British constitution Francis entered his protest in terms of equal elegance and force. 'I am not,' said he, 'an old man, yet I remember the time when such an attempt would have roused the whole country into a flame. Had the experiment been made when the illustrious statesman, the late Earl of Chatham, enjoyed a seat in this assembly, he would have sprung from the bed of sickness, he would have solicited some friendly hand to lay him on the floor, and thence, with a monarch's voice, he would have called the whole kingdom to arms to oppose it. But he is dead, and has left nothing in the world that resembles him. He is dead! and the sense, the honour, the character, and the understanding of the nation are dead with him.' . . The repetition of the words, 'He is dead,' was attended with the finest effect; and the reflections produced by it involuntarily attracted every eye

towards the Treasury bench, where sat his son. I have rarely witnessed a moment when the passions were touched in a more masterly manner within the walls of the House. The impression made by it on Pitt is said to have been of the deepest kind."

GEORGE TIERNEY.

(1761—1830.)

The Fox and the Goose.—Mr. Tierney was one of those Whigs who, partly through hostility to Mr. Pitt, and partly from a sincere gratitude for the peace abroad, and the mild and constitutional government at home, obtained for the country by Mr. Addington, first supported and afterwards formally joined that minister, upon his rupture with his patron and predecessor. When alluding to the difficulties the Foxites and Pittites had of passing over to join each other in attacking the Addington ministry, Mr. Tierney (forgetting for the moment how easily he had himself overcome a like difficulty in joining that ministry) alluded to the puzzle of "the Fox and the Goose," and did not clearly expound his idea. Whereupon Mr. Dudley North said, "It is himself he means—who left the Fox to go over to the Goose, and put the bag of oats in his pocket."—*Brougham's "Sketches."*

A Saying about Office.—Earl Russell remarks that Mr. Tierney used to say, as the fruit of his experience, that it was very difficult for a member of the House of Commons to attain high office, but that it was still more difficult to leave high office with credit on sufficient grounds. His lordship endorsed this by adding, "The latter is, in fact, the more difficult operation of the two."

The Duel between Pitt and Tierney.—Pitt brought in a bill for the more effectual manning of the navy, on the 25th of May, 1798, and urged that it pass through all its stages in one day. Tierney opposed this "precipitous course." In reply Pitt asked how the honourable gentleman's opposition to the measure was to be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country. Refusing to retract or explain, Pitt received a challenge the next day from Tierney. Lord Sidmouth gives the following account of the preliminaries: "I was dining with Lord Grosvenor when a note was brought me from Mr. Pitt stating that he had received a hostile message from Mr. Tierney, and wished me to go to him, which I did as soon as the party at Lord Grosvenor's broke up. Mr. Pitt had just made his will when I arrived. He had sent, in the first instance, to Mr. Steele to be his second; but, finding he was absent, he sent next to Mr. Ryder. On the following day I went with Pitt and Ryder down the Birdcage Walk, up the steps into Queen Street, where their chaise waited to take them to Wimbledon Common." On Sunday, the 27th, at three o'clock in the afternoon (says Earl Stanhope), the two parties met on Putney Heath. Mr. Pitt was attended by Mr. Dudley Ryder, afterwards Lord Harrowby, and Mr. Tierney by Mr. George Walpole. The seconds had some conversation, and endeavoured to prevent further proceedings, but they did not prevail. The principals

took their ground at the distance of twelve paces, and fired at the same moment, each without effect. A second case of pistols was produced, and fired in the same manner, Mr. Pitt on this last occasion firing his pistol in the air. The seconds interfered, and thus ended the affair.

His Style in Debate.—Lord Lytton, in "St. Stephen's," gives the following graphic sketch of Tierney's manner:—

"There is an eloquence which aims at talk—
A muse, though wingèd, that prefers to walk;
Its easy graces so content the eye,
You'd fear to lose it if it sought to fly;
Light and yet vigorous, fearless yet well bred,
As once it moved in Tierney's airy tread.
Carelessly, as a wit about the town
Chats at your table some huge proser down,
He lounged into debate, just touch'd a foe,—
'Laughter and cheers'—A touch, sir? what a blow!
Declaiming never, with a placid smile
He bids you wonder why you are so vile;
One hand politely pointing out your crime,
The other—in his pocket all the time."

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

(1759—1833.)

Slave Trade Motions.—"In 1787," said Wilberforce, "I was staying with Pitt at Holwood—one has often a local recollection of particular incidents—and I distinctly remember the very knoll upon which I was sitting, near Pitt and Grenville, when the former said to me, 'Wilberforce, why don't you give notice of a motion on the subject of the slave trade? You have already taken great pains to collect evidence, and are therefore fully entitled to the credit which doing so will insure you. Do not lose time, or the ground may be occupied by another.' I did so, and upon that occasion Fox said he had himself seriously entertained the idea of bringing the subject before Parliament; but he was pleased to add that, it having got into so much better hands, he should not interfere. In 1789 I opened the question to the House. Burke, I remember, complimented me on my speech, and thanked me for the information he had received from it." As an instance of the ridiculous stories told in consequence to the speaker's disadvantage, Clarkson was travelling in a stage-coach, when, the conversation turning on the abolition question, one of the passengers gravely said, "Mr. Wilberforce is doubtless a great philanthropist in public, but I happen to know a little of his private history, and can assure you that he is a cruel husband, and even beats his wife." At this time Mr. Wilberforce was a bachelor.—*Harford's "Recollections."*

His Parliamentary Dinners.—Mr. Wilberforce (says Harford) resided in Palace Yard for some time with his friend, Mr. Henry Thornton, as bachelors, where they kept an almost open house for members of Parliament. About three o'clock daily their friends began to drop in on their way to the House, and partook of a light dinner, the number of them

amounting to seventeen or twenty. Lord Eldon was not unfrequently one of the party. "It delighted us," said Mr. Wilberforce, "to see our friends in this way, especially as it gave us the opportunity of talking upon any important points of public business, without any great sacrifice of time. Those who came in late put up with a mutton chop or beefsteak. The Duke of Montrose called in one day as we were thus employed, but declined taking anything. Seeing, however, so many around him busy with the knife and fork, he said, 'I cannot resist any longer,' and down he sat to a mutton chop. 'Ah! duke,' said I, 'if your French cook could see you now, he would be quite affronted.'"

Power and Forbearance.—The singular kindness, the extreme gentleness of his disposition, wholly free from gall, from vanity, or other selfish feeling, kept him from indulging in any of the vituperative branches of rhetoric; but a memorable instance showed that it was anything rather than the want of power which held him off from the use of the weapons so often in almost all other men's hands. When a well-known and popular member thought fit to designate him repeatedly, and very irregularly, as the "honourable and religious gentleman," not because he was ashamed of the Cross he gloried in, but because he felt indignant at any one in the British Senate deeming piety a matter of imputation, he poured out a strain of sarcasm which none who heard it can ever forget. A common friend of the parties having remarked to Sir Samuel Romilly, beside whom he sat, that this greatly outmatched Pitt himself, the master of sarcasm, the reply of that great man and just observer was worthy to be remarked: "Yes," said he, "it is the most striking thing I almost ever heard; but I look upon it as a more singular proof of Wilberforce's virtue than of his genius, for who but he ever was possessed of such a formidable weapon, and never used it?"—*Brougham's "Statesmen."*

A Simile.—"Few passages can be cited," says Brougham, "in the oratory of modern times of a more electrical effect than Wilberforce's singularly felicitous and striking allusion to Mr. Pitt's resisting the torrent of Jacobin principles: 'He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed.'"

Repenting of his Vote.—Lord Sidmouth told us that one morning at a Cabinet meeting, after an important debate in the House of Commons (the subject of which he had forgotten), some one said, "I wonder how Wilberforce voted last night." On which Lord Liverpool observed, "I do not know how he voted; but this I am pretty sure of, that in whatever way he voted, he repents of his vote this morning." Lord Sidmouth added, "It was odd enough that I had no sooner returned to my office than Wilberforce was announced, who said, 'Lord Sidmouth, you will be surprised at the vote I gave last night, and, indeed, I am not myself altogether satisfied with it!' To which I replied, 'My dear Wilberforce, I shall never be surprised at any vote you may give.' Pursuing the conversation, I soon convinced him that he had really voted wrong, when he said, 'Dear me, I wish I had seen you last night before the debate.'"—*Life of Lord Sidmouth.*

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

(1757—1818.)

An Advanced Liberal.—Romilly, who was identified with all the liberal measures, and the political activity in a liberal direction, of the early part of the nineteenth century, entered Parliament in 1806, when close upon fifty years of age; and he was appointed Solicitor-General in the administration of which Fox was a leading member. Having sat for one pocket borough after another, in 1818 he was elected for Westminster; but the death of his wife in the same year had such an effect upon his mind that he destroyed himself. He was to the last one of the foremost spirits of the philanthropical party.

Barbarians.—Earl Russell writes, in his "Recollections:" Sir Samuel Romilly tried to amend our criminal law; Lord Castlereagh successfully obstructed his progress. The same great and liberal man proposed to make freehold property subject to the payment of simple contract debts; the law officers of the Crown would not hear of so dangerous an innovation. One of the Crown lawyers said that it was a mistake to say the law dated from the reign of Henry VIII.; that its origin was as far back as the time of Edward I. "What care I," retorted Romilly, "whether this law was made by one set of barbarians or another?"

The Reform of the Criminal Code.—The name of reform in the criminal law had not been heard in the House of Commons for fifty-eight years, when, in 1808, Romilly carried his bill for the abolition of the punishment of death for privately stealing from the person to the value of five shillings; in other words, for picking pockets. Romilly approached the subject of this reform with a caution which now looks almost like weakness. His object was originally to raise the value according to which a theft was rendered capital. In January, 1808, he gave up the intention of bringing forward even this limited measure—he was sure the judges would not approve of it. To another distinguished lawyer belongs the credit of having urged Romilly to a bolder policy. His friend Scarlett, he says, "had advised me not to content myself with merely raising the amount of the value of property, the stealing of which is to subject the offender to capital punishment, but to attempt at once to repeal all the statutes which punish with death mere thefts unaccompanied by any act of violence, or other circumstance of aggravation. This suggestion was very agreeable to me. But, as it appeared to me that I had no chance of being able to carry through the House a bill which was to expunge at once all these laws from the statute-book, I determined to attempt the repeal of them one by one, and to begin with the most odious of them, the Act of Queen Elizabeth which makes it a capital offence to steal privately from the person of another." Upon this prudential principle Romilly carried his first reform in 1808.—*Martineau's History of the Peace.*

Modern Philosophy v. "Experience."—The constant argument employed against the alterations proposed by Romilly in the criminal

laws was this—that of late years the offences which they undertook to repress were greatly increased. Justly did Romilly say, "A better reason than this for altering the law could hardly be given." On the 24th of May, 1811, when three of Romilly's bills were rejected in the House of Lords, Lord Ellenborough declared, "They went to alter those laws which a century had proved to be necessary, and which were now to be overturned by speculation and modern philosophy." Lord Chancellor Eldon, on the same occasion, stated that he had himself early in life felt a disposition to examine the principles on which our criminal code was framed, "before observation and experience had matured his judgment. Since, however, he had learned to listen to these great teachers in this important science, his ideas had greatly changed, and he saw the wisdom of the principles and practice by which our criminal code was regulated." Although Eldon frequently gave effectual opposition to Romilly's measures, the old Lord Chancellor, we are told, was unusually affected by his death. As he took his seat in court the following morning, "he was struck by the sight of the vacant place which Romilly was accustomed to occupy, and his eyes filled with tears. 'I cannot stay here,' he exclaimed, and, rising in great agitation, broke up his court."

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

(1765—1832.)

A Philosopher's Peculiarities.—Unparliamentary Style.—Mackintosh entered the House of Commons in 1813 with a high reputation from his forensic oratory, but he failed to sustain it in Parliament. A contemporary in *Colburn's New Monthly* for 1832 (edited by Bulwer Lytton) gives a picture of the philosophic orator, then just deceased: "We ourselves heard Sir James Mackintosh's great, almost wonderful, speech upon Reform. We shall never forget the extensive range of ideas, the energetic grasp of thought, the sublime and soaring strain of legislative philosophy with which he charmed and transported us; but it was not so with the House in general. His Scotch accent, his unceasing and laboured vehemence of voice and gesture; the refined and speculative elevation of his views, and the vast heaps of hoarded knowledge he somewhat prolixly produced, displeased the taste and wearied the attention of men who were far more anxious to be amused and excited than instructed or convinced. We see him now, his bald and singularly formed head working to and fro, as if to collect and then shake out his ideas; his arm violently vibrating, and his body thrown forward by sudden quirks and starts, which, ungraceful as they were, seemed rather premeditated than inspired." Mackintosh's eloquence, remarks the same writer, like that of Burke and Brougham, appeared "addressed to another audience than that to which it was actually delivered. Intended for the House of Commons only, the style would have been absurdly faulty; intended for the public, it was august and correct." Macaulay thus alludes to Mackintosh's deficiency in Parliament: "His talents were not those which enable a speaker to produce with rapidity a series of striking but transi-

tory impressions—to excite the minds of five hundred gentlemen at midnight, without saying anything that any one of them will be able to remember in the morning."

An Attack on Prejudice.—The following characteristic passage is from a celebrated speech by Sir James Mackintosh on the reform of the old Criminal Laws: "If a foreigner were to form his estimate of the people of England from a consideration of their penal code, he would undoubtedly conclude that they were a nation of barbarians. This expression, though strong, would be unquestionably true; for what other opinion could a humane foreigner form of us when he found that in our criminal law there were two hundred criminal offences against which the punishment of death was denounced, upon twenty of which only that punishment was ever inflicted—that we were savage in our threats, and yet were feeble in our execution of punishments—that we cherished a system which in theory was odious, but which was impotent in practice from its very severity—that in cases of high treason we involved innocent children in all the consequences of their father's guilt—that in cases of corruption of blood we were even still more cruel, punishing the offspring when we could not reach the parent—and that on some occasions we even proceeded to wreak vengeance upon the bodies of the inanimate dead? If the same person were told that we were the same nation which had been the first to give full publicity to every part of our judicial system—that we were the same nation which had established the trial by jury, which, blamable as it might be in theory, was so invaluable in practice—that we were the same nation which had found out the greatest security which had ever been devised for individual liberty, the writ of habeas corpus, as settled by the Act of Charles II.—that we were the same nation which had discovered the full blessings of a representative government, and which had endeavoured to diffuse them throughout every part of our free empire, he would wonder at the strange anomalies of human nature which could unite things that were in themselves so totally incompatible. If the same foreigner were, in addition to this, told that the abuses which struck so forcibly on his attention were the abuses of the olden time, which were rather overlooked than tolerated, he might perhaps relent in his judgment, and confer upon us a milder denomination than that of barbarians; but if, on the contrary, he were told that influence and authority, learning and ingenuity, had combined to resist all reformation of these abuses as dangerous innovations—if he were informed that individuals who, from their rank and talents, enjoyed not an artificial but a real superiority, rose to vindicate the worst of these abuses, even the outrages on the dead, and to contend for them as bulwarks of the constitution and landmarks of legislation, he would revert to his first sentiments regarding us, though he might perhaps condemn the barbarism of the present instead of the barbarism of the past generation."

Things taken for Granted.—"How is it," Mackintosh was once asked, "I never hear a word about the blessings of liberty, and the glory of the British Constitution, in your debates?" "Because we take all that for granted," was his reply.

A Precaution.—I remember (writes Earl Russell) that in 1819, after the Manchester meeting known by the name of Peterloo, I was staying in the house of Sir James Mackintosh, in the country. We read every day in the newspapers accounts of meetings; it was generally stated that the meeting at Manchester, although legal, had been attacked and dispersed by military force. Sir James said to me, "It will be worth while to look at my law-books, and see whether this assumption that the meeting at Manchester was legal is founded in law." We soon found reason to conclude that the Manchester meeting was an illegal meeting. Sir James Mackintosh and I agreed that in the approaching session of Parliament we would not affirm the legality of the Manchester meeting.

FRANCIS HORNER.

(1778—1817.)

His First Canvass.—On the 19th of October, 1806, Francis Horner received an offer of a seat in Parliament from Lord Kinnaird, which he accepted, untrammelled by any conditions. St. Ives was the borough destined for him, and in a letter to his mother from that place he gives some account of the election proceedings. "I am glad enough," he says, "none of you were here to quiz me as I went through my duty; entering every cellar in the place, and behaving as sweet as possible to every man, woman, and child. I did sometimes feel ashamed of myself, I own, and there were some hovels that went against my stomach, if it had not been for the number of pretty women, three or four of them quite beautiful, whom I found in these hovels."

Treaties of Peace.—Mr. Horner took part in the debate which arose on the treaties of peace entered into consequent on the downfall of Napoleon. A speech delivered by him in the House of Commons, February 20th, 1816, attracted much attention at the time. Referring to the guarantees to be exacted from France, he said: "The real security which was required from France, after the destruction of that military monarchy which oppressed the greatest part of the continent of Europe, combined the integrity of that kingdom with the establishment of a government agreeably to the wishes and deserving of the confidence of the people. The question of territorial cession had been discussed at great length, and he would merely state that, in his opinion, any attempt to dismember France, instead of being likely to afford any security for the continuance of peace, would be the certain source of inquietude and danger. . . There was no chance of the stability of peace if guarantees were sought for in measures that must be galling and irritating to the French people; there was no chance of continued tranquillity but in conciliatory arrangements; there was no chance of reconciling them to Europe but by allowing them to establish the government they liked. We could never rationally entertain confidence in the pacific dispositions of people upon whom we forced a government of conquest, which we maintained by arms."

An Element of Stability.—Referring to the motion in the House of Commons for a new writ for St. Mawes in the room of Francis Horner, March 6th, 1817, and to the encomiums on the character of the deceased member embodied in the motion, Sir James Mackintosh, writing in his Journal, says: "A Howard introduced, and an English House of Commons adopted, the proposition of thus honouring the memory of a man of thirty-eight, the son of a shopkeeper, who never filled an office, or had the power of obliging a living creature, and whose grand title to this distinction was the belief of his virtue. How honourable to the age and to the House! A country where such sentiments prevail is not ripe for destruction."

HENRY ADDINGTON, LORD SIDMOUTH.

(1755—1844.)

Respectable Mediocrity.—Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth) was nicknamed "the Doctor," his father having been physician to the elder Pitt. Earl Russell says of him, "He was a man of average understanding, equal to the requirements of quiet times, of respectable prejudices, and undoubted courage; but as minister for a great emergency he excited only ridicule and contempt. Little could he withstand the daily epigrams of Canning, and the scarcely more endurable compassion of Sheridan:—

'As London is to Paddington,
So is Pitt to Addington.'

'When his speeches lag most vilely,
Cheer him, cheer him, Brother Hiley;
When his speeches vilely lag,
Cheer him, cheer him, Brother Bragge.'

'The Pells* for his son, the pills for himself.'

These and a thousand other arrows which wit squandered upon Addington utterly ruined him in public opinion."

Spoiling Nature.—On the 8th of June, 1789, Addington, who had just completed his thirty-second year, was elevated to the dignity of Speaker of the House of Commons. Mr. Gilpin, in a congratulatory note, writes on that occasion: "I was in some little pain at first how you could restrain the natural modesty of your disposition on so sudden an elevation to one of the most awful posts I know; but Sir John Dayley and other gentlemen gave such an account of your setting out, that all apprehensions for you are now over; and I have only to regret, as a picturesque man, that such an enlightened countenance as God Almighty has given you should be shrouded in a bush of horsehair."

A Cabinet of Mediocrities.—The following story was told by John Hookham Frere: "I remember old Lord W——, the father of the present lord, a fine specimen of a thorough-going old country Tory, coming to call on my father to tell him that Pitt was out of office,

* The sinecure of Clerk of the Pells.

and that Addington had formed a ministry. He went through all the members of the new Cabinet, and, rubbing his hands at the end, with an evident sense of relief, said, 'Well, thank God, we have at last got a ministry without one of those confounded men of genius in it!'"

A Necessary Evil.—Lord Dalling remarks in his "Life of Palmerston" that the necessity of pleasing George III. introduced Addington into so many administrations, as to justify Mr. Canning's criticism that he was like the small-pox, that everyone was obliged to have once in their lives.

A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing.—A few days before the declaration of war with France, in 1803, a warlike message from the Crown was sent to Parliament. Addington, then being minister, appeared in the full dress of the Windsor uniform, and strutted up the house in the midst of a burst of laughter, just as the Speaker was reading a medicine bill. "It must have been on this occasion," says Earl Russell, "that Sheridan redoubled the laughter of the House by saying, 'The right hon. gentleman, who has appeared this evening in the character of a sheep in wolf's clothing,' &c. In fact, nothing could be more tragical than the occasion, nothing more comical than the chief actor in the tragedy."

A Royal Appeal.—Mr. Addington used to tell his friends that at the interview with which he was honoured on the 10th of May, 1804, the King again pressed upon him the acceptance of the peerage and pension, in terms which it must have been very difficult for so devoted a subject to resist: "You are a proud man, Mr. Addington, but I am a proud man too; and why should I sleep uneasy on my pillow because you will not comply with my request? Why should I feel the consciousness that I have suffered you to ruin your family, and that through your attachment to me?"

Taking Things Coolly.—At the time of the trial of Queen Caroline (1820) the general transports raised the popular exasperation against Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth, the supposed authors of the proceedings, to the highest point; they never appeared in the streets without being hooted and reviled by the mob, and both daily received anonymous letters threatening them with instant death if the bill against her Majesty were not abandoned. These intrepid men, however, disregarded those threats, and walked about the streets as usual, without any attendants; and the people, admiring this spirit, abstained from actual violence. One day at this time they were walking together in Parliament-street, when, being recognised, a large mob got up round them, and they were violently hooted. "Here we go," said Lord Sidmouth, "the two most popular men in England." "Yes," replied Lord Castlereagh, "through a grateful and admiring multitude."—*Alison's "Life of Castlereagh."*

LORD CASTLEREAGH.

(1769—1822.)

Common-place Oratory.—No man (remarks Lord Brougham) ever attained the station of a regular debater in our Parliament with such an

entire want of all classical accomplishment, and indeed of all literary provision whatsoever. While he never showed the least symptom of any information extending beyond the more recent volumes of the "Parliamentary Debates," or possibly the files of the newspapers only, his diction set all imitation, perhaps all description, at defiance. It was with some an amusement to beguile the tedious hours of their unavoidable attendance upon the poor, tawdry, ravelled thread of his sorry discourse, to collect a kind of *ana* from the fragments of mixed, incongruous, and disjointed images that frequently appeared in it. "The features of the clause;" "the ignorant impatience of the relaxation of taxation;" "sets of circumstances coming up and circumstances going down;" "men turning their backs upon themselves;" "the honourable and learned gentleman's wedge getting into the loyal feelings of the manufacturing classes;" "the constitutional principle wound up in the bowels of the monarchical principle;" "the Herculean labour of the honourable and learned member, who will find himself quite disappointed when he has at last brought forth his Hercules" (by a slight confounding of his mother's labour, which produced that hero, with his own exploits which gained him immortality) —these are but a few, and not the richest samples, by any means, of a rhetoric which often baffled alike the gravity of the Treasury bench and the art of the reporter, and left the wondering audience at a loss to conjecture how anyone could ever exist, endowed with humbler pretensions to the name of orator.—*Historical Sketches of Statesmen.*

Courageous Leadership.—When the Tory party, "having a devil," preferred Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning for their leader, all men naturally expected that he would entirely fail to command even the attendance of the House while he addressed it, and that the benches, empty during his time, would only be replenished when his highly-gifted competitor rose. They were greatly deceived; they under-rated the effect of place and power; they forgot that the representative of a Government speaks "as one having authority, and not as the scribes;" but they also forgot that Lord Castlereagh had some qualities well fitted to conciliate favour, and even to provoke admiration, in the absence of everything like eloquence, and without ever having written a line in the *Anti-Jacobin*. He was a bold and fearless man: the very courage with which he exposed himself unabashed to the most critical audience in the world, while incapable of uttering two sentences of anything but the meanest matter, in the most wretched language; the gallantry with which he faced the greatest difficulties of a question; the unflinching perseverance with which he went through a whole subject, leaving untouched not one of its points, whether he could grapple with it or no, and not one of the adverse arguments, however forcibly and felicitously they had been urged—neither daunted by recollecting the impression just made by his antagonist's display, nor damped by consciousness of the very rags in which he now presented himself—all this made him, upon the whole, rather a favourite with the audience whose patience he was taxing mercilessly, and whose gravity he ever and anon put to a very severe trial. Nor can anyone have forgotten the kind of pride that mantled on the fronts of the Tory

phalanx, when, after being overwhelmed with the powerful fire of the Whig Opposition, or galled by the fierce denunciations of the "Mountain," or harassed by the brilliant though often tinsel displays of Mr. Canning, their chosen leader stood forth, and, presenting the graces of his eminently patrician figure, flung open his coat, displayed an azure ribbon traversing a snow-white chest, and declared "his high satisfaction that he could now meet the charges against him face to face, and repel with indignation all that his adversaries were bold and rash enough to advance."—*Ibid.*

Light out of Darkness.—On one occasion (relates Earl Russell) Castlereagh had gone on for an hour speaking upon what subject no man could guess, when he exclaimed of a sudden, "So much, Mr. Speaker, for the law of nations." At another time, when he had spoken for an hour tediously and confusedly, he declared, "I have now proved that the Tower of London is a common law principle."—"Before he spoke," said Lord Granville, "he would collect what he could on the subject, but never spoke above the level of a newspaper. Had three things in his favour: tact, good humour, and courage."—Thomas Moore's answer to the question, "Why is a pump like Viscount Castlereagh?" will be remembered—

> "Because it is a slender thing of wood,
> That up and down its awkward arm doth sway,
> And coolly spout and spout and spout away,
> In one weak, washy, everlasting flood."

But some could see much more in Castlereagh than his opponents would allow. Thus Lytton, in "St. Stephen's"—

> "They much, in truth, misjudge him who explain
> His graceless language by a witless brain.
> So firm his purpose, so resolved his will,
> It almost seem'd a craft to speak so ill—
> As if, like Cromwell, flashing towards his end,
> Through cloudy verbiage none could comprehend."

Ignorant Impatience of Taxation.—Lord Castlereagh (says Alison) was at times eminently imprudent in expression, especially in those curt and pithy sayings which are easily recollected, and strike between wind and water the prevailing prejudices of the day. His sayings on these occasions were generally perfectly true, but that only rendered them more provoking, and induced the greater hostility against him. Never was a truer expression than "the ignorant impatience of taxation," of which he complained when the income-tax was thrown out in 1816.—*Life of Castlereagh.* Mr. Gladstone quoted this phrase when he introduced his "Commercial Treaty" budget in 1860. He said, "It was Lord Londonderry* who complained of the people of England as exhibiting an 'ignorant impatience of taxation;' but I think, were he to rise from the dead and again take his place in this House, he would be very much more likely to complain of an ignorant patience of taxation."

* Castlereagh's later title.

The Currycomb of the House.—The following entry appears in the Journal of Sir James Mackintosh: "March 22nd, 1817. F—— said it was delightful to see how completely the currycomb of the House of Commons had taken off all the gilding and lackering that Castlereagh had brought from the Congress."

Insulting Language in Parliament.—Nothing could be more just than the rebuke which, as connected with the question of personal courage, we may recollect his administering to a great man who had passed the limits of Parliamentary courtesy. "Every one must be sensible," he said, "that if any personal quarrel were desired, any insulting language used publicly where it could not be met as it deserved, was the way to prevent and not to produce such a rencounter."—*Brougham's "Statesmen."* It was Grattan who had attacked Castlereagh in the Irish Parliament, charging him with puerility, arrogance, and presumption. Lord Cornwallis thus wrote on the matter: "Lord Castlereagh rose with great coolness in reply. He said that he never should enter into personal altercation in that house; that he despised that parade of parliamentary spirit which led to nothing, and which denied in offensive terms what had been never uttered; that if any personal incivility were used to him, it was not in Parliament he should answer it, and that he should carefully avoid making himself an object for the interference of the House." The reply raised him much in the estimation of the House. Castlereagh, however, afterwards felt inclined to send Grattan a message, but was dissuaded by his friends, who represented to him that by doing so he would be quitting the high ground on which he stood.

His Duel with Canning.—Unknown (says Alison) to Lord Castlereagh, and without giving him the slightest reason to suspect its existence, a party had been formed in the Cabinet inimical to him, and the object of which was to get him removed from his position as Minister at War, and Lord Wellesley substituted in his room. This was arranged by the whole Cabinet, with the exception of his lordship, as early as the 4th of April, 1809. It was not till Lord Castlereagh was shown the correspondence of Mr. Canning by Mr. Perceval that he showed any resentment or unpleasant feeling on the subject. It was from that he learned how early his removal had been consented to by his Majesty and his colleagues, and it was in that he met with passages which induced him to challenge Mr. Canning. . . Lord Castlereagh, conceiving that the whole was an intrigue of Mr. Canning's to get him removed from office in order to facilitate his own advancement, and that he himself had been ill-used by being allowed so long, and at so critical a juncture, to retain the responsibility of office, when his removal had not been only resolved on by the Cabinet, but submitted to his Majesty and approved by him, sent Mr. Canning a challenge. The parties met on Putney Heath, September 21st, and exchanged shots. Mr. Canning's fire did not take effect; but that of Lord Castlereagh inflicted a severe flesh wound on the thigh of his adversary.

Castlereagh in the Cabinet.—The letters given in the "Memoirs and Correspondence" of Castlereagh, edited by his brother, show the high

estimation in which his personal qualities were held by his colleagues. Lord Ripon relates an anecdote of his firmness. Castlereagh was at the council when the question was raised respecting the reinforcement of Blucher's section of the Allied Army with two corps of Bernadotte's, without previous communication with the latter. "The moment he understood that, militarily speaking, the proposed plan was indispensable to success, he took his line. He stated that, in that case, the plan *must* be adopted, and the necessary orders *immediately* given; that England had a right to expect that her allies would not be deterred from a decisive course by any such difficulties as had been urged; and he boldly took upon himself the responsibility of any consequences as regarded the Crown Prince of Sweden. His advice prevailed; Blucher's army was reinforced in time; the battle of Laon was fought successfully, and no further efforts of Buonaparte could oppose the march of the Allies on Paris, and their triumphant occupation of that city."—Sir Robert Peel said, "I doubt whether any public man (with the exception of the Duke of Wellington), within the last half century, possessed the combination of qualities, intellectual and moral, which would have enabled him to effect, under the same circumstances, what Lord Londonderry did effect in regard to the union with Ireland, and to the great political transactions of 1813, 1814, and 1815. To do these things required a rare union of high and generous feelings, courteous and prepossessing manners, a warm heart and a cool head, great temper, great industry, great fortitude, great courage moral and personal, that command and influence which make other men willing instruments, and all these qualities combined with disdain for low objects of ambition, and with spotless integrity."

A Lover of Ireland.—"It is said," remarks Earl Russell, "that when Grattan's friends were assembled round his bed, the dying patriot said to them, 'Don't be hard upon Castlereagh—he loves our country.' It is added that when Lord Castlereagh heard of these words of his great opponent, he burst into tears. I cannot vouch for the truth of this anecdote, but I think it probably authentic."

Death of Castlereagh.—The following are the particulars given by Sir A. Alison:—On the 9th of August, 1822, the Duke of Wellington was so much struck with the manner of Lord Castlereagh that, after walking with him to the Foreign Office, he went to his medical attendant, Dr. Bankhead, and not finding him at home, wrote a letter expressing his apprehensions, and not obscurely hinting at mental delusions. Dr. Bankhead no sooner received this alarming intelligence than he went out to Cray Farm, Lord Castlereagh's seat in Kent, and seeing the Duke of Wellington's fears too well founded, he slept in the house the next two nights, and gave orders to his valet to remove the razors from his lordship's dressing-case, and take other precautions against self-destruction. He did so without being observed; but, unfortunately, not recollecting that there was a penknife belonging to the case in one of the drawers of the washing-stand, he neglected to secure it. The consequences were fatal. During the 10th and 11th of August Castlereagh remained in bed, wandering, but expressing no alarming

intentions. On the morning of the 12th of August, Lady Londonderry, who was with him, reported that he had passed a restless night, and that he wished to see Dr. Bankhead, who was in an adjoining apartment. When Dr. Bankhead went into his dressing-room, he found him standing opposite the window, looking out, with his hands above his head, his throat cut and bleeding profusely. Consciousness, as is often the case, returned with the flow of blood. He threw his arms round the doctor's neck, and saying, in a feeble voice, "Bankhead, let me fall on your arm; I have opened my neck; it is all over!" sank on the ground and expired

HENRY GRATTAN.

(1750—1820.)

Preparation for Parliamentary Life.—Grattan had taken a residence near Windsor Forest, where he was preparing sedulously for his future destination by addressing imaginary audiences. His landlady took such manifestations much to heart. "What a sad thing it was," she would say, "to see the poor young gentleman all day talking to somebody he calls Mr. Speaker, when there's no speaker in the house except himself."

Grattan's Manner in Speaking.—The chief difficulty (says Phillips) in this great speaker's way was the first five minutes. During his exordium laughter was imminent. He bent his body almost to the ground; swung his arms over his head, up and down and around him; and added to the grotesqueness of his manner a hesitating tone and drawling emphasis. Truly, indeed, might it be said of him as he said of Chatham, "he was very great, and *very odd.*" For a time the eye dissented from the verdict of the mind; but at last his genius carried all before it, and, as in the oracles of old, the contortions vanished as the inspirations became manifest.

His Grant of £50,000.—In April, 1782, Grattan moved a resolution in the Irish Parliament, the main purport of which was the repeal of the statute of George I. by which England claimed a right to legislate for Ireland. He was at the time (says the *Annual Register*) in a most feeble state of health, his frame seemed bent down by debility, and everyone supposed he must have sunk under the exertion. But as he proceeded he warmed with the subject, appeared to shake off not merely illness, but mortality, and, amid the tumultuous enthusiasm of the House, he carried his resolution, "That no power on earth could make laws to bind Ireland except her own King, Lords, and Commons." The motion was afterwards proposed and carried in the English Parliament. The delight and gratitude of the people were unbounded; addresses poured in on him from every village in Ireland, and statues were voted to his memory. The Parliament also voted him a grant of 50,000*l.*, as some testimony of the estimation in which he was held. The grant of public money subsequently gave rise to a bitter dispute between Grattan and Flood in the house, which is commemorated in the following epigrammatic dialogue:—

"QUESTION.—Say, what has given to Flood a mortal wound?
ANSWER.—Grattan's obtaining fifty thousand pound.
QUESTION.—Can Flood forgive an injury so sore?
ANSWER.—Yes, if they give him fifty thousand more."

His Oratory leading to the Expulsion of the Students.—The students of Trinity College, Dublin, were allowed free access to the Irish House of Commons to hear the debates, and, in 1792, better accommodation was provided for them than for the public who obtained admission by members' orders. "This proud distinction the gownsmen, however, soon forfeited. Lord Fitzwilliam had been sent over as a popular viceroy, and, on his sudden recall, a strong feeling of disappointed prevailed. On a night when the subject was brought before the House, our gallery was full, and I remember well the irrepressible excitement that seemed to actuate us all. At length it broke out. Grattan rose to deprecate the measure, as one calculated to cause the greatest disturbance in Ireland, by what was considered the perfidy of the Government, first exciting the high hopes of the people by promised measures of liberal policy, and then dashing them, by the sudden removal of the man who had been sent over expressly to accomplish them. At the conclusion of Grattan's inflammatory speech, the enthusiasm in the gallery was no longer capable of restraint. We rose as one man, shouting and cheering with the boisterous tumult of a popular meeting. When this subsided, Foster's (the Speaker's) peculiar voice was heard through his nose, ordering the students' gallery to be cleared, and a sergeant-at-arms, with a posse of messengers, entered among us. We were pushed out in a heap without the slightest ceremony, and were never again suffered to enter as privileged persons."—*Ireland Sixty Years Ago* (1847).

Party and Place.—Attacking the administration on one occasion in the Irish House of Commons, Grattan made the following remarks: "Sir, I will tell gentlemen what description of party is beneficial: party united on public principle, by the bond of certain specific public measures, which measures cannot be carried by individuals, and can only succeed by party. . . I have submitted a description of a party which I conceive to be a public benefit; I will state to you a description of a party which I conceive to be a public curse: if party it can be called which is worse than a faction, and nothing more than an impudent phalanx of political mercenaries, coming from their little respective offices to vote for their bribe and vapour for their character; who have neither the principles of patriotism nor ambition, nor party nor honour; who are governed not by deliberation but discipline, and lick the hands that feed and worship the patron who bribes them. Degraded men, disgraceful tribe! When they vote for measures, they are venal; when such men talk against party, they are impudent."

Infirmity Overcome.—On the 15th of January, 1800, the parliamentary session was opened in Ireland with a speech from the throne. Sir Laurence Parsons moved an amendment to the effect that it was their interest and their duty to maintain the local Parliament. A long debate ensued, which was carried far into the morning, when a scene occurred

that seemed the climax of this exciting contest. "Just when Mr. Egan had risen to speak, the doors of the House of Commons were thrown open, and Henry Grattan, who had been returned for Wicklow the night before, entered the house. His form was emaciated by sickness, and his face was worn with anxiety; his limbs tottered; he was obliged to lean upon his friends Arthur Moore and George Ponsonby; he advanced slowly to the table. Acting on the impulse of his really noble nature, Castlereagh rose at the head of the Treasury bench, and remained standing and uncovered while the patriot took the oaths. Grattan then moved slowly to his seat, selecting a place beside Mr. Plunket, and having obtained permission to speak sitting, he addressed the House for nearly two hours in a speech of great power."—*Life of Lord Plunket.*

An Unready Writer.—Grattan was utterly incapable (said Curran) of writing the simplest thing with rapidity. Upon one occasion he lost an important motion in the Irish House of Commons by his defect in this respect. The House being with him, the Speaker asked him to commit his motion to writing. Four lines would have embraced it, but Grattan wrote and tore, and wrote and tore, till, the House losing its patience, a ministerial member proposed that instead of a formal resolution of the House, the minister should give a verbal pledge, to which Grattan assented, and thus the motion was lost.

"Dragons' Teeth."—On the 24th of November, 1779, Mr. Grattan proposed the following short and decisive resolution in the Irish Parliament: "That at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes." This was carried against the Government by a majority of 123. On the ensuing day it was moved that the appropriated duties should be granted for six months only. This also was carried against the Government by a majority of 38. It was in this debate that Mr. Burgh, then Prime Serjeant, made a brilliant speech, which produced electric effects in the house and galleries, but which in a letter from the Viceroy was termed "great violence." They rose in a mass and cheered him repeatedly as he concluded—"Talk not to me of peace; Ireland is not in a state of peace; it is smothered war. England has sown her laws like dragons' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men."—*Grattan's Life and Times.*

Negative Defence.—On one occasion, in the Irish Parliament, Mr. Fitzgibbon had attacked Mr. Grattan, who was not at that time present. Mr. Yelverton defended his absent friend, saying, "The learned gentleman has stated what Mr. Grattan is; I will state what he is not. He is not styed in his prejudices; he does not trample on the resuscitation of his country, or live like a caterpillar on the decline of her prosperity; he does not stickle for the letter of the constitution with the affectation of a prude, and abandon its principles with the effrontery of a prostitute."

A Pitiful Failure.—When Dr. Lucas, a very unpopular man, ventured on a speech in the Irish Parliament, and failed altogether, Henry Grattan said, "He rose without a friend, and sat down without an enemy."

Waiting for the Signal.—"I have heard," says Lord Byron, "that when Grattan made his first speech in the English Commons, it was for some minutes doubtful whether to laugh at or cheer him. The *début* of his predecessor, Flood, had been a complete failure, under nearly similar circumstances; but when the ministerial part of our senators had watched Pitt (their thermometer) for the cue, and saw him nod repeatedly his stately nod of approbation, they took the hint from their huntsman, and broke out into the most rapturous cheers. Grattan's speech, indeed, deserved them; it was a *chef-d'œuvre.*" When he rose (says Phillips) every voice in that crowded house was hushed—the great rivals, Pitt and Fox, riveted their eyes on him. He strode forth and gesticulated—the hush became ominous—not a cheer was heard—men looked in one another's faces and then at the phenomenon before them, as if doubting his identity; at last, and on a sudden, the indication of the master spirit came. Pitt was the first generously to recognise it; he smote his thigh hastily with his hand—it was an impulse when he was pleased—his followers saw it and knew it, and with a universal burst they hailed the advent and the triumph of the stranger.

HENRY FLOOD.

(1732—1791.)

A Wooden Oracle.—One of Flood's methods of "disquieting" a minister (remarks Phillips) was the plying him with inconvenient questions. On one of these occasions, in the Irish Parliament, the Secretary referred him to some subaltern who was absent. "Well, well," said he, "I must be content to wait. Formerly the oak of Dodona uttered its own oracles; but the wooden oracle of our Treasury is compelled to give his responses by deputy."

Whipping the "Whip."—Flood once affrighted the "whipper-in" of the Irish House, as he crossed him during his speech, presumedly to pursue his usual negotiations among the members. "What," he cried, "is that I see? Shall the Temple of Freedom be still haunted by the foul fiend of bribery and corruption? I see personified before me an incarnation of that evil principle which lives by the destruction of public virtue."

Retaliation.—Lord Byron relates that Courtenay silenced Flood in the English House by a crushing reply to a hasty *début* of the rival of Grattan in Ireland. "I asked Courtenay (for I like to trace motives) if he had not some personal provocation; for the acrimony of his answer seemed to me, as I read it, to involve it. Courtenay said he had; that, when in Ireland (being an Irishman), at the bar of the Irish House of Commons, Flood had made a personal and unfair attack upon himself, who, not being a member of that House, could not defend himself; and that some years afterwards the opportunity of retort offering in the English Parliament, he could not resist it. He certainly repaid Flood with interest, for Flood never made any figure, and only made a speech or two afterwards, in the English House of Commons. I must except, however, his speech on

reform, in 1790, which Fox called the best speech he ever heard upon that subject."

Transplanted Too Late.—Grattan, in a review of some of his Irish contemporaries, thus wrote of Flood, after the death of the latter: "Mr. Flood, my rival, as he has been called—and I should be unworthy the character of his rival if in his grave I did not do him justice—he had faults, but he had great powers, great public effect. He persuaded the old, he inspired the young; the castle vanished before him. On a small subject he was miserable; put into his hand a distaff, and, like Hercules, he made sad work of it; but give him the thunderbolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter. He misjudged when he transferred himself to the English Parliament; he forgot that he was a tree of the forest, too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty; and his seat in the British Parliament is a caution to the friends of union to stay at home, and make the country of their birth the seat of their action."

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.

(1750—1817.)

Independence.—Lord Longueville returned Curran to the Irish Parliament in 1783 for a pocket borough, under an idea of his own (says Phillips) that a barrister with a growing family, and totally dependent on his profession for subsistence, would scarcely suffer his principles to interfere with his interests. On the very first occasion, however, he not only voted against his patron, but, by at least an energetic speech, proved the total fallacy of all his anticipations. Lord Longueville of course warmly remonstrated; but what was his astonishment to find Curran not only persevering in his independent opinions, but even appropriating the only five hundred pounds he had in the world to the purchase of a seat, which he insisted on transferring as an equivalent for that given to him by Lord Longueville.

A Parenthetical Speech.—Curran was once asked how a member of Parliament had spoken. The answer was, "His speech was a long parenthesis." He was asked to explain. "Why," said he, "don't you know that a parenthesis is a paragraph which may be omitted from beginning to end, without any loss of meaning?"

The Extinguisher.—Of a certain Serjeant Hewitt Curran once remarked, "His speech put me exactly in mind of a familiar utensil called an extinguisher: it began at a point, and on it went widening and widening, until at last it fairly put out the subject altogether."

Airing a Vocabulary.—An able speaker, but addicted to lofty language, had made a speech in the House of Peers, at which Curran was present. He was asked what he thought of the debate. "I had," said he, "only the advantage of hearing Lord —— airing his vocabulary."

The Ghost of a House.—On the union of the Legislatures, the Irish Parliament House was turned into a bank, and various changes took place in the structure; among the rest, the interior was gutted, and the handsome dome taken down. Hearing of Castlereagh's remark that the

house looked "like a traitor that had undergone the sentence of the law," Curran, in allusion to that noble lord's activity in carrying the Union, said, "Ay, no man is likelier to make that remark—a murderer is always afraid of ghosts."

Deliberate Aim.—During a debate in the Irish Parliament in 1789, Curran replied, with severe sarcasm, to a speech of Attorney-General Fitzgibbon, in which he had received a rather gross personal attack. The result of this reply was a hostile message from Fitzgibbon. Mr. Ogle was second to the Attorney-General. The parties were to fire by signal; Fitzgibbon did not do so, but, reserving his fire, took deliberate aim at Curran; and, having missed him, walked off the ground. Curran exclaimed to him, "It was not your fault, Mr. Attorney, if you missed me, for you certainly were deliberate enough."

LORD PLUNKET.

(1764—1854.)

Effective Speaking, and its Method.—It was said of Plunket by Sir Robert Peel, "He was, in my opinion, the most powerful and able advocate the Catholics ever had. I will say that he, more than any other man, contributed to the success of the Roman Catholic question." Plunket came (writes Mr. Hoey) in the interval of two great parliamentary eras—while the contemporaries of Pitt and Fox were gradually retreating from public life, and before Peel, Canning, or Brougham had yet risen to the full perfection of their powers. He spoke in a new and unexpected strain. It was more like the language of some great noble of the robe, speaking with the sense that the estates of the realm really hung upon his words, than the common partisan declamation of the House of Commons, which has no horizon but the opposite benches and the reporters' gallery. The greatest authorities in and out of the House declared that he reached the very highest style of parliamentary oratory. "I wish you had heard him," wrote Lord Dudley of his Peterloo speech in answer to Mackenzie (November, 1819). "He assailed the fabric of his adversary, not by an irregular damaging fire that left parts of it standing, but by a complete rapid process of demolition that did not let one stone continue standing upon another." That single speech admittedly saved the Cabinet. Most marvellous tribute of all, hardly credible of the House of Commons—he is said, on several of the Catholic Claims debates, to have converted various votes to his side (so many as six, it is alleged, on one occasion) by very dint of conscientious conviction. Of the method of his public speaking he told Sheil that he always carefully prepared to the very syllable the best passages, and the best only, of his great speeches, and used these as a kind of rhetorical stepping-stones, trusting to his native fluency and force for sustaining the style. Sheil said, what all who ever heard and all who read Plunket will confirm, that so consummate was the art with which this was done, one could never discern where the prepared was welded into the extemporaneous.

Lord Lytton's portrait gallery affords us this picture of Plunket:—

"Mark where he sits, his calm brow downward bent,
Listening, revolving, passive, yet intent.
Revile his cause, his lips vouchsafe no sneer;
Defend it, still from him there comes no cheer—
No sign without of what he feels or thinks;
Within, slow fires are hardening iron links.
Now one glance round, now upward turns the brow;
Hush'd every breath; he rises—mark him now!
No grace in feature, no command in height,
Yet his whole presence fills and awes the sight.
Wherefore? you ask. I can but guide your guess—
Man has no majesty like earnestness. . .
Tones slow, not loud, but deep-drawn from the breast,
Action unstudied, and at times suppress;
But, as he near'd some reasoning's massive close,
Strain'd o'er his bending head his strong arms rose,
And sudden fell, as if from falsehood torn
Some grey old keystone, and hurl'd down with scorn."

Attraction and Repulsion.—Speaking in the Irish House of Commons against the Union, Plunket used the following illustration to refute an argument of his opponents: "The two Parliaments may clash! So in Great Britain may King and Parliament; but we see they never do so injuriously. There are principles of repulsion—yes; but there are principles of attraction, and from these the enlightened statesman extracts the principle by which the countries are to be harmoniously governed. As soon would I listen to the shallow observer of nature who should say there is a centrifugal force impressed on our globe, and therefore, lest we should be hurried into the void of space, we ought to rush into the centre to be consumed there. No; I say to this rash arraigner of the dispensations of the Almighty, there are impulses from whose wholesome opposition eternal wisdom has declared the law by which we revolve in our proper sphere, and at our proper distance. So I say to the political visionary, from the opposite forces which you object to, I see the wholesome law of imperial connection derived; I see the two countries preserving their due distance from each other, generating and imparting heat, and light, and life, and health, and vigour; and I will abide by the wisdom and experience of the ages which are passed, in preference to the speculations of any modern philosopher."

Something to take Down.—A remarkable effect (relates Lord Brougham) is said to have been produced by Plunket in the Irish House of Commons, upon some one calling out to take down his words. "Stop," said this consummate orator, "and you shall have something more to take down;" and then followed in a torrent the most vehement and indignant description of the wrongs which his country had sustained, and had still to endure.

The Departed Great.—Mr. Plunket made perhaps his most brilliant speech on the motion for a committee on the Roman Catholic

claims, introduced February 28th, 1821. In adducing names of authority in support of his arguments, he said: "Backed by the memories of the great lights and ornaments of the late reign—of Dunning, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and Windham—backed, I say, by the name of every man who possessed buoyancy enough to float down the stream of time—I feel that I have made out, I had almost said that I had established, the position that I sought, triumphantly. But when I look around me, and reflect on those whom I miss, and who were present when I last had the honour of addressing the House on this question, I am checked. When I reflect that since that period we have lost Whitbread, the incorruptible sentinel of the constitution—that we have lost the aid of the more than dawning virtues of Horner—that we had then Romilly, whose mature excellencies shed a steady light on his profession, on his country, and his nature—that Elliott, the pure model of aristocracy—that the illustrious Ponsonby, the constitutional leader of the ranks of Opposition in this house, revering alike the privileges of the Crown and the rights of the subject—are no more; but, above all, when I dwell on that last overwhelming loss, the loss of that great man (Henry Grattan) in whose place I this night unworthily stand, and with the description of whose exalted merits I would not trust myself—God knows, I cannot feel anything like triumph. Walking before the sacred images of these illustrious dead, as in a public and solemn procession, shall we not dismiss all party feeling, all angry passions, and unworthy prejudices?"

The Felon Transformed.—Lord Plunket thus explained why he had become a Reformer, although he had before opposed the agitation: "Circumstances," said he, "are wholly changed; formerly Reform came to our door like a felon—a robber to be resisted. He now approaches like a creditor; you admit the justice of his demand, and only dispute the time and instalments by which he shall be paid."

Professional Acumen.—Lord Brougham records the following circumstance in the preface which he wrote for the "Life of Lord Plunket":—"There was on one occasion a very remarkable instance of his readiness at taking up a subject under extraordinary difficulties, and of this my personal recollection is very distinct, for I had in the debate experience of his power. On the case of Windham Quin, brought before the House of Commons by the friends of Chief Baron O'Grady, we examined witnesses for above a week, and Sir Robert Peel sat by us supporting his friend Quin, heard all the evidence, and, indeed, took a part in the examination of the witnesses. The evidence was, of course, printed, and Plunket's only knowledge of our proceedings was from reading it on his journey to London. Peel made an elaborate and able defence of his friend, and Plunket took the same side; but there was this remarkable difference between the two speeches: Peel, familiar with the case in all its particulars, spoke in mitigation of censure, admitting the charge to have been proved. He had gone over the ground without perceiving that there was enough to support a plea of not guilty. Plunket at once took that course; he had found the materials for it in the printed evidence, though absent during the whole proceedings; and, having had

to answer his wonderful speech, I can truly say that no one could have supposed he had not been present. This incident was often referred to as showing the difference between an ordinary person, however able, but unprofessional, and one with the experience and habits of an advocate. The admirable defence by Plunket was justly ascribed to his professional skill, and no one questioned the ability of Peel or his heartiness in supporting his friend."

LORD ERSKINE.

(1750—1823.)

His Maiden Speech and Parliamentary Failure.—Erskine was returned to Parliament for Portsmouth, November 20th, 1783, and delivered his maiden speech on Fox's India Bill. Pitt sat, evidently intending to reply, with pen and paper in his hand, prepared to catch the arguments of this formidable adversary. He wrote a word or two. Erskine proceeded; but with every additional sentence Pitt's attention to the paper relaxed, his look became more careless, and he obviously began to think the orator less and less worthy of his attention. At length, when every eye in the house was fixed upon him, with a contemptuous smile he dashed the pen through the paper, and flung them on the floor. Erskine never recovered from this expression of disdain. His voice faltered, he struggled through the remainder of his speech, and sank into his seat dispirited, and shorn of his fame.—*Croly's "Life of George IV."* Sir N. Wraxall says of this speech: "Erskine's enemies pronounced the performance tame, and destitute of the animation which so powerfully characterised his speeches in Westminster Hall. They maintained that, however resplendent he appeared as an advocate while addressing a jury, he fell to the level of an ordinary man, if not below it, when seated on the ministerial bench, where another species of oratory was demanded to impress conviction or to extort admiration. To me, who, having never witnessed his jurisprudential talents, could not make any such comparison, he appeared to exhibit shining powers of declamation."—Lord Byron said of Erskine's parliamentary oratory: "I don't know what Erskine may have been at the *bar*, but in the House I wish him at the bar once more."—Butler, in his "Reminiscences," relates that, Fox having made an able speech, Mr. Erskine followed him with one of the very same import. Pitt rose to answer them. He announced his intention to reply to both. "But," said he, "I shall make no mention of what was said by the honourable gentleman who spoke last; he did no more than regularly repeat what was said by the member who preceded him, and regularly weaken all he repeated."

Defence of Liberty.—During the session of 1795–96 Mr. Erskine (says Roscoe) distinguished himself in Parliament by his strenuous opposition to two measures, which were, as he conceived, directed against the liberty of the subject. Upon the first of these (the Seditious Meetings Bill) he spoke with an energy and boldness not often exhibited within the walls of Parliament. "'If the King's ministers,'" said he, adopting the words of Lord Chatham, "'will not admit a constitutional question to be

decided on according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than that it should be given up—rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister—I hope, my lords, old as I am, I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the Government.' With the sanction of the sentiments of the venerable and illustrious Earl of Chatham, I will maintain that the people of England should defend their rights, if necessary, by the last extremity to which free men can resort. For my own part, I shall never cease to struggle in support of liberty. In no situation will I desert the cause. I was born a free man, and, by God, I will never die a slave!"

Whitebait and Seal.—Lord Campbell relates that when Erskine was Chancellor, being asked by the Secretary to the Treasury whether he would attend the ministerial fish dinner to be given at Greenwich at the end of the session, he answered, "To be sure I will; what would your fish dinner be without the Great Seal?"

SIR WILLIAM GRANT.

(1754—1832.)

Hard to Answer.—Lord Brougham classes Sir William Grant with speakers of the first order, and says his style was peculiar; it was that of the closest and severest reasoning ever heard in any popular assembly. The language was choice, perfectly clear, abundantly correct, quite concise, admirably suited to the matter which the words clothed and conveyed. In so far it was felicitous, no farther; nor did it ever leave behind it any impression of the diction, but only of the things said; the words were forgotten, for they had never drawn off the attention for a moment from the things; those things were alone remembered. No speaker was more easily listened to; none so difficult to answer. Once Mr. Fox, when he was hearing him with a view to making that attempt, was irritated in a way very unwonted to his sweet temper by the conversation of some near him, even to the show of some crossness, and (after an exclamation) sharply said, "Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like THAT?"

"The Wisdom of our Ancestors."—The signal blunder (remarks Brougham) which Bacon long ago exposed, of confounding the youth with the age of the species, was never committed by anyone more glaringly than by this great reasoner. He it was who first employed the well-known phrase of "the wisdom of our ancestors;" and the menaced innovation, to stop which he applied it, was the proposal of Sir Samuel Romilly to take the step of reform, almost imperceptibly small, of subjecting men's real property to the payment of all their debts.

A Syllogistic Speech.—Francis Horner writes (1803): "I contrived to get the second day of the debate on the Spanish papers. Fox was very slovenly, desultory, and incomplete. Pitt's reply was very angry and loud, and full of palpable misrepresentations. . . . There was one extra-

ordinary oration that night—Sir William Grant's—quite a masterpiece of his peculiar and miraculous manner. Conceive an hour and a half of syllogisms strung together in the closest tissue, so artfully clear, that you think every successive inference unavoidable; so rapid, that you have no leisure to reflect where you have been brought from or to see where you are to be carried; and so dry of ornament or illustration or refreshment, that the attention is stretched—stretched—racked. All this is done without a single note. And yet, while I acknowledge the great vigour of understanding displayed in such performances, I have a heresy of my own about Grant's speaking: it does not appear to me of a parliamentary cast, nor suited to the discussions of a political assembly. The effect he produces is amazement at his power, not the impression of his subject; now this is a mortal symptom. Besides this, he gives me a suspicion of sophistry, which haunts me through his whole deduction. Though I have nothing immediately to produce, I feel dissatisfied, as if there were something that might be said. And after all, there are no trains of syllogism nor processes of intricate distinctions in subjects that are properly political. The wisdom, as well as the common feelings that belong to such subjects, lie upon the surface in a few plain and broad lines. There is a want of genius in being very ingenious about them."

LORD ELDON.

(1751—1838.)

His First Election Speech.—Mr. Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon) put up for Weobly in June, 1783, and being returned, took his seat for the first time as representative of that borough. He says he delivered his speech to the crowd from the top of a heap of stones. "My audience liked the speech, and I ended, as I had begun, by kissing the prettiest girl in the place—very pleasant, indeed."

Lengthy Tenure of Office.—Scott was appointed Solicitor-General in 1788, and Attorney-General five years later. He was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and raised to the peerage as Lord Eldon, in 1799. He received the great seals for the first time in 1801. "I do not know," he said, "what made George III. so fond of me, but he was fond of me. When I went to him for the seals, he had his coat buttoned at the lower part, and putting his right hand within, he drew them out from the left side, saying, 'I give them to you from my heart.'" On the death of Pitt in 1806, Eldon resigned the Chancellorship, but was reinstated in 1807, on the dismissal of the Grenville ministry, and continued in the office until the breaking up of the Liverpool administration in 1826, having held it for nearly twenty-five years, and for the longest period during which it had been held by any individual since the Norman Conquest.

Conquering the Gout.—Writing to a female friend (Mrs. Forster) Lord Eldon said: "I will tell you what once happened to me. I was ill with the gout; it was in my feet, so I was carried into my carriage, and from it I was carried into my court. There I remained all the day, and

delivered an arduous judgment. In the evening I was carried straight from my court to the House of Lords; there I sat until two o'clock in the morning, when some of the lords came and whispered to me that I was expected to speak. I told them I really could not, I was ill, and I could not stand; but they still urged, and at last I hobbled, in some way or other, with their assistance, to the place from which I usually addressed the House. It was an important question, the peace of Amiens—I forgot my gout, and spoke for two hours. Well, the House broke up, I was carried home, and at six in the morning I prepared to go to bed. My poor left leg had just got in, when I recollected I had important papers to look over, and that I had not had time to examine them; so I pulled my poor left leg out of bed, put on my clothes, and went to my study. I did examine the papers; they related to the Recorder's report, which had to be heard that day; I was again carried into court, where I had to deliver another arduous judgment, again went to the House of Lords, and it was not till the middle of the second night that I got into bed."

Tailors and Turncoats.—While (says Campbell) the Catholic Relief Bill was making progress in the House of Commons, there were, from the commencement of the session, nightly skirmishes in the House of Lords on the presentation of petitions for and against the measure. The Chancellor (Lyndhurst, who had changed sides on the question) sometimes mixed in these, and received painful scratches. Lord Eldon presenting an Anti-Catholic petition from the Company of Tailors at Glasgow, the Chancellor, still sitting on the woolsack, said in a stage whisper, loud enough to be heard in the galleries, "What! do tailors trouble themselves with such *measures?*" Lord Eldon: "My noble and learned friend might have been aware that tailors cannot like *turncoats.*" (A loud laugh.)

Offered the Reins of Government.—March 3, 1829 (writes Mr. Greville), "the Catholic question was in great jeopardy. The Chancellor (Lyndhurst), the Duke, and Peel went to tell the King that unless he would give them his real, efficient support, and not throw his indirect influence into the opposite scale, they would resign. He refused to give them that support; they placed their resignations in his hands and came away. The King then sent to Eldon, and asked him if he would undertake to form a Government. He deliberated, but eventually said he could not undertake it. On his refusal the King yielded, and the bill went on; but if Eldon had accepted, the Duke and his colleagues would have been out, and God knows what would have happened."

Consistency.—When Lord Encombe, Lord Eldon's grandson, received his doctor's degree at the hands of the Duke of Wellington—then Chancellor of the University of Oxford—Lord Eldon was present as High Steward, and was treated with great respect and attention. He himself related the following anecdote: "What charmed me very much when I left the theatre, and was trying to get to my carriage, was: one man in the crowd shouted out, 'Here's old Eldon! Cheer him, for he never ratted!' I was very much delighted, for I never did rat. I will

not say I have been right through life; I may have been wrong; but I will say that I have been consistent."

SPENCER PERCEVAL.

(1762—1812.)

His Parliamentary Career.—Mr. Spencer Perceval, who was second son of the Earl of Egmont, was returned to Parliament for Northampton in 1796, being at the time leader of the Oxford Circuit. He supported Pitt warmly, and the minister, on the occasion of his duel with Tierney, named Perceval as competent to succeed him in the government, should he fall. He took office as Attorney-General under Addington, and in the Duke of Portland's ministry was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. He became Premier on the death of the duke in 1807.

A Chancellor's Difficulty.—The illness of George III. in 1811, which incapacitated him for affixing his sign-manual to bills, gave rise to a singular discussion in the House of Commons. The matter is thus referred to in the Malmesbury Correspondence:—"Mr. Ross to the Earl of Malmesbury. Spring Gardens, January 4th, 1811. The business that is to come on in the House of Commons to-night offers none of the least curious circumstances of the present eventful times. That two deputy clerks, whose salaries are not more than 150*l.* per annum each, should have had the power of stopping the issue of 1,500,000*l.* of the public money, seems extraordinary, but so it is. Mr. Perceval (Chancellor of the Exchequer) used every means to persuade them to put the privy seal to the warrant, and amongst other reasons endeavoured to prove to them that, as the King only *signed* but did not *write* the bill (for so I understand it is called), they might venture to do it without the sign-manual. Their oath is not to put the privy seal to any bill which has not the sign-manual." The sum in question was required for the service of the army and navy, and to meet the emergency the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved a resolution which was agreed to by the House, commanding the auditor and officers of the Exchequer to pay such sums as the exigency required, upon the warrants of any three or more of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. This resolution of the Commons was also agreed to by the House of Lords.

His Assassination.—On the 11th of May, 1812, Mr. Perceval was to give evidence before a committee of the whole house as to the effect produced on the trade of the country by the Orders in Council, and, there being much excitement at the time, the lobby was full of members and visitors. As he entered it with his friend Mr. Stephen, a pistol shot was heard, and the Premier, staggering forward toward the door of the house, fell upon his face. The ball had struck him near the heart, and in a few minutes he was dead. The man who fired the pistol was seized by two members standing by—General Gascoyne and Mr. Joseph Hume—and the former recognised him as John Bellingham, who had been a merchant in Liverpool, and who had been vainly seeking redress for an unjust imprisonment which he had suffered in St. Petersburg. He com-

plained that his suit had been neglected by Lord Granville, the English ambassador there, and said he intended to shoot his lordship had not Mr. Perceval fallen in the way; but he had no grievance against the Minister personally. He was tried, condemned, and executed within a week after firing the shot. An annuity of 2000*l.* was voted to Mrs. Perceval, and a sum of 50,000*l.* to be vested in trustees for the benefit of her children. It was remembered as a remarkable circumstance that Mr. Perceval had said in the House, in 1802, with reference to the trial of the Frenchman Peltier for a libel against Napoleon, "There is something so base and disgraceful—there is something so contrary to everything that belongs to the character of an Englishman—there is something so immoral in the idea of assassination, that the exhortation to assassinate this or any other chief magistrate would be a crime against the honourable feelings of the English law."

ROBERT JENKINSON, EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

(1770—1828.)

Superlative Praise.—In the course of the year 1790, the authority of Sir James Lowther over the borough of Appleby—the same which had the honour of giving Pitt the first opportunity of displaying his precocious genius to the Parliament of his country—was exerted to procure the election of Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards the second Lord Liverpool). He did not rise in the house till he had been for above a year a member of it; though it is no slight proof how great was the expectation which was already formed of him that, on the occasion of Mr. Whitbread moving a censure on the Government on the question known as the Russian Armament, Pitt selected him to open the debate on his side. Our parliamentary annals have recorded no maiden speech which made so great an impression. Pitt himself began his own harangue by pronouncing it "not only a more able first speech than had ever been heard from a young member, but one so full of philosophy and science, strong and perspicuous language, and sound and convincing arguments, that it would have done credit to the most practised debater and most experienced statesman that ever existed."—*Yonge's "Life of Liverpool."*

Respectable Mediocrity.—Lord Liverpool held office as Prime Minister for the fifteen years from 1812 to 1827—a term exceeded only by Sir Robert Walpole and the younger Pitt. Lord Brougham says of him, "No minister—nay, few men in any subordinate public station—ever passed his time with so little ill-will directed towards himself, had so much forbearance shown him upon all occasions, nay, few engaged uniformly so large a share of personal esteem. To what did he owe the rare felicity of his lot? This question may, perhaps, be answered by observing that the abilities of Lord Liverpool were far more solid than shining, and that men are apt to be jealous, perhaps envious, certainly distrustful, of great and brilliant genius in statesmen. Respectable mediocrity offends nobody. . . No popular outcry ever assailed Lord Liverpool. While others were the objects of alternate execration and scorn, he was generally respected. The fate that befel him was that which

might have mortified others, but well suited his tastes—to be little thought of, less talked about; or if, in debate, any measure was to be exposed, any member to be attacked, means were ever found, nay, pains were taken, to "assure the House that nothing was meant against the respected nobleman at the head of his Majesty's Government, for whom we all entertain feelings of *et cetera*, and of *et cetera*, and of *et cetera*."

His Character as a Debater.—He was never known (writes Brougham) to utter a word at which any one could take exception. He was, besides, the most fair and candid of all debaters. No advantage to be derived from a misrepresentation, or even an omission, ever tempted him to forego the honest and the manly satisfaction of stating the fact as it was, treating his adversary as he deserved, and at least reciting fairly what had been urged against him, if he could not successfully answer it.

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

(1736—1812.)

His Return for Old Sarum.—Professor Pryme relates that Lord Camelford once took a freak to cross in a boat from Dover to Calais, while we were at war with France. The police, hearing of his design, apprehended him. Mr. Pitt, who was his kinsman, instituted an inquiry, and in a few days ordered his release. Lord Camelford was so angry at his not giving, on hearing who it was that had been arrested, an instant order for his discharge, that he said to Horne Tooke, with whom he was well acquainted, "How can I avenge myself?" He answered that he could do it very well by putting his black servant, Mungo, into his borough of Old Sarum. Lord Camelford agreed, but the next day thought better of it, and told Horne Tooke so. "Well," said he, "then the next best thing you can do is to put *me* in." This was done, and Horne Tooke, who had in early life taken holy orders, sat till the end of that Parliament. Addington, then Prime Minister, timidly dreading his eloquent attacks, to get rid of him had a bill brought in to prevent clergymen being returned as representatives.

Exclusion of Clergymen.—Horne Tooke entered the House on the 16th of February, 1801. He was introduced by Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Wilson. This being done, Earl Temple rose and said, "he had observed a gentleman who had just retired from the table after having taken the oaths, whom he conceived incapable of a seat in that House, in consequence of his having taken priest's orders and been inducted into a living. He should wait the allotted time of fourteen days, to see whether there was any petition presented against this return. If not, he should then move that the return for Old Sarum be taken into consideration." Three days after, the clerical member addressed the House on Mr. Sturt's motion respecting the failure of the expedition to Ferrol. In supporting the motion he said: "If the House refuse to go into a committee of inquiry, with what propriety can they enter into the merits of the borough of Old Sarum and its member? How can they plunge themselves into inquiries and discussions about what is or is not a priest, and whether a

thirty years' quarantine is not sufficient to guard against the infection of his original character? Yet, in recommending this line of conduct to the House, I sacrifice my interest to my duty, as well as I sacrifice my wishes to truth, in defending the right honourable Secretary of State—a service which he never has done, and I daresay never will do, for me." On the 10th of March, at the instance of Earl Temple, a committee was appointed to inquire into the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House. The result was the passing of a bill (May 19th) to prevent it, and in consequence Horne Tooke was unable to offer himself for re-election, after the dissolution in the following year.* Before the bill passed, however, Tooke proposed an amendment, which was negatived. In support of his amendment he entertained the House with an illustrative anecdote. "He had heard of casuists splitting hairs, but this was the first instance he ever heard of a casuist splitting sacraments; and he was sure the learned gentleman (Sir W. Scott) must have borrowed the idea from a learned casuist in divinity, of whose intense research and perspicacity he would relate an anecdote. The divine alluded to wished to investigate the mystery related in the Scripture, of the legion of devils entering into a herd of swine; and, in order first to ascertain the number of devils composing a legion, he applied to his glossary, and found that a legion in the Roman army meant a certain number of men, more or less in different reigns; but he took as his medium the number as it stood in the reign of Tiberius. He next set about inquiring into the number that composed a herd of swine, and for this purpose he directed his investigations into Syria and other countries; and having taken the swineries of Mesopotamia as the most probable standard, he divided the number of a herd there by the number he had before ascertained of a legion, and the quotient proved to him that each hog was possessed of exactly a devil and a half, or somewhat less than a devil and three-quarters. The name of the divine was Dr. Smallwell, or Smallbridge, or Smallbrock; but ever after the learned casuist was called Dr. Splitdevil."

Good Authority.—"So I understand, Mr. Tooke, you have all the blackguards in London with you," said O'Brien to him on the hustings at Westminster. "I am happy to have it, sir, on such good authority."—*S. Rogers' "Recollections."*

LORD BYRON.

(1788—1824.)

Byron's First Speech.—He made his first speech in the House of Lords in February, 1812, on the Nottingham Frame-breaking Bill. He was then twenty-four years of age. In a letter addressed to a friend soon afterwards he writes: "Lords Holland and Grenville, particularly the latter, paid me some high compliments in the course of their speeches, as

* In 1873, the Hon. H. Villiers Stuart, who had been in holy orders but had divested himself of them under the provisions of a recent Act, was returned to Parliament for the county of Waterford, and was the first ex-clergyman after Horne Tooke to enter the House of Commons.

you may have seen in the papers, and Lords Eldon and Harrowby answered me. I have had many marvellous eulogies repeated to me since, in person and by proxy, from divers persons ministerial—yea, ministerial!—as well as oppositionists; of them I shall only mention Sir F. Burdett. He says it is the best speech by a *lord* since the 'Lord knows when,' probably from a fellow-feeling in the sentiments. Lord H. tells me I shall beat them all if I persevere; and Lord G. remarked that the construction of some of my periods are very like Burke's!! And so much for vanity. I spoke very violent sentences with a sort of modest impudence, abused everything and everybody, and put the Lord Chancellor (Eldon) very much out of humour; and, if I may believe what I hear, have not lost any character by the experiment. As to my delivery, loud and fluent enough, perhaps a little theatrical. I could not recognise myself or any one else in the newspapers."

A Forgotten Grievance.—Byron's second display, says Moore, was less promising than his first. "His delivery was thought mouthing and theatrical, being infected, I take for granted (having never heard him speak in Parliament), with the same chanting tone that disfigured his recitation of poetry." In the following year he made his third and last appearance as an orator in the Lords. "In his way home," writes Moore again, "he called at my lodgings. He was, I recollect, in a state of most humorous exaltation after his display, and spouted forth, in a sort of mock heroic voice, detached sentences of the speech he had just been delivering. 'I told them,' he said, 'that it was a most flagrant violation of the constitution—that, if such things were permitted, there was an end of English freedom.' 'But what was this dreadful grievance?' I asked, interrupting him in his eloquence. 'The grievance?' he repeated, pausing, as if to consider. 'Oh, *that* I forget.'"

Prose *versus* **Poetry.**—Reviewing his own parliamentary appearances, Byron thus wrote: "Sheridan told me he was sure I should make an orator, if I would but take to speaking, and grow a Parliament man. He never ceased harping upon this to me to the last; and I remember my old tutor, Dr. Drury, had the same notion when I was a boy; but it never was my turn of inclination to try. I spoke once or twice, as all young peers do, as a kind of introduction into public life; but dissipation, shyness, haughty and reserved opinions, together with the short time I lived in England after my majority (only about five years in all), prevented me from resuming the experiment. As far as it went, it was not discouraging, particularly my first speech (I spoke three or four times in all); but just after it my poem of 'Childe Harold' was published, and nobody ever thought about my *prose* afterwards, nor indeed did I; it became to me a secondary and neglected object, though I sometimes wonder to myself if I should have succeeded."

Parliamentary Impressions.—"I never," said Byron, "heard the speech that was not too long for the auditors, and not very intelligible, except here and there. The whole thing is a grand deception, and as tedious and tiresome as may be, to those who must be often present. . . The impression of Parliament upon me was that its

members are not formidable as speakers, but very much so as an audience; because in so numerous a body there may be little eloquence (after all, there were but two thorough orators in all antiquity, and, I suspect, still fewer in modern times), but there must be a leaven of thought and good sense sufficient to make them *know* what is right, though they can't express it nobly. Horne Tooke and Roscoe both are said to have declared that they left Parliament with a higher opinion of its aggregate integrity and abilities than that with which they entered it. The general amount of both in most Parliaments is probably about the same, as also the number of *speakers* and their talent. I except *orators*, of course, because they are things of ages, and not of septennial or triennial reunions. Neither House ever struck me with more awe or respect than the same number of Turks in a divan, or of Methodists in a barn, would have done."

LORD BROUGHTON.

(1786—1869.)

Sent to Newgate.—Mr. John Cam Hobhouse (afterwards Lord Broughton), the friend and fellow-traveller of Byron, incurred, in 1819, the high displeasure of the House of Commons under the following circumstances:—On December the 10th, Mr. Courtenay rose to complain of a pamphlet which had been published, entitled "A Trifling Mistake in Thomas Lord Erskine's recent Preface shortly noticed, and respectfully corrected, in a Letter to his Lordship, by the author of 'The Defence of the People.'" The following extract, amongst others, was read from the pamphlet: "What prevents the people from walking down to the House and pulling out the members by the ears, locking up their doors, and flinging the key into the Thames?" On a subsequent day, the publisher of the *brochure* having been summoned to the bar, and the name of the writer divulged, it was moved and carried "That John Cam Hobhouse, Esq., be, for his said offence, committed to his Majesty's gaol of Newgate." The offender remained in confinement till the death of George III., in the following January, occasioned a dissolution of Parliament. Shortly after this, Mr. Hobhouse took his seat as one of the members for Westminster, in the assembly he had denounced in such strong language, and delivered his maiden speech May 9, 1820. The occasion was on Mr. Alderman Wood's motion respecting the criminal conduct and proceedings of George Edwards, said to have been connected with the Cato Street Conspiracy. In the course of his address he referred to his own case in these terms: "Now let me recall to the honourable member for Corfe Castle the dreadful alarms, the prompt proceedings adopted against the author of a pamphlet in which it seemed possible that some recommendations to a dispersion of this House might be found. Here was no plot, no grenades, no mischief either done or meditated; but though this Edwards is to walk at large, the author of a single passage of disputable meaning is to be sent to prison without trial and without citation."

His Majesty's Opposition.—It was Mr. Hobhouse who first spoke of "His Majesty's Opposition." Canning accepted the appellation as

appropriate. A distinguished member of the Opposition gave it the stamp of his approval, while adding a pithy exposition of its meaning. Tierney said, "No better phrase could be adopted; for we are certainly a branch of his Majesty's Government. Although the gentlemen opposite are in office, we are in power. The measures are ours, but all the emoluments are theirs."

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

(1770—1844.)

A Favourite.—"Burdett," said Byron, "is sweet and silvery as Belial himself, and, I think, the greatest favourite in Pandemonium; at least, I always heard the country gentlemen and the ministerial devilry praise his speeches *up*stairs, and run down from Bellamy's when he was upon his legs." Lord Lytton also must be quoted as to Burdett and his powers:—

"Too rich to bribe, and much too proud for power,
And as to fear—a fico for the Tower!
In youth more popular than Fox; in age,
When Burdett spoke, few actors more the rage.
None gifted more to please the eye and ear,
The form so comely and the voice so clear.
Pitt's surly squires resign'd their port, and ran
To hear the dangerous but large-acred man. . .
His speech ran over each Æolian chord,
So vaguely pleasing that it never bored.
Nor was it rude; whatever fear it woke
In breasts patrician, a patrician spoke;
And if no letter'd stores it could display,
Still over letters it would pause and play,
Surprise an elegance, conceive a trope,
And pose logicians with a line from Pope."

Burdett's Committal to the Tower.—J. Gale Jones, the president of a debating club, published some resolutions of his society on a debate which arose in 1810 relative to the expedition to the Scheldt. For this he was summoned to the bar of the House, and committed to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett took up his cause, and denied the power of the Commons to commit to prison any but their own members, and repeated his arguments in a letter published in Cobbett's *Weekly Register*. This being brought before the House, he was committed to the Tower. Cooke, in his "History of Party," thus describes the circumstances attending the execution of the order:—"Crowds surrounded the house of Sir Francis, who affected to resist the warrant by force, and barricaded his doors. Twenty police officers, assisted by detachments of cavalry and infantry, were necessary to execute the warrant. Burdett still resisted; and, lest the theatrical display should be incomplete, the constables, when they broke into the house, found him teaching his infant son to read and translate Magna Charta. As he was borne along to the Tower, the crowds assembled attacked the soldiery; pistol-shots were fired on each side, and

the troops did not return from their ungrateful duty without a sanguinary conflict, in which several people were slain. A more useless or unnecessary provocation of a scene of carnage does not occur in our history. Sir Francis brought an action against the Speaker, and, being defeated, thus had the merit of formally establishing the important principle of the Constitution which he had attacked."

Hoisting Canning with his own Petard.—In one of the debates of the pre-Reform period, Canning, in the course of an elaborate defence of the borough system, urged that it formed an essential element of the British Constitution, since it had

> "Grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength."

Sir Francis Burdett took up the quotation in reply, and said, "The right honourable gentleman doubtless remembers the first line of the distich he has cited, and that it is

> 'The young disease, which must subdue at length,
> Grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength.'"

Canning acknowledged that the retort was a happy and a just one.

An Extraordinary Debate.—Sir T. F. Buxton, writing to his brother-in-law, Mr. Gurney, in November, 1819, thus refers to a debate on the Manchester Riots, and Burdett's speech in it: "We have had a wonderful debate; really it has raised my idea of the capacity and ingenuity of the human mind. All the leaders spoke, and almost all outdid themselves. But Burdett stands first; his speech was absolutely the finest, and the clearest and the fairest display of masterly understanding, that ever I heard; and, with shame I ought to confess it, he did not utter a sentence to which I could not agree. Canning was second; if there be any difference between eloquence and sense, this was the difference between him and Burdett. He was exquisitely elegant, and kept the tide of reason and argument, irony, joke, invective, and declamation, flowing for nearly three hours. Plunket was third; he took hold of poor Mackintosh's argument, and griped it to death; ingenious, subtle, yet clear and bold, and putting with the most logical distinctness to the House the errors of his antagonist. Next came Brougham—and what do you think of a debate in which the fourth man could keep alive the attention of the House from three to five in the morning, after a twelve hours' debate?"

Burdett a High Tory.—Sir Francis Burdett, reverting to the notion that the prerogative of the Crown in choosing its servants ought to be unfettered and uncontrolled, said, in bringing forward a motion for reform of Parliament, "If a country gentleman were to offer to a servant out of place to make him his butler, and the man were to answer, 'I will not be your butler unless you will take Harry for your coachman, and Thomas for your groom, and Dick for your footman,' the gentleman would be greatly astonished." This remark (says Earl Russell) proves that Sir Francis Burdett was, as he sometimes avowed himself to be, a high prerogative Tory of the days of Queen Anne.

His Duel with Mr. Paull.—The following particulars of the duel which took place between Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Paull are taken

from the *Annual Register*. "Mr. Paull, who was a candidate for the representation of Westminster in 1807, had advertised a meeting of his friends to dine at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, the chair to be occupied by Sir Francis Burdett. A correspondence ensued upon this announcement, opening with a communication from Sir Francis, in which he disavowed any knowledge of the proposed gathering, and asserted that he had not sanctioned the use of his name in connection with it. The dispute between the two gentlemen, increasing in acrimony, finally culminated in a challenge being forwarded by Mr. Paull to Sir Francis Burdett. The parties met, attended by their seconds, at Combe Wood, near Wimbledon Common, on the 5th of May. They discharged two pistols each; the second shot fired by Mr. Paull wounded Sir Francis in the thigh; the second pistol fired by Sir Francis wounded Mr. Paull in the leg. This terminating the business, they both returned from Wimbledon in Mr. Paull's carriage."

WILLIAM COBBETT.

(1762—1835.)

His First Appearance.—At the first general election after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, Cobbett was returned for Oldham, and delivered his maiden speech January 29th, 1833, on the choice of a Speaker. The opening sentence with which he addressed the House was not of a very complimentary character: "It appears to me that since I have been sitting here, I have heard a great deal of vain and unprofitable conversation." On the 11th of February he rose to move an amendment to the report of the Address in answer to the King's speech. "Other honourable members," he said, "may intercept the reading of the report where they please, and move that such or such parts be omitted; for my own part, I object to every tittle of the report after the words 'Most Gracious Majesty.'" Meeting with several interruptions by calls of "Question" and "Order," he said, "I have a very sacred duty to perform, and if the House be determined not to hear me to-night, I will certainly bring it forward to-morrow, and if the House will not hear me to-morrow, I will then bring it forward the day after. The statement I have to make I am determined to make, and that without any considerable interruption."

His Demeanour in the House.—I know no other instance (writes Lord Dalling) of a man entering the House of Commons at Cobbett's age (between sixty and seventy) and becoming at once an effective debater in it. Looking carelessly round the assembly so new to him, with his usual self-confidence he spoke on the first occasion that presented itself, proposing an amendment to the Address; but this was not his happiest effort, and consequently created disappointment. He soon, however, obliterated the failure, and became rather a favourite with an audience which is only unforgiving when bored. It was still seen, moreover, that nothing daunted him; the murmurs, the "Oh!" or more serious reprehension and censure, found him shaking his head with his hands in his pockets, as cool and defiant as when he first stuck up the picture of King

George in his shop window at Philadelphia. He exhibited in Parliament, too, the same want of tact, prudence, and truth; the same egotism, the same combativeness, and the same reckless desire to struggle with received opinions, that had marked him previously through life, and shattered his career into glittering fragments, from which the world could never collect the image nor the practical utility of a whole.

The Black Hole of St. Stephen's.—Complaining of the deficient accommodation for members in the House, Cobbett thus gave utterance to his discontent in the columns of the *Weekly Register*: "Why are we squeezed into so small a space that it is absolutely impossible that there should be calm and regular discussion, even from that circumstance alone? Why do we live in this hubbub? Why are we exposed to all these inconveniences? Why are 658 of us crammed into a space that allows to each of us no more than a foot and a half square, while, at the same time, each of the servants of the King, whom we pay, has a palace to live in, and more unoccupied space in that palace than the little hole into which we are all crammed to make the laws by which this great kingdom is governed." The fire of 1834, however, burned down the "little hole" so contemptuously spoken of by the member for Oldham, and thus made way for a more commodious although still inadequate structure.

His Influence.—People (said Hazlitt) have about as substantial an idea of Cobbett as they have of Cribb. His blows are as hard, and he himself is as impenetrable. One has no notion of him as making use of a fine pen, but a great mutton-fist; his style stuns his readers, and he "fillips the ear of the public with a three-man-beetle." He is too much for any single newspaper antagonist; "lays waste" a City orator or member of Parliament, and bears hard upon the Government itself. He is a kind of *fourth estate* in the politics of the country.

Taking out the Sting.—Cobbett looked (remarks Professor Pryme) like a better sort of farmer. He was a very able man, but his career in the House was a complete failure. Though bold in public assemblies, he was timid and overawed in Parliament, and was never able to say more than a few sentences. . . Cobbett was said to have "a good face for a grievance." I remember one trait which shows it. He moved to bring in a bill to modify the Stamp Act, more especially that part of it which obliged every one to give a twopenny stamp on payment of any sum between 2*l*. and 5*l*. Lord Althorp said that it would require great time for modification, and that it should be taken into consideration, but that meantime the member for Oldham might, if he liked, have that particular grievance of the twopenny stamp redressed at once. We all who were opposite to him were amused to observe that Cobbett looked quite disappointed, as if feeling that the sting was taken out of his complaints.

Political Nicknames.—Cobbett's talent (says Lord Dalling) for fastening his claws into anything or anyone by a word or an expression, and holding them down for scorn or up to horror, was unrivalled. "Prosperity Robinson," "Æolus Canning," the "bloody *Times*," the "pink-nosed Liverpool," the "unbaptised, buttonless blackguards" (in which way he

designated the disciples of Penn), were expressions with which he attached ridicule where he could not fix reproach; and it is said that nothing was more teasing to Lord Erskine than being constantly addressed by his second title of Baron Clackmannan.

JOSEPH HUME.

(1777—1855.)

Small Economies.—Hume had been a surgeon in India, and had made a fortune. He had an office and kept a clerk at his own cost, in order to examine the estimates and accounts of public moneys, and to prepare his statements and facts; and by his attention to economy effected a considerable reduction in the national expenditure. He had his faults (writes Professor Pryme), which produced political errors, for he looked rather to what in his mind was desirable than to what was practicable. That kind of feeling predominated throughout. He suggested even the smallest economies. Gilt-edged paper was, I take it, given up in consequence of his observation on the extravagance of using it for parliamentary notices. Parker, secretary to the Treasury, brought up some reports. Hume remarked, "I think that splendid gilt paper is unnecessary." Parker, nettled at this, replied, "Perhaps the honourable member may think the margins are too wide;" but it had its effect, and in a short time the paper in the library and writing-rooms, as well as all the future reports, had no gilt edges. Soon after it went out of fashion altogether.

The Duties of an Archdeacon.—Lord Althorp, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, having to propose to the House of Commons a vote of 400*l.* a year for the salary of the Archdeacon of Bengal, was puzzled by a question from Mr. Hume, "What are the duties of an archdeacon?" So he sent one of the subordinate occupants of the Treasury bench to the other House to obtain an answer to the question from one of the bishops. The messenger first met with Archbishop Vernon Harcourt, who described an archdeacon as "*aide-de-camp* to the bishop;" and then with Bishop Copleston, of Llandaff, who said, "The archdeacon is *oculus episcopi*." Lord Althorp, however, declared that neither of these explanations would satisfy the House. "Go," said he, "and ask the Bishop of London (Blomfield); he is a straightforward man, and will give you a plain answer." To the Bishop of London accordingly the messenger went, and repeated the question, "What is an archdeacon?" "An archdeacon?" replied the bishop in his quick way—"an archdeacon is an ecclesiastical officer who performs archidiaconal functions;" and with this reply (says the bishop's biographer) Lord Althorp and the House were perfectly satisfied.

A Free Translation.—In the discussions on the Orange system in 1835-36, Mr. Joseph Hume took (says Mr. John O'Connell) an active and, as usually happened with him, a manly and an honest part. Here, however, his excitement betrayed his tongue. Mr. Sheil, alluding to the disclaimer of a certain personage of very high rank, that he had been aware of the fact of his name being at the foot of warrants for the creation of Orange

lodges, which had been distributed in some of the regiments of the line, had said, "When I am called upon to give credit to this disclaimer, I take refuge in one of the *dicta* of my creed, and I say, *Credo quia impossibile!*" To this Mr. Hume appended the following free translation: "Like the honourable member who has preceded me I say, in reference to the denial, *Credo quia impossibile*—Let who will believe it, I will not!"

"Humbug."—Mr. J. Grant, in his "Random Recollections," describes a scene which took place in the House of Commons in 1836. The House was in committee of supply, and Mr. Joseph Hume (then member for Middlesex) was, as usual on such occasions, making a field day of it. He opposed almost every grant of money that was proposed for the public service, and while he was objecting to one vote, a Mr. Kearsley thus addressed the chairman of committees: "Mr. Bernal, it has often been said in this house and elsewhere that the honourable member for Middlesex has been very useful to the country, by checking the extravagant expenditure of Ministers. But after what I have just seen with my own eyes I put down his conduct as perfect humbug. (Interruptions.) Yes, and I pronounce the honourable member himself to be a complete humbug. (Order, order!) I do not mean any personal unkindness to the honourable member, but I must say that when a vote was put to the House for granting some secret service money—30,000*l.* odd, I believe—I saw an honourable gentleman, connected with the noble lord (John Russell) opposite, go up to him and give him a check for coming forward. (Loud laughter.) Yes, sir, with my own eyes I saw it. It's a complete humbug and nothing else." Mr. Hume replied to this attack, from one who was usually considered a good-natured man, "I am afraid that the honourable member's optics are not in the best possible state to-night. I think the honourable member sees double. I certainly did protest against voting 30,000*l.* secret service money; but I am glad we have reduced the grant so low, for we formerly voted 60,000*l.* and upwards for the same purpose. As to the honourable gentleman's charge against me, I tell him that no person whatever spoke to me on the subject. No man has ever attempted to control or check me in my public conduct. I will be controlled by no man—and least of all shall the honourable member control me." Mr. Kearsley jumped up with the rejoinder, "I tell the honourable gentleman that if my sight is not so good as it ought to be, neither is his head so good as it ought to be. I tell him that I can see to count up the 'tottel of the whole' [a common expression with Hume] as well as he can." (Loud laughter.) Mr. Hume, whom it was impossible to put out of temper, replied, "I beg the honourable member not to mistake me. I did not say anything about the infirmity of his eyes; I did not accuse him of *not* seeing; I only accused him of seeing too much." The matter then dropped, after having caused much amusement to both sides of the House.

Support of the Speaker's Warrant. — In 1845 a discussion occurred in the House of Commons on a question of privilege. The Serjeant-at-Arms, Sir William Gossett, had executed a Speaker's warrant against one Thomas Howard, but an action was brought in the Queen's

Bench by the latter against the Serjeant for excess of authority in staying an unreasonable time in his house, and £200 damages were awarded to him. Execution was to be levied in a day or two, when Mr. Hume remarked: "I hope the House will order any attempt that may be made to seize upon the property of the Serjeant to be most severely punished forthwith. If any one will draw up a resolution to that effect, I will move it, and, if necessary, I will assist in executing your warrant. It will not be the first time, sir, that I have personally assisted in promoting the ends of justice. I was the first to seize upon the person who committed an act of murder within the precincts of this place—I allude to the person who shot the late Mr. Perceval—and I kept him fast until a magistrate was found to whose custody he was delivered. I conceive, sir, that every member of this House is bound to act in the same manner; and, as you are authorised to call upon all magistrates and persons in authority to assist in carrying your warrant into effect, so I think you have a prior claim upon the assistance of the members of this House in enforcing and upholding your authority." The House adjourned the debate, and suffered the execution to be levied.

Fighting against Majorities.—In a speech at Birmingham in 1849, Mr. Cobden thus alluded to Hume's parliamentary career: "I wish our friend Mr. Hume was here to-night. You do well to receive his name with those plaudits. A more indefatigable, a more devoted, a more disinterested patriot never lived in this or in any other country. He has for nearly forty years fought against majorities in the House of Commons. But it is given to few men to possess his physical strength, his massive endurance, his powerful energies, his impassive temperament. But few men have the power to do that which he has accomplished. I confess that I have not physically the power of going through one-half of his work."

Tracking the Minister.—In a discussion in the House of Commons on the public expenditure, in February, 1873, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, referred as follows to the services Mr. Hume had rendered the country: "I believe that Mr. Hume has earned for himself an honourable and a prominent place in the history of this country, not by endeavouring to pledge Parliament to abstract resolutions or general declarations on the subject of economy, but by an indefatigable and unwearied devotion, by the labour of a life, to obtain a complete mastery of all the details of public expenditure, and by tracking, and I would almost say hunting, the Minister in every department through all these details with a knowledge equal or superior to his own. In this manner I do not scruple to say Mr. Hume did more, not merely to reduce the public expenditure as a matter of figures, but to introduce principles of economy into the management of the administration of public money, than all the men who have lived in our time put together. This is the kind of labour which we want above all things."

A Sine qua Non.—I recollect (says Lord Broughton) a saying of Sir Robert Peel, that he could not conceive a House of Commons without a Joseph Hume.

A Warlike Errand.—Hume's surgical knowledge was once called into requisition under very remarkable circumstances. Mr. Greville writes respecting the duel between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchilsea: "Hume was there, without knowing on whose behalf till he got to the ground. Hardinge (Sir Henry Hardinge, the duke's second) asked him to attend, and told him where he would find a chaise, into which he got. He found there pistols, which told him the errand he was on, but he had still no notion the Duke was concerned; when he saw him he was ready to drop. Hume gave the two lords a lecture on the ground after the duel, and said he did not think there was a man in England would have lifted his hand against the duke. Very uncalled for," continues Greville, "as Lord Winchilsea did not fire."

"Radical."—This phrase, as designating a member of the Radical Reform section of politicians, was "first used by myself," says Hume, writing to Sir Joshua Walmsley. Macaulay compares to the Radicals of recent times the "Root-and-Branch" men of two centuries previously.

Unrequited Service.—Hume's sturdy character, and his work for the nation, aroused Lord Lytton's enthusiasm:—

> "To me there's something bordering on the great
> In him who labours—not for self. The State,
> In its caprice, may give him no reward;
> Perhaps he bores, and is not born a lord.
> The House may cough—his voice no coughs can drown;
> Reports cut short—no Press can cut him down.
> Still he toils on—for what? To be of use,
> To prune a tax, or weed up an abuse.
> Each hour for rest, for home, for health to grudge,
> Unpaid a servant, and unthank'd a drudge;
> And, his work done, sink fameless in the tomb:
> Such men have worth—nine such might make a Hume."

THOMAS SLINGSBY DUNCOMBE.

(1797—1861.)

Persevering Bribery.—Mr. Duncombe—a man of fashion as well as a leading Radical—first stood a contest for Pontefract in 1821; he took an enormous deal of trouble in canvassing, and spent much money in bribery, but was unsuccessful. In 1823 he was again in the field, and ventured to contest a family borough (Hertford) with its proprietor. He again failed, after spending much money. In the general election of 1826, Hertford was again canvassed by him in opposition to Mr. Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), who was then commencing his political career. There were three claimants for the suffrages of the electors; the borough returned two, and the fight was for the second place. Mr. Duncombe having bribed handsomely (writes his son) secured a majority. After the passing of the Reform Bill Mr. Duncombe was elected for Finsbury, and for many years represented that borough.

Borrowed Plumes.—Mr. Greville writes, Feb. 25, 1828: "The great event of the night was Duncombe's speech, which was delivered

with perfect self-possession and composure, but in so ridiculous a manner that everybody laughed at him, although they were amused with his impudence and at the style and objects of his attack. However, the next day it was discovered that he had performed a great exploit; he was loudly applauded and congratulated on all sides, and made into the hero of the day. . . The history of Tom Duncombe and his speech is instructive as well as amusing. Tommy came to Henry de Ros and told him that his constituents at Hertford were very anxious he should make a speech, but that he did not know what to say, and begged Henry to supply him with the necessary materials. He advised him to strike out something new, and having received his assurance that he should be able to recollect anything that he learned by heart, and that he was not afraid of his courage failing, Henry composed for him the speech which Duncombe delivered."

Maintaining his Point.—In August, 1831, Mr. Goulburn brought an accusation against Lord Durham for interfering in an election. Mr. Duncombe pronounced it "a base and wicked calumny." There was a tremendous call of "Chair!" and the chairman administered a mild remonstrance, saying that in Mr. Duncombe's calmer and more sober moments he would not use such terms. The latter answered, undauntedly, "I am quite calm, and sober enough, and mean what I say." Down upon him came Sir Robert Peel, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Henry Inglis; down upon him came the parliamentary magnates from both sides of the House, threatening, advising, and insisting on an explanation; but the bold reformer heeded not the menaces, cared not for the advice, and openly declared that he had spoken the truth, and meant to maintain it. His firmness conquered his opponents, and Mr. Goulburn pocketed the affront.—"*Life,*" *by his Son.*

GEORGE CANNING.

(1770—1827.)

His Introduction into Parliament.—Canning's entry into public life is thus mentioned by himself in a letter written in 1793 to his friend Henry John Richman, which was first printed by Charles Knight in 1868, among other interesting "Unpublished Letters of George Canning":—"You will probably have seen by the newspapers that I have come into Parliament. . . You may, in common with very many persons, have conceived that my acquaintance with some of the principal characters of Opposition was something more than a mere personal familiarity, and amounted in fact to political attachment and obligation. In answer to this supposition, if you should have entertained it, I have only to say, upon the word of an honest man, the fact is otherwise. With different individuals, indeed, of Opposition I have been much in habits of intimacy—with Mr. Sheridan, particularly, my friendship is from my childhood, and as with a family friend—and that friendship will, I trust, be uninterrupted by politics. I am sure it shall not be my fault if it be otherwise. But neither to him nor to any person else have I ever con-

sidered myself, nor have they considered me, as tied and bound by the smallest obligation, personal or political, that should govern my public sentiments, or fetter my free choice of my party. . . All that I wish to show to you is that my conduct has been strictly *honourable*, and in that I trust I shall have succeeded. The place for which I am returned is Newtown in the Isle of Wight. The seat comes to me, as I said before, from Mr. Pitt; and, as I believe I did not before add, from him *solely*, and *immediately* to *me*, without the influence, or interference, of any other man or set of men whatever. And, which is no immaterial consideration to a person so far from being rich as myself, it comes without a farthing of expense."

His Maiden Speech.—It was on the 31st of January, 1794, in his second session, that he made his first speech, in favour of a subsidy proposed to be granted to the King of Sardinia. In a letter dated March 20th, 1794, addressed to Lord Boringdon, he thus expresses himself respecting the event: "I intended to have told you, at full length, what were my feelings at getting up and being pointed at by the Speaker, and hearing my name called from all sides of the house; how I trembled lest I should hesitate, or misplace a word in the first two or three sentences; while all was dead silence around me, and my own voice sounded to my ears quite like some other gentleman's;—how, in about ten minutes or less, I got warmed in collision with Fox's arguments, and did not even care twopence for anybody or anything; how I was roused, in about half an hour, from this pleasing state of self-sufficiency by accidentally casting my eyes towards the Opposition bench, for the purpose of paying compliments to Fox, and assuring him of my respect and admiration, and there seeing certain members of Opposition laughing (as I thought) and quizzing me; how the accident abashed me, and, together with my being out of breath, rendered me incapable of uttering; how those who sat below me on the Treasury bench, seeing what it was that distressed me, cheered loudly, and the House joined them; and how, in less than a minute, straining every nerve in my body, and plucking up every bit of resolution in my heart, I went on more boldly than ever, and getting into a part of my subject that I liked, and having the House with me, got happily and triumphantly to the end." "This first speech," says Lord Dalling, "like many other first speeches of men who have become eminent orators, was more or less a failure. The subject was a subsidy to Sardinia, and the new member began with a scoff at the idea of looking with a mere mercantile eye at the goodness or badness of the bargain we were making. Such a scoff, uttered in an assembly which is the especial guardian of the public purse, was injudicious; but the whole speech was bad. It possessed in an eminent degree all the ordinary faults of the declamation of clever young men. Its arguments were much too refined; its arrangement much too systematic; cold, tedious, and unparliamentary, it would have been twice as good if it had attempted half as much; for the great art in speaking, as in writing, consists in knowing what should not be said or written."

"An Adventurer."—On presenting himself to the electors of

Liverpool in 1816, after his appointment as President of the Board of Control, Canning's return was contested; and, amongst other charges brought against him by his opponents, he was reproached with being an adventurer. He replied thus: "To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of the people; and I present myself to those who choose me only with the claims of character (be they what they may), unaccredited by patrician patronage or party recommendation. Nor is it in this free country, where, in any walk of life, the road of honourable success is open to every individual—I am sure it is not in this place—that I shall be expected to apologise for so presenting myself to your choice. I know there is a political creed which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign and to influence the people; and that this doctrine of hereditary aptitude for administration is, singularly enough, most prevalent among those who find nothing more laughable than the principle of legitimacy in the Crown. To this theory I have never subscribed. If to depend directly upon the people, as their representative in Parliament; if, as a servant of the Crown, to lean on no other support than that of public confidence—if that be to be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the charge, and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which might be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations."

Men, not Measures!—In a speech in 1801, in opposition to the Addington Ministry, Mr. Canning said: "Away with the cant of 'Measures, not men!'—the idle supposition that it is the harness and not the horses that draw the chariot along. No, sir; if the comparison must be made, if the distinction must be taken, men are everything, measures are comparatively nothing. I speak of times of difficulty and danger, when systems are shaken, when precedents and general rules of conduct fail; then it is that not to that or to this measure—however prudently devised, however blameless in execution—but to the energy and character of individuals, a State must be indebted for its salvation."

Subsidence of the Deluge.—In supporting the vote of thanks in the House of Commons, July 17th, 1813, to the Marquis of Wellington for the victory gained at the battle of Vittoria, Mr. Canning said: "How was their prospect changed! In those countries where, at most, a short struggle had been terminated by a result disastrous to their wishes, if not altogether closing in despair, they had now to contemplate a very different aspect of affairs. Germany crouched no longer trembling at the feet of the tyrant, but maintained a balanced contest. The mighty deluge by which the Continent had been overwhelmed began to subside. The limits of nations were again visible, and the spires and turrets of ancient establishments began to reappear. It was this victory which had defined these objects, so lately involved in overwhelming confusion."

Canning on Reform.—Sir Robert Peel, in reply to a repeal speech by O'Connell in 1834, ridiculed the proposal by the exclamation, "Repeal the Union! As well restore the Heptarchy!" Canning, however, had used it some years before, in a speech against parliamentary reform,

which he treated as preposterous, saying, "Reform the Parliament! Repeal the Union! Restore the Heptarchy!"

Taking Observations.—"Sir Robert Peel, his distinguished rival, told me one day," says Lord Dalling, "in speaking of Mr. Canning, that he would often, before rising in his place, make a sort of lounging tour of the House, listening to the tone of the observations which the previous debate had excited, so that at last, when he himself spoke, he seemed to a large part of his audience to be merely giving a striking form to their own thoughts."

Tickling the Victims.—Thomas Moore, in his "Dream of a Turtle," thus hits off some of the characteristics of Canning:—

"And on that turtle I saw a rider,
A goodly man, with an eye so merry,
I knew 'twas our Foreign Secretary,
Who there at his ease did sit and smile
Like Waterton on his crocodile;
Cracking such jokes at every motion
As made the turtle squeak with glee,
And own that they gave him a lively notion
Of what his own forced-meat balls would be."

Peace and War.—One of the most finished and effective of Canning's oratorical displays was a speech delivered at Plymouth in 1823, in which the following celebrated passage occurred:—"While we control even our feelings by our duty, let it not be said that we cultivate peace either because we fear or because we are unprepared for war; on the contrary, if eight months ago the Government did not hesitate to proclaim that the country was prepared for war, if war should be unfortunately necessary, every month of peace that has since passed has but made us so much the more capable of exertion. The resources created by peace are means of war. In cherishing those resources, we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof that they are devoid of strength and incapable of being fitted out for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage—how quickly would it put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself, while apparently passive and motionless she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion. But God forbid that that occasion should arise. After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century—sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arrayed at times against her or at her side—England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction."

Ministerial Promptitude.—A Magniloquent Boast.—On the 12th of December, 1826, Canning, then Foreign Minister, made a masterly speech on the relations between Great Britain and Portugal. Mr. Brougham, who rose afterwards, said the Secretary's eloquence had been inspired "with a degree of fervour, energy, and effect extraordinary and unprecedented in this House." In the course of his speech, Mr. Canning gave an instance of ministerial promptitude which has sometimes been cited in reproof of more dilatory Cabinets. He said: "The precise information on which we could act only arrived on Friday last; on Saturday the decision of the Government was taken; on Sunday we obtained the sanction of his Majesty; on Monday we came down to Parliament; and at this very hour, while I have now the honour of addressing the House, British troops are on their march for Portugal." In his reply at the close of the debate, Mr. Canning again displayed great eloquence; and on this occasion he used a famous but somewhat bombastic expression. "If France," said he, "occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No. I looked another way; I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain, such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain 'with the Indies.' I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."—Mr. Greville writes respecting these last words, "Canning gave offence to his colleagues by the concluding sentence of his reply. The *I* was not relished."

Canning in the Cabinet.—The Duke of Wellington (says Mr. Greville) talked of Canning the other day a great deal. He said, though he prided himself extremely upon his compositions, he would patiently endure any criticisms upon such papers as he submitted for the consideration of the Cabinet, and would allow them to be altered in any way that was suggested; he (the Duke) particularly had often "cut and hacked" his papers, and Canning never made the least objection, but was always ready to adopt the suggestions of his colleagues. It was not so, however, in conversation and discussion. Any difference of opinion or dissent from his views threw him into ungovernable rage, and on such occasions he flew out with a violence which, the Duke said, had often compelled him to be silent that he might not be involved in bitter personal altercation. He said that Canning was usually very silent in the Cabinet, seldom spoke at all, but when he did he maintained his opinions with extraordinary tenacity.

A Despatch in Cypher.—Mr. Bell relates that Sir Charles Bagot, our ambassador at the Hague, was one day attending at court, when a despatch in cypher was hastily put into his hand. It was very short, and evidently very urgent; but, unfortunately, Sir Charles, not expecting such a communication, had not the key of the cypher with him. An interval of intense anxiety followed, until he obtained the key; when, to his infinite astonishment, he deciphered the following despatch from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:—

"In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch
Is giving too little and asking too much;
With equal advantage the French are content,
So we'll clap on Dutch bottoms a twenty per cent.
Twenty per cent.,
Twenty per cent.,
Nous frapperons Falck with twenty per cent.
"GEORGE CANNING."

Impromptu on Whitbread.—The articles of impeachment against Lord Melville were moved by Mr. Whitbread. His speech (says Mr. Bell) was clear and able; but some passages struck Mr. Canning's acute sense of the ridiculous so forcibly, that he scribbled a parody on them, while Mr. Whitbread was yet speaking. The following is the impromptu:—

"FRAGMENT OF AN ORATION.

"I'm like Archimedes for science and skill;
I'm like a young prince going straight up a hill;
I'm like—(with respect to the fair be it said)—
I'm like a young lady just bringing to bed.
If you ask why the 11th of June I remember
Much better than April, or May, or November,
On that day, my lords, with truth I assure ye,
My sainted progenitor set up his brewery;
On that day, in the morn, he began brewing beer;
On that day, too, commenced his connubial career;
On that day he received and he issued his bills;
On that day he cleared out all the cash from his tills;
On that day he died, having finished his summing,
And the angels all cried, 'Here's old Whitbread a-coming!'
So that day still I hail with a smile and a sigh,
For his beer with an E, and his bier with an I;
And still on that day, in the hottest of weather,
The whole Whitbread family dine altogether.—
So long as the beams of this house shall support
The roof which o'ershades this respectable court,
Where Hastings was tried for oppressing the Hindoos;
So long as that sun shall shine in at those windows,
My name shall shine bright as my ancestor's shines,
Mine recorded in journals, *his* blazoned on signs!"

An Undebatable Subject.—The following letter is given in Stapleton's "Canning and his Times:"—"Foreign Office, January 27th, 1826. My dear Granville,—It occurs to me, since the sealing of my letter enclosing the Speech, that M. Villèle may possibly inquire why we have not mentioned the death of the Emperor of Russia. 1. It is not usual to mention the death of foreign sovereigns in the King's Speech. 2. We did not mention that of Louis XVIII. 3. The reason of this habitual silence is a sound one. The King mentions nothing that Parliament is not expected to echo. Parliament echoes nothing without discussion. To bring a deceased foreign sovereign before Parliament for

discussion would be to treat him as the ancient Egyptians did *their own* kings—judge him immediately after his death: a liberty unwarrantable with the sovereigns of other nations.—Ever affectionately yours, GEORGE CANNING."

His Death at Chiswick.—Lady Holland told me (writes Guizot) that in 1827 Mr. Canning, then ill, mentioned to her that he was going for change and repose to Chiswick, a country seat of the Duke of Devonshire. She said to him, "Do not go there; if I were your wife I would not allow you to do so." "Why not?" asked Mr. Canning. "Mr. Fox died there." Mr. Canning smiled; and an hour after, on leaving Holland House, he returned to Lady Holland, and said to her, in a low tone, "Do not speak of this to any one; it might disturb them." "And he died at Chiswick," concluded Lady Holland, with emotion.

WILLIAM HUSKISSON.

(1770—1830.)

Legal Phraseology in the House of Commons.—Mr. Huskisson will be remembered as one of the earliest advocates, among our statesmen, of the principles of Free Trade. His eloquence was often forcible, and his style at times very argumentative, while he knew how to make an effective reply. In February, 1826, Mr. Ellice, member for Coventry, had moved for a select committee on the silk trade, and he was seconded by Mr. Williams, a lawyer, member for Lincoln. To some severe remarks by the latter gentleman Mr. Huskisson thus replied: "In the course of his speech the honourable and learned gentleman repeatedly told us that he was not at liberty to admit this, and to admit that. This, I presume, is a mode of expression in which gentlemen of the legal profession are wont to indulge, to mark that they keep within the strict limits of their briefs, and that the doctrines which they advocate are those prescribed to them by their instructions. However customary and proper such language may be in the courts of law, it certainly sounds new and striking in the mouth of a member of this House." He went on to say, "To whom did the honourable and learned gentleman mean to apply the description of an 'insensible and hard-hearted metaphysician, exceeding the devil in point of malignity?' I appeal to the judgment of the House whether the language made use of by the honourable and learned gentleman, with reference to me, was not such as to point to the inference that I am that metaphysician. . . It is for the honourable and learned gentleman to reconcile such language with the general tenor of his sentiments on other occasions—to explain, as he best may, to those around him whether they are included in that insinuation; and it is for me to meet that insinuation (as far as it was levelled at me) with those feelings of utter scorn with which I now repel it."

The Duke of Wellington and Huskisson.—In 1828, when the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister, "the question of Parliamentary Reform was brought under discussion upon a motion to disfranchise the two boroughs of Penrhyn and East Retford, and invest Manchester and

Birmingham with the electoral privileges thus vacated. In the course of the contest a division was taken on the particular substitution of Birmingham for East Retford. Government said 'No' to the proposal, but Mr. Huskisson, though still Colonial Secretary, had managed to commit himself to an affirmative vote. Confused at his position, he sent the duke what was either a resignation or an offer of resignation, and what the duke chose to think was the former. There was, in plain truth, but little cordiality between them. Unpleasant jars had occurred already. Mr. Huskisson had publicly assured his Liverpool constituents that he had not entered the new administration without a 'guarantee' for the general adjustment of its policy by that of Mr. Canning. This sounded as if a 'pledge' had been exacted and given—an idea which the duke indignantly repudiated, and parliamentary explanations had to be offered before the matter could be set at rest. So this time the difference was made final. In vain did the common friends and colleagues of the two statesmen endeavour to 'explain' the unlucky communication. The duke, in terms which passed into proverbial use, replied that there 'was no mistake, could be no mistake, and should be no mistake.' He was not sorry, in fact, that so convenient an opportunity had been created to his hand. Mr. Huskisson therefore retired."—*Times' Memoir of Wellington.*

His Death.—The *Annual Register* gave an account of the fatal accident to Mr. Huskisson at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, on the 15th of September, 1830, from which the following particulars are taken:—The procession, drawn by eight locomotive engines, left Liverpool at twenty minutes before eleven o'clock. The engine Northumbrian took the south line of railway, carrying amongst other passengers the Duke of Wellington. The other seven engines proceeded along the north line. On the stoppage of the Northumbrian at Parkside, Mr. Huskisson and several others got out; and Mr. Holmes, for the purpose of bringing Mr. Huskisson and the duke together, and of producing a renewed good feeling between them, led Mr. Huskisson round to that part of the car where the duke was stationed. The duke, perceiving the advance of the right honourable gentleman, immediately held out to him his hand, which was shaken in a very cordial manner. Almost at this moment the Rocket was seen to be advancing, and Mr. Huskisson, in attempting to enter the ducal car, fell upon the rails and had his right leg crushed by the wheel of the engine. The unfortunate gentleman lingered in great agony till the evening, when he expired. In the interval he showed a natural solicitude respecting his character as a statesman. "The country," said he, "has had the best of me. I trust that it will do justice to my public character." On the 24th of September his remains were interred in presence of upwards of 15,000 spectators.

EARL GREY.

(1764—1845.)

His First Appearance in the House.—Charles, second Earl Grey, was returned in July, 1786, at the age of twenty-two, for his native

county (Northumberland). His maiden speech in the House was delivered in opposition to the address moved by Mr. Blackburne to thank his Majesty for the Commercial Treaty with France, negotiated by Mr. Pitt. Mr. Addington, afterwards Speaker, in a letter to his father thus describes the youthful orator: "We had a glorious debate last night upon the motion for an address of thanks to the King for having negotiated the Commercial Treaty, &c. . . A new speaker presented himself to the House, and went through his first performance with an *éclat* which has not been equalled within my recollection. His name is Grey. I do not go too far in declaring that in the advantages of figure, voice, elocution, and manner, he is not surpassed by any member of the House, and I grieve to say that he is in the ranks of Opposition, from which there is no chance of his being detached."

His own Estimate of his Debating Talent.—Writing to Lady Grey in 1804, after a discussion in the Commons on the King's illness, he remarked, "You will see that I only said a few words, and those few were as bad as anything that could have come from the Doctor (Mr. Addington's usual *sobriquet*) himself. I feel very much the want of habit and experience in debate, which is absolutely necessary to give that readiness without which nothing can be done, and which I unfortunately do not naturally possess. I feel more and more convinced of my unfitness for a pursuit which I detest, which interferes with all my private comfort, and which I only sigh for an opportunity of abandoning decidedly and for ever. Do not think this is the language of momentary low spirits; it really is the settled conviction of my mind."

A Clear Head.—Stanley (writes Mr. Greville) gives the following instance of Lord Grey's readiness and clear-headed accuracy. In one of the debates on the West India question in 1833, he went to Stanley, who was standing under the gallery, and asked him on what calculation he had allotted the sum of twenty millions (for emancipation of the slaves). Stanley explained to him a complicated series of figures, of terms of years, interest, compound interest, value of labour, &c., after which Lord Grey went back to his place, rose, and went through the whole with as much clearness and precision as if all these details had been all along familiar to his mind.

A Soft Answer.—The other night (says Greville) Lord Grey had called Lord Falmouth to order, and after the debate Falmouth came up to him with a menacing air, and said, "My Lord Grey, I wish to inform you that if upon any future occasion you transgress in the slightest degree the orders of the House, I shall most certainly call you to order." Lord Grey, who expected from his air something more hostile, merely said, "My lord, your lordship will do perfectly right, and whenever I am out of order I hope you will."

"No, No," in the Lords. — In a discussion on the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill, in the House of Lords in July, 1833, the Duke of Cumberland interrupted Earl Grey with a cry of "No, no;" whereupon the noble earl "trusted that the illustrious duke would have the decency not to interrupt him. The noble duke had a right to maintain his opinion:

he might, if he pleased, rise and defend it; but, because he had an opinion, he was not justified in interrupting those who differed from him." Lord Kenyon appealed to their lordships whether the dissent expressed by using the word "No" deserved the character of indecency the noble earl had ascribed to it. Earl Grey certainly did conceive that the sort of interruption he had received was indecent. The Duke of Cumberland believed that there was no man in that House would more unwillingly commit an act of indecency than himself; but if a noble lord were not to be allowed to call "No, no," when he felt inclined to dissent from a proposition, there would (he said) be an end of all liberty of speech.

Regrets.—In 1793 Grey brought forward his motion for referring to a committee the petition of the "Friends of the People," praying for parliamentary reform. Respecting his connection with this society, General Grey says: "During his last illness, when no longer able to walk, he used to be wheeled about the house in a chair, and on one occasion, when stopping, as he often did, before Mr. Fox's bust, and speaking of the influence he had held over him, he added, 'Yet he did not always use it as he might have done; one word from him would have kept me out of all that mess of the "Friends of the People," but he never spoke it.' When I remarked that, considering he only advocated as one of the society the principles to which he had given effect as minister, this was hardly to be regretted, he replied, 'That might be true, but there were men joined with them in that society whose views, though he did not know it at the time, were widely different from his own, and with whom it was not safe to have any communication.' On mentioning this conversation to the late Lord Dacre, he told me he remembered Mr. Fox used always to say he did not like to discourage the young ones."

LORD ALTHORP.

(1782—1845.)

The Rival of Palmerston.—Sir Denis Le Marchant, in his "Memoir of Viscount Althorp," says that when Earl Grey was called upon to form a ministry in succession to the Duke of Wellington, he said he should much prefer Lord Althorp being at the head of affairs, but the latter replied that on no consideration would he ever accept the place of Prime Minister, for which he felt his utter incapacity. It was with the greatest reluctance that he would entertain the idea of office at all; but when Lord Grey positively assured him that unless he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons it would be useless to attempt a Whig Government, and the negotiation must be at once abandoned, he could not resist such an appeal, coming as it did from this noble old man, whom he had so long known and admired. He yielded, however, only with the distinct understanding that, in the event of Lord Grey's retirement, he should not be asked to succeed him. Lord Palmerston the same afternoon actually proposed himself to Lord Grey for the leadership; but, on the mere intimation that the post was reserved for Lord Althorp, he expressed himself perfectly satisfied. In the exhausted state

of the party, no other Whig could be named for whom Lord Palmerston could have been expected to waive his pretensions.

Hatred of Office.—Lord Brougham wrote in his Autobiography: "Nobody ever hated office as Althorp did. Others I have known hate it occasionally, but he detested it at all times. He often said, when he got up in the morning, he wished he might be dead before night; but he always went through his duty manfully. . . His powers were great. His ability was never so remarkably shown as in the Reform Bill, both in 1831 and 1832. He had a knowledge of all its details, and of all the numberless matters connected with it, that was almost supernatural. The others knew it so ill, and got into such scrapes when opposed to formidable adversaries, such as Croker, who had attained something of Althorp's mastery of the subject, that it became necessary to prevent them from speaking, or, as it was then called, 'to put on the muzzle,' and Althorp really did the whole. His temper was admirable, and invariably equal. Sugden said he had learnt a lesson from it, or at least that it was his own fault if he had not—which was not ill said."

His Influence with the House.—The following instance of the influence which Lord Althorp exercised in the House of Commons is given by Sir D. Le Marchant: "Once, in answer to a most able and argumentative speech of Croker, he arose and merely observed 'that he had made some calculations which he considered as entirely conclusive in refutation of the right honourable gentleman's arguments, but unfortunately he had mislaid them, so that he could only say that if the House would be guided by his advice they would reject the amendment'—which they did accordingly. There was no standing against such influence as this."

His Arrest by the Serjeant-at-Arms.—The following account of this incident is from a note to the Greville Memoirs (1834):—Mr. Hill, a member of Parliament, had stated in a speech that some of the Irish members who most vehemently opposed the Coercion Bill in the House of Commons had nevertheless privately stated to members of the Government that they were glad the Act should be renewed. This charge was denied with great heat by the Irish members in the House when Parliament met. But upon Mr. Sheil's calling upon Lord Althorp to state whether he was one of the members alluded to, Lord Althorp replied that the honourable gentleman was one of them. Sheil immediately denied it in the most solemn and emphatic terms; and, as it was feared that a hostile meeting might ensue between him and Lord Althorp, they were both taken into custody by the Serjeant-at-Arms. Further explanations ensued, and Lord Althorp subsequently withdrew the charge, stating that he believed Mr. Sheil's asseveration, and that he must himself have been misinformed.

Vulgar Language in High Places.—I was sitting by Lord Althorp (writes Earl Russell) when he announced, in his own homely way, his resolution to resign. "The pig's killed," he said. A porcine illustration was not new in our history. When Henry VIII. was considering of the best means of procuring his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, he gave his decision in favour of Cranmer's opinion by saying,

"Cranmer has got the right sow by the ear." When Sir Robert Walpole was asked how he had overcome Sir Spencer Compton, to whom the King was partial, he replied, "He got the wrong sow by the ear, and I the right." So vulgar and idiomatic are the phrases of English monarchs and ministers.

LORD MELBOURNE.

(1779—1848.)

His Manner in Debate.—Haydon, the painter, who was present in the House of Lords to hear a debate on the bill for the reduction of the Irish Church Establishment, in 1833, thus recorded his impressions of Melbourne's delivery: "In the Irish Church debate the Duke (of Wellington) spoke well, without hesitation, enforcing what he said with a bend of his head, striking his hand forcibly, and as if convinced, on the papers. He finished, and, to my utter astonishment, up starts Melbourne like an artillery rocket. He began in a fury. His language flowed out like fire; he made such palpable hits that he floored the duke as if he had shot him. But the moment the stimulus was over, his habitual apathy got a head; he stammered, hummed, and hawed. It was the most pictorial exhibition of the night. He waved his white hand with the natural grace of Talma, expanded his broad chest, looked right at his adversary like a handsome lion, and grappled him with the grace of Paris."

His Best Speech.—At the close of the session of 1836, Lord Lyndhurst made a review of its proceedings, and an attack on the Melbourne ministry, which elicited in reply what Melbourne's biographer (Mr. Torrens) terms the happiest and ablest speech of his life. He commenced by saying, "I readily admit the great power and eloquence of the noble and learned lord. His clearness in argument and dexterity in sarcasm no one can deny; and if he will be satisfied with a compliment confined strictly to ability, I am ready to render him that homage. But, my lords, ability is not everything. Propriety of conduct—the *verecundia*—should be combined with the *ingenium*, to make a great man and a statesman. It is not enough to be *durœ frontis, perditœ audaciœ*. The noble and learned lord has referred to several historical characters, to whom he has been pleased to say that I bear some resemblance. I beg in return to remind him of what was once said by Lord Bristol* of a great statesman of former times (the Earl of Strafford), to whom, I think, the noble and learned lord might not inapplicably be compared: 'The malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by his vast talents, whereof God hath given the use, but the devil the application.'" And the speaker concluded: "The noble and learned lord kindly advises me to resign, notwithstanding his own great horror of taking office after his ambition is already so fully satisfied. But I will tell the noble and learned lord that I will not be accessory to the sacrifice of himself, which he would be ready to make if the burthen of the great seal were again forced upon him. I conscientiously believe

* Lord Digby in the House of Commons, the Earl of Bristol in the Lords.—See page 29.

that the well-being of the country requires in the judgment of the people that I should hold my present office—and hold it I will, until I am removed." It is recorded that the combatants on this occasion, like experienced men of the world, kept their temper, and good-humouredly owned the skill of each other's fence. Lyndhurst crossed the house when it was over, and chatted laughingly with his former colleague, as often was his way.

Dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry.—Many accounts of this occurrence were current at the time and afterwards, but the following particulars (gathered from Torrens' "Life of Melbourne") represent what appears to be the most correct version of the facts. The death of Earl Spencer in November, 1834, called to the Upper House his son, Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Lord Melbourne wrote to the King requesting an audience to submit for the royal consideration the views entertained by ministers of the general position of the Government in consequence, and their advice with regard to the future. William IV. received him without any seeming diminution of kindliness or confidence. The conversation lasted for an hour and a half, and to the unsuspicious Minister it appeared the wish of the King to disembarrass the discussion of all reserve. In answer to the inquiry who was to be charged with the conduct of public business in the Lower House, he submitted the name of Lord John Russell as best qualified by experience, talent, and position; but he suggested in the alternative the names of Spring Rice and Abercromby. Various difficulties and objections were discussed, but, without giving the Minister any reason to suspect what was contemplated, his Majesty said he would take time to think over the matter, and ended the consultation by saying, "Now let us go to dinner." Nothing more occurred during the evening; but next morning the King handed Melbourne a letter, evidently prepared with no little care, in which he stated that he was informed that Althorp's removal would speedily leave the Government in a minority in the Lower House; and, as they were already in that condition in the Upper, it had become necessary to place the conduct of affairs in other hands. No alternative proposal was suggested, or qualification offered of the peremptory nature of the dismissal. Melbourne did not affect to conceal his surprise and concern, but, too proud to parley for the retention of office after confidence in his judgment had been so unceremoniously withdrawn, he rejected, in the briefest terms which deference would allow, the offer of an earldom and the Garter. He desired to know when and to whom he should resign his trust. The King replied that he had made up his mind to send at once for the Duke of Wellington. As Melbourne passed through the adjoining room, he could not refrain from saying to Sir Herbert Taylor, by whose aid he knew that the written form of his dismissal had been prepared, "Your old master would not have done this." The private secretary was embarrassed what to reply, and in his confusion said he had just concluded a letter to Sir Henry Wheatley which his master thought it of the utmost importance to have delivered that night. Would his lordship object to allowing his servant, on reach-

ing town, to leave it at St. James's Palace? It was impossible not to divine that the missive which the perplexed amanuensis had just sealed contained a summons to the duke. The ludicrous aspect of the affair was irresistible; and Melbourne with a grim smile undertook to play the part of first mute at his own funeral.

The King Threatening Impeachment.—When Lord Melbourne was reinstated in the Premiership in 1835, after the defeat of Peel, the King could but ill conceal the dislike he felt for the Minister whom he had previously summarily dismissed from power; and occasionally it would break forth vehemently. Lord Gosford had been named Governor of Canada, and no objection had been raised to his appointment. At a meeting of the Cabinet on the 11th of July, Melbourne said to his colleagues, "Gentlemen, you may as well know how you stand," and then proceeded to read a memorandum of a conversation between Lord Gosford and the King after a review the day before. His Majesty said, "Mind what you are about in Canada. By —— I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective. Mind me, my lord, the Cabinet is not my Cabinet; they had better take care, or by —— I will have them impeached. You are a gentleman, I believe; I have no fear of you; but take care what you do." The ministers present stared at one another, but agreed that it was better to take no notice of what had occurred, and see if the King's excitement would pass away.

"The Opposition" an Irregular Epithet.—On the first day of the session of 1842, after Melbourne's retirement from office and the election of a new Parliament, Brougham took his seat on the front bench next to him, just as he had done (writes Torrens) seven years before, chatting with his former friends all round, whether they would or not. From that position he addressed the House on the notorious bribery of the last general election, apportioning the blame without fear, favour, or affection to the supporters of the party now in power, "over and against whom he had the honour to stand, and the party in Opposition, in the front rank of which he had the honour to take his place." (Hear, hear, and a laugh from Lord Melbourne.) "He was at a loss to know what was meant by the interruption. Was his noble friend lately at the head of the Government annoyed at the term Opposition?" Melbourne retorted by reminding his implacable friend that so transcendent and impartial an arbiter of all legislative measures ought not to declare himself beforehand a leader of Opposition. In the good old times men were not ranged in accordance with plighted vows of party. He could recollect, when he was a member of the other House, a gentleman being called to order for designating some one as a member of the Opposition, and the Speaker ruling that the epithet was irregular.

A Brief Reply.—The most crushing reply (says the *Quarterly Review*) that any assailant ever received was on an occasion when Lord Brougham closed one of his most brilliant displays with a diatribe against the Melbourne Government. Lord Melbourne's reply was comprised in a single sentence: "My Lords, you have heard the eloquent speech of the noble and learned lord—one of the most eloquent he ever delivered in this

house—and I leave your lordships to consider what *must be* the nature and strength of the objections which prevent any Government from availing themselves of the services of such a man."

Not so Bad as he Seemed.—The discussions in the House on Church matters in 1837 gave rise to the following observations on the policy and opinions of Lord Melbourne by Sydney Smith (Letter to Archdeacon Singleton):—"Viscount Melbourne declared himself quite satisfied with the Church as it is; but if the public had any desire to alter it, they might do as they pleased. He might have said the same thing of the Monarchy, or of any other of our institutions; and there is in the declaration a permissiveness and good humour which, in public men, has seldom been exceeded. But, if the truth must be told, our viscount is somewhat of an impostor. Everything about him seems to betoken careless desolation; any one would suppose from his manner that he was playing at chuck-farthing with human happiness; that he was always on the heel of pastime; that he would giggle away the Great Charter, and decide by the method of teetotum whether my lords the Bishops should or should not retain their seats in the House of Lords. All this is the mere vanity of surprising and making us believe that he can play with kingdoms as other men can with ninepins. Instead of this lofty nebulo, this miracle of moral and intellectual felicities, he is nothing more than a sensible honest man, who means to do his duty to the sovereign and to the country. Instead of being the ignorant man he pretends to be, before he meets the deputation of Tallow-chandlers in the morning he sits up half the night talking with Thomas Young about melting and skimming, and then, though he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of prime Leicester tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould. I believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or evil that he is doing, and that this caution has more than once arrested the gigantic projects of of the Lycurgus* of the Lower House."

Dispensation of Patronage.—Throughout a long official career (remarks Torrens), in which Lord Melbourne had enjoyed for the most part the especial confidence of the Crown, he neither sought nor would accept any personal favour or distinction. He was on one occasion pressed by the Sovereign to accept the blue riband, but declined. "A Garter," said he, "may attach to us somebody of consequence whom nothing else can reach; but what would be the use of my taking it? I cannot bribe myself." . . As a rule, he generally would have dissuaded anyone he really liked from seeking a step in the peerage. He loved to tell the story of a certain earl whom Lord Cornwallis laughed at for wishing a marquisate: "I have no son and he has several, but if I had, I should remember that after such a promotion John and Tom could no longer afford to go to town on the top of the coach." Previous to the Queen's Coronation, when many were asking favours, an old friend wrote to say that he would call on him to explain what he desired to

* Lord John Russell.

have as a recognition of long fidelity. He happened to be the fourth who had come on similar business the same morning, and, the Minister's patience being rather exhausted, he said quickly, "Well, what can I do for you?" Fearing to let the opportunity slip, the anxious visitor muttered, "I don't very much care about it myself, but my lady wishes that I should be a marquis." Melbourne, who knew that he was not rich, opened his eyes, and said, "Why, you are not such a fool as that, are you?" On another occasion, an unfortunate member of the party, whom he had once described as a fellow who was asking for everything and fit for nothing, intimated that he had a new request to make, for reasons he wanted an interview to explain. The weary dispenser of patronage showed his note to Anson, saying, "What the devil would he have now! Does he want a Garter for the other leg?"

Political Tutor to Queen Victoria.—Lord Melbourne's greatest service to his country was perhaps the painstaking care which he had the opportunity of showing, in the initiation of a new sovereign, both youthful and feminine, into the duty and the routine of the exalted functions she was called upon to exercise. The easy and amiable manners of the man made this task much less irksome to both than it might otherwise have been, and the manner in which it was discharged has been gratefully acknowledged by the Queen on more than one occasion. But the testimony of the greatest of Melbourne's political opponents may be quoted. The Duke of Wellington, in a speech in the House of Lords in 1841, said: "I am willing to admit that the noble viscount has rendered the greatest possible service to her Majesty. I happen to know that it is her Majesty's opinion that the noble viscount has rendered her Majesty the greatest possible service, making her acquainted with the mode and policy of the government of this country, initiating her into the laws and spirit of the Constitution, independently of the performance of his duty as the servant of her Majesty's crown; teaching her, in short, to preside over the destinies of this great country."

LORD BROUGHAM.

(1778—1868.)

Irrepressible Speech.—Henry Brougham received from the Duke of Bedford the offer of a seat for his borough of Camelford, and was returned in 1810. He spoke for the first time on the 5th of March in that year, in support of a motion by Mr. Whitbread for a vote of censure on the Government of the day, and on Lord Chatham, as commander-in-chief of the expedition to the Scheldt. He was expected to fire off an oration the very night he took his seat, but he had made a vow not to speak for a month, and he kept it. "It was remarked" (writes Campbell) "that for the future he never was in his place a whole evening, in either House of Parliament, without, regularly or irregularly, more than once taking part in the discussions." This (says the *Quarterly Review*) is a little overstated; but his oratory was irrepressible, and he would have suffered from suppressed speech as another

man might suffer from suppressed gout. Although his first attempt was a failure, he soon fought his way to the front, and by the end of his first session was competing for the leadership of the Opposition, then held by the Right Hon. George Ponsonby, ex-Chancellor of Ireland. Careless whether his claim to the leadership was formally recognised or not, he took the lead on so many important questions that the general public could not well help regarding him as leader, and the recalcitrant Whigs gradually succumbed to him.

"Broffam" versus "Broom."—Brougham did not get into regular practice at the bar till he had acquired celebrity in the House of Commons. He got a few Scotch appeals, and these brought him into early conflict with Lord Eldon, who persisted in calling him Mr. *Broffam*, till a formal remonstrance arrived through the assistant-clerk; whereupon the Chancellor gave in, and complimented the offended counsel at the conclusion of the argument, saying, "Every authority upon the question has been brought before us: new Brooms sweep clean."

His Attack upon Canning.—Brougham took part in the debate on the Roman Catholic claims, April 17, 1823, and in the course of his speech said, referring to Canning, he "had exhibited a specimen, the most incredible specimen, of monstrous truckling, for the purpose of obtaining office, that the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish." "Hansard" thus records what followed:—"Mr. Secretary Canning: 'I rise to say that that is false.' The Speaker (after a perfect silence in the house during some seconds) said, in a low tone, he hoped the right honourable Secretary would retract the expression he had used. An individual of his high rank and station could not fail to be aware that such an expression was a complete violation of the customs and of the orders of the House. He deeply regretted that, even in haste, it should have been used. Mr. Canning said he was sorry to have used any word which was a violation of the decorum of the House; but nothing —no consideration on earth—should induce him to retract the sentiment. After an appeal to the House on the part of the Speaker, Mr. Canning expressed his regret, so far as the orders of the House were concerned, at having attracted their displeasure, but said he could not in conscience recall his declaration. Some further discussion ensued, when Mr. Bankes moved 'that the Right Honourable George Canning and Henry Brougham, Esq., be committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House.' Mr. Brougham opposed the motion, pointing out that with the unanimous assent of the House it had been declared by the highest authority that Mr. Canning had committed a breach of their rules; and it was proposed by the motion to take himself also into custody, who had committed no offence whatever against the orders of the House. He admitted their power to take such a step if they chose, but declared if they did so it would be in flagrant violation of the principles of justice. He begged the House to understand he opposed the first part of the motion no less than the last. He would be the last man to hold up his hand for passing a censure upon the right honourable gentleman, or for committing him to custody for the expression which he had used on

hearing one half of the sentence which was about to be delivered. Ultimately Mr. Canning—Mr. Bankes having withdrawn his motion—said he should think no more of the matter; and Mr. Brougham similarly expressing himself, the affair terminated."—Brougham's explanation, at the end of this scene, that he had used the offensive words "only in a parliamentary sense," is pointed out by Lord Campbell as having given Dickens the suggestion of the "Pickwickian sense," in his most celebrated work. But Dickens, as a reporter, although too young to have been present at this particular scene, must have been familiar with other occasions on which similar incidents had occurred, and the "parliamentary sense" had been accepted as conveying "no offence i' the world."

All the Difference.—Canning, when Premier, is said to have offered the post of Chief Baron of the Exchequer to Brougham, who refused it on the ground that it would prevent his sitting in Parliament. "True," was the reply, "but you will then be only one stage from the woolsack." "Yes," returned Brougham, "but the horses will be off."

"The Schoolmaster Abroad."—The debate on the Address which took place in the House of Commons on the 29th of January, 1828, was one of an unusually animated character, in consequence of the Duke of Wellington having resigned his office of Commander-in-Chief and formed a new administration. Brougham confessed that he felt a very great degree of objection to the arrangement. There was in it, he said, no security or compensation to the house or to the country for this union of power. He had no fear, however, of slavery being introduced into this country by the power of the sword. It would take a stronger, it would demand a more powerful man even than the Duke of Wellington to effect such an object. These were not the times for such an attempt. There had been periods when the country heard with dismay that "the soldier was abroad." Now there was another person abroad—a less important person; in the eyes of some, an insignificant person; whose labours had tended to produce this state of things. The schoolmaster was abroad! And he trusted more to the schoolmaster armed with his primer, than he did to the soldier in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country.

A Noble Boast.—Brougham's speech in the House of Commons on Law Reform, in February, 1828, was one of the most effective he ever delivered. The *Quarterly Review* says of it that, "directly or indirectly, it has probably led to a greater number of important and beneficial results than any other speech, ancient or modern." He spoke on this occasion for six hours, and concluded thus: "It was the boast of Augustus—it formed part of the glare in which the perfidies of his earlier years were lost—that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble; a praise not unworthy a great prince, and to which the present reign also has its claims. But how much nobler will be the sovereign's boast when he shall have it to say that he found law dear and left it cheap; found it a sealed book, left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence."

"Measures, not Men."—Addressing the House of Commons in November, 1830, Mr. Brougham said: "I beg here to state that, as a general principle, my intention is to support measures which meet with my approbation, and to oppose those of contrary tendency, let the one or the other come from whom they may. It is necessary, however, that I should qualify the doctrine of its being not men, but measures,* that I am determined to support. In a monarchy it is the duty of Parliament to look at the men as well as the measures; because a set of men might make a treaty which would render war inevitable at some distant day, unless the honour and safety of the country were sacrificed. I say, therefore, as long as a set of men can act secretly, that we are imperatively called upon to look at them and their character, as well as at the measures they propound."

"Fawning Parasites."—In the House of Commons in 1830, Brougham launched out against the Wellington Ministry "in a strain of bitter invective, of sarcasm vehement even to fierceness." Mr. Roebuck ("Whig Ministry of 1830") gives the following passage from his speech, which called forth an indignant protest from Sir Robert Peel: "You will see in this, as in that country (France), that the day of force is now over, and that he who would rule his country by an appeal to royal favour or military power may be overwhelmed, may be hurled down by it, if he should entertain such an idea—and I in no wise accuse him of such an attempt; him I accuse not; I——" and here the excited orator stretched out his long bony arm, and pointed with a lean and almost skeleton finger at the Treasury bench, "I accuse you, I accuse his flatterers—those mean, fawning parasites——" Sir Robert rose at once, and, in grave indignant terms, called the speaker to order. "I ask the honourable and learned gentleman, as I am one of those sitting on this side of the house, whether he means to accuse me of being a fawning parasite?" Checked thus suddenly in mid-career, Mr. Brougham seemed at once to perceive that the phrase he had used and the charge he had brought were not to be justified, and instantly, therefore, disclaimed any intention of applying the words to Sir Robert Peel himself, who truly observed, on this retractation, that it was hardly sufficient, and declared that he would therefore, on behalf of Mr. Brougham, make the apology and retractation which ought to have been made by the learned gentleman. This he did, and Mr. Brougham with great good sense and good feeling adopted it.

His Election for Yorkshire.—Lord Campbell thus speaks of Brougham's contest for the representation of the county of York, in 1830: "No man ever went through such fatigue of body and mind as he did for the three following weeks. The assizes at York were about to begin, and he chanced to have a good many retainers. Instead of giving these up, he appeared in court and exerted himself as an advocate with more than wonted spirit. Having finished an address to the jury, he would throw off his wig and gown, and make a speech to the electors in the

* *Lofty.*—"Measures, not men, have always been my mark; and I vow," &c.—Goldsmith's "Good-Natured Man."

Castle yard on 'the three glorious days of Paris,' and the way in which the people of England might peaceably obtain still greater advantages. He would then return to court and reply in a cause respecting right of common of turbary, having, in the twinkling of an eye, picked up from his junior a notion of all that had passed in his absence. But, what is much more extraordinary, before the nomination day arrived, he had held public meetings and delivered stirring speeches in every town and large village within the county; still day by day addressing juries, and winning or losing verdicts. County elections at that time, lasting fifteen days, excited prodigious interest. All England looked with eagerness on this contest, and, when Brougham's return was actually proclaimed, the triumph was said to form a grand epoch in the history of parliamentary representation."

His Stride to the Chancellorship.—In his own account of his "Life and Times," Lord Brougham thus wrote: "My return for the great county of York was my greatest victory, my most unsullied success. I may say, without hyperbole, that when, as knight of the shire, I was girt with the sword, it was the proudest moment of my life." The Government of Earl Grey, wishing to secure Brougham's co-operation, offered him the Attorney-Generalship, but this he refused. He said he would take the Mastership of the Rolls, which could be held conjointly with a seat in the House of Commons; but to this both the Ministers and the King objected. The King, however, asked if the great seal had been offered to Brougham, and on Lord Grey's replying it had not, because he anticipated an objection from his Majesty, "Oh no," said the King, "there is no one I would rather have for my Chancellor." He afterwards (writes Brougham) "once or twice alluded to this when in particularly good humour, and called me *his* Chancellor, as named by himself and not by my colleagues. In fact, I more than suspect that the Tories, on going out, warned him not to leave me in the Commons, member for Yorkshire, chief of the popular party, and irremovable Master of the Rolls. In fact, I *know* that Huskisson told a friend of mine that he did not see how any Government could go on were I without office, and only member for Yorkshire; but that if I had the Rolls too, I was absolute for life."

A Maternal Preference.—Brougham, after his elevation to the woolsack, like a pious son "as he ever showed himself," says Lord Campbell, took a journey to Brougham Hall to visit his venerable mother, and, kneeling before her, to ask her blessing on a Lord Chancellor. The good old lady still preserved her fine faculties quite entire; but while she reciprocated her boy's affection for her, and was proud of his abilities and the distinction he had acquired, she said, with excellent good sense and feeling, "My dear Harry, I would rather have embraced the member for Yorkshire; but God Almighty bless you!"

Treasonable Proceedings.—The Dissolution of 1831.*—At a Cabinet Council which was held April 22nd, 1831, immediately after the defeat of the Government in the Commons on the Reform question,

* See also page 54.

it was resolved to advise the King to prorogue Parliament with a view to an early dissolution. Earl Grey and Lord Brougham were deputed to wait on his Majesty and communicate to him the advice of the Cabinet. The interview which these ministers had with King William, in discharge of their mission, is thus described by Mr. Molesworth, following Mr. Roebuck's account, which it was presumed Lord Brougham had authorised; and the particulars in the main are corroborated by his lordship's Autobiography:—The Chancellor approached the subject very carefully, prefacing the disagreeable message with which he was charged by a compliment on the King's desire to promote the welfare of his people. He then proceeded to communicate the advice of the Cabinet, adding that they were unanimous in offering it. "What!" exclaimed the King, "would you have me dismiss in this summary manner a Parliament that has granted me so splendid a civil list, and given my Queen so liberal an annuity in case she survives me?" "No doubt, sire," Lord Brougham replied, "in these respects they have acted wisely and honourably; but your Majesty's advisers are all of opinion that, in the present state of affairs, every hour that this Parliament continues to sit is pregnant with danger to the peace and security of your kingdom, and they humbly beseech your Majesty to go down this very day and prorogue it; if you do not, they cannot be answerable for the consequences. The King was greatly embarrassed; he evidently entertained the strongest objection to the proposed measure, but he also felt the danger which would result from the resignation of his ministers at the present crisis. He therefore shifted his ground, and asked, "Who is to carry the sword of state and the cap of maintenance?" "Sire, knowing the urgency of the crisis and the imminent peril in which the country at this moment stands, we have ventured to tell those whose duty it is to perform these and other similar offices, to hold themselves in readiness." "But the troops—the Life Guards; I have given no orders to have them called out, and now it is too late." This was, indeed, a serious objection; for to call out the Guards was the special prerogative of the monarch himself, and no minister had any right to order their attendance without his express command. "Sire," replied the Chancellor, with some hesitation, "we must throw ourselves on your indulgence. Deeply feeling the gravity of the crisis, and knowing your love for your people, we have taken a liberty which nothing but the most imperious necessity could warrant; we have ordered out the troops, and we humbly throw ourselves on your Majesty's indulgence." The King's eye flashed, and his cheek became crimson; he was evidently on the point of dismissing the ministry in an explosion of anger. "Why, my lords," he exclaimed, "this is treason!—high treason! and you, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know that it is." "Yes, sire, I do know it; and nothing but the strongest conviction that your Majesty's crown and the interests of the nation are at stake could have induced us to take such a step, or to tender the advice we are now giving." This submissive reply had the desired effect: the King cooled; his prudence and better genius prevailed; and, having once made up his mind to yield, he yielded with a good grace.

He accepted, without any objection, the speech which had been prepared for him, and which the two ministers had brought with them; he gave orders respecting the details of the approaching ceremonial, and, having completely recovered his habitual serenity and good humour, he dismissed the two lords with a jocose threat of impeachment.

Brougham's Reform Speech in the Lords.—On the second reading of the Reform Bill in October, 1831, Brougham delivered his great speech in defence of it, which (says Campbell) "by many was considered his *chef-d'œuvre*. It certainly was a wonderful performance to witness. He showed a most stupendous memory, and extraordinary dexterity in handling the weapons both of ridicule and of reason. Without a note to refer to, he went through all the speeches of his opponents delivered during the five nights' debate, analysing them successively, and, with a little aid from perversion, giving them all a seemingly triumphant answer. The peroration was partly inspired by draughts of mulled port, imbibed by him very copiously towards the conclusion of the four hours during which he was on his legs or on his knees. . . 'I pray and I exhort you not to reject this measure. By all you hold most dear; by all the ties that bind every one of us to our common order and our common country, I solemnly adjure you—I warn you—I implore you—yea, on my bended knees [he kneels] I supplicate you—reject not this bill!' He continued for some time as if in prayer; but his friends, alarmed for him lest he should be suffering from the effects of the mulled port, picked him up and placed him safely on the woolsack. Like Burke's famous dagger scene in the House of Commons, this prostration was a failure; so unsuited was it to the spectators and to the actor that it produced a sensation of ridicule, and considerably impaired the effect of a speech displaying wonderful powers of memory and of intellect."—Lord Campbell's account of this scene must be taken with some allowance. He was quite capable of occasional exaggeration; and it will be remembered that when Brougham heard the biographer of "The Chancellors" had prepared for that work supplementary lives of himself and Lord Lyndhurst, he observed that Campbell had "added a new terror to death."

A Reform Cry.—Earl Russell, in his "Recollections," says that the cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," owed its origin to Lord Brougham, and was intended to meet the disposition existing in the House of Commons to introduce destructive amendments. It "gave the Government a very powerful lever in raising the country to the height of their lofty proposals, while it did not prevent them from modifying some clauses which were ill-considered or unpopular."

The Threatened Creation of Peers.—Respecting the threatened creation of peers to secure the passage of the Reform Bill (see page 55, *ante*), Lord Brougham thus wrote in his later years: "Since 1832, I have often asked myself the question whether, if no secession had taken place, and the Peers had persisted in opposing the bill, we should have had recourse to the perilous creation? Above thirty years have rolled over my head since the crisis of 1832. I speak as calmly on this as I now do upon any political matter whatsoever, and *I cannot answer*

*the question in the affirmative.** The list I had prepared of eighty new creations, when I went with Lord Grey to Windsor in May, 1832, was framed upon the principle of making the least possible *permanent* addition to the House. When I supported Grey in pressing the measure upon the King, I felt strongly the necessity of the case, circumstanced as we then were; but so greatly did I fear the dreadful consequences of the act, that I am persuaded I should, when it came to the point, have preferred running the risk of the confusion which would have attended the loss of the bill. I *know* that Grey would have more than met me half way in resolving to face that or any risk, rather than expose the Constitution to the imminent hazard of subversion. . . He distinctly told me that I had very much understated his repugnance; and that when the time came he never would have consented to take the step. When the Duke of Wellington read my statement† to the above effect, two or three years before his death at Walmer, where I always passed a day or two before going to Cannes, he said: 'Oh! then you confess you were playing a game of brag with me. Indeed, I always was certain it was a threat, and that you never would have created peers.' To this all I could say was, that we were thoroughly convinced *at the time* of the necessity."

Asserting a "Right."—The House of Lords went into committee on the Abolition of Slavery Bill, Aug. 14th, 1833, when Lord Chancellor Brougham, opposing an amendment of the Duke of Wellington, said that a slave who had been freed "would have as good a right to sit in the other House of Parliament as the noble duke opposite (the Duke of Wellington), who was illustrious by his actions, and the illustrious duke near him (the Duke of Cumberland), who was illustrious by the courtesy of that House." The Duke of Cumberland rose to order; he had not said one word to call for such an attack. The Lord Chancellor said, the illustrious duke was most disorderly in calling him to order on the score of having addressed the illustrious duke. He had a right to address any one of their lordships. He had exercised the right of addressing the members of the other House for twenty years, and, please God, he would continue to exercise that right as regarded their lorships.—*Hansard.*

Vituperation.—Lord Brougham was no more backward in exercising his vituperative powers, when occupying the dignified position of Lord Chancellor, than he had been in other stages of his career. A gross instance occurred in July, 1832, in his comparison of Sir Edward Sugden (afterwards Lord St. Leonard's) to a bug. Sir Edward had moved in the House of Commons for an inquiry into certain matters in which the Lord Chancellor was concerned, and the latter thus referred in the other House to the subject and the mover: "My lords, we have all read that it is this heaven-born thirst for information, and its invariable concomitants—a self-disregarding and candid mind—that most distinguishes men from the lower animals; from the crawling reptile, from the wasp that stings, and from the wasp that fain would but cannot sting:—distinguishes us, my

* The italics are Lord Brougham's.

† In Brougham's "Political Philosophy," Part III.

lords, not only from the insect that crawls and stings, but from that more powerful because more offensive creature, the bug, which, powerful and offensive as it is, after all is but vermin. Yes, I say, it is this laudable propensity upon which humanity justly prides itself, which, I have no doubt, solely influenced the learned gentleman to whom I allude to seek for information which it would be cruel to stingily gratify."—On another occasion, the Marquis of Londonderry having accused the Chancellor of resorting to vituperation, was met with the reply: "The noble lord says that I am particularly fond of vituperation. I am not prone to a vituperative style of argument. The noble lord is a person of that sort that if you were to bray him in a mortar you could not bray the prejudices out of him."

Seal Fishing.—Brougham had been very sanguine in his opposition to the bill for repealing the Navigation Laws, in 1849, and was deeply mortified when it passed both Houses. "While the bill was depending," says Lord Campbell, "I happened to call upon him one morning, in Grafton Street, to talk to him about a Scotch appeal, and was shown into his library. He soon rushed in very eagerly, but suddenly stopped short, exclaiming 'Lord bless me! is it you? They told me it was Stanley.' And notwithstanding his accustomed frank and courteous manner, I had some difficulty in fixing his attention. In the evening I stepped across the House to the Opposition bench, where Brougham and Stanley were sitting next each other, and, addressing the latter in the hearing of the former, I said, 'Has our noble and learned friend told you the disappointment he suffered this morning? He thought he had a visit from the leader of the Protectionists to offer him the great seal, and it turned out to be only Campbell come to bore him about a point of Scotch law.' Brougham: 'Don't mind what Jack Campbell says; he has a prescriptive privilege to tell lies of all Chancellors dead and living.' Many jokes were circulated against Brougham on this occasion. A few days after his great speech, I myself heard Lyndhurst say to him, 'Brougham, here is a riddle for you. Why does Lord Brougham know so much about the Navigation Laws? Answer: Because he has been so long engaged in the Seal fishery.'"

Volatility.—At a Mansion House dinner in 1850 to promote the contemplated Great Exhibition of the following year, Lord Stanley made an allusion to Lord Brougham (who was absent) as "his noble and learned but somewhat volatile friend." For this Lord Brougham took him to task on the following evening in the House of Lords, saying, among other things, "Volatile means flighty; but I, to answer a speech made in my presence in the House of Lords, have never flown to the House of Mayors." Lord Stanley, in reply, expressed his regret that he had occasioned disquietude to "his noble and learned and very grave and discreet friend," but justified the expression he had used on the previous evening. "In point," said he, "of acuteness, activity, rapidity, and pungency, sal-volatile is nothing when compared with my noble and learned friend. You may put a stopper of glass or leather on that ethereal essence, but I defy any human power, even that of my noble and learned friend

himself, to put any stopper, either of glass, or leather, or any other material, over the activity, ingenuity, and pungency of his mind." After some further bantering remarks, Lord Stanley expressed a hope that the long friendship between himself and Brougham would not be disturbed by the phrase he had used; and the latter replied in a similar strain. The interlude provoked much laughter.

Smelling Bottle for a Parliamentary Antagonist.—Charles Williams Wynn, for many years the "father" of the House of Commons, who from his youth upwards had been the great oracle of parliamentary law, delivered an opinion in the House on a question of privilege, contrary to Brougham's, fortifying his position with many precedents and references to the Journals. Lord Campbell relates the incident, and the compliment Brougham paid to the learned member, winding up with the statement that "In short, he is a man whose devotion in this respect can only be equalled by that of a learned ancestor of his (Speaker Williams, *temp. Car. II.*), who having fainted from excessive toil and fatigue, a smelling-bottle was called for, when one, who knew much better the remedy adapted to the case, exclaimed, 'For God's sake bring him an old black-letter Act of Parliament, and let him smell that!' I cannot help thinking that, in like manner, if my right honourable and learned friend should ever be attacked in a similar way, the mere smelling of a volume of the Journals could not fail instantly to revive him."

LORD LYNDHURST.

(1772—1863.)

His First Appearance in the Commons.—In 1817 Mr. Copley (afterwards Lord Lyndhurst) was returned to serve in Parliament for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. He first broke silence in the House by a few observations in support of the practice, now abandoned and universally condemned, of giving rewards to witnesses upon the conviction of offenders. "He entered his protest against the broad assertion hazarded by an honourable member, that the system of granting rewards had been productive of great confusion throughout the country. He himself," he said, "had been engaged for fourteen years on the Midland Circuit, and had never known a single instance to justify such a statement."

Views and Prospects.—Copley, when Solicitor-General, replying to a taunt of the Marquis of Tavistock during a debate on the Blasphemous Libel Bill in 1819, said, "I would ask the noble lord on what grounds he brings charges against me for my former conduct? Why am I taunted with inconsistency? I never, before my entrance into this House, belonged to any political society, or was in any way connected with politics; and even if I had intended to connect myself with any party, I confess that during my short parliamentary experience I have seen nothing in the *views* of the gentlemen opposite to induce me to join them." "This harangue," says Earl Russell (preface to "Life of Moore") "was delivered from the Treasury bench, and was received with derision by

the Whig leaders, to whom it was addressed. At the conclusion, Mackintosh whispered to Lord John Russell, who sat next to him, 'The last sentence, with the change of one word for a synonym, would have been perfectly true. Instead of quarrelling with our *views*, he should have said that he did not like our *prospects*.' "

A Plagiarism.—Campbell, in his life of Lyndhurst, referring to the celebrated speech against Catholic emancipation delivered in March, 1827, by the subject of his biography—who was at that time Master of the Rolls—states that, at the close of his harangue, he sat down amidst some cheers and a great deal of tittering. The latter arose from the circumstance that all the historical facts and arguments which Copley had used were to be found, nearly in the same order, in a very able pamphlet recently published by Dr. Philpotts, then Prebendary of Durham. Before Copley concluded, the plagiarism was detected by several members, and a stanza from a well-known song was whispered through the House:—

> "Dear Tom, this brown jug which now foams with mild ale,
> Out of which I now drink to sweet Nan of the Vale,
> Was once Toby Philpotts';"

A Comparison and a Contrast.—Lord Lyndhurst, having before strongly opposed Catholic emancipation, supported from the woolsack the measure to effect it, when it was brought forward by his colleagues in 1829. Contrasting his speech in that year with one made in 1828, Lord Winchilsea said he knew of no parallel to the delivery of two such speeches by the same man within a year, except the delivery of a woman in a parish workhouse in Kent, who was brought to bed of a white baby and a black one at a birth.

Not Too Old to Learn.—While advocating a change of policy regarding the Catholics, Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst urged, in reply to objections advanced, that members of that body had sat in Parliament after the Reformation, without danger to reformed principles. Lord Eldon interposed with the question, "Did the noble and learned lord know that last year?" The Chancellor replied, "I confess that I did not; but, my lords, I have since been prosecuting my studies. I have advanced in knowledge; and, in my humble opinion, even the noble and learned lord might improve himself in the same way." This sally, says Campbell, set the House in a roar, and procured a favourable hearing for the Chancellor during the rest of his speech.

The Judgment of Solomon.—Lord Lyndhurst was Chancellor on the accession of William IV., when (says Campbell), by an order in council, a new great seal was ordered to be prepared by his Majesty's chief engraver, but when it was finished and an order was made for using it, Lord Brougham was Chancellor. Lord Lyndhurst claimed the old great seal on the ground that the transaction must be referred back to the date of the first order, and that the fruit must therefore be considered as having fallen in his time; while Lord Brougham insisted that the point of time to be regarded was the moment when the old great seal ceased to be the "clavis regni," and that there was no exception to the general rule. The

matter being submitted to the King, as supreme judge in such cases, his Majesty equitably adjudged that the old great seal should be divided between the two noble and learned litigants, and, as it consisted of two parts for making an impression on both sides of the wax appended to letters patent—one representing the Sovereign on the throne and the other on horseback—the destiny of the two parts respectively should be determined by lot. His Majesty's judgment was much applauded, and he graciously ordered each part to be set in a splendid silver salver, with appropriate devices and ornaments, which he presented to the late and present keepers of his conscience as a mark of his personal respect for them. The ceremony of breaking or "damasking" the old great seal consists in the Sovereign giving it a gentle blow with a hammer, after which it is supposed to be broken, and has lost all its virtue.

An Octogenarian's Speech.—Lord Campbell, who was by no means prejudiced in favour of Lyndhurst, writes in his life of him: "By one motion which he made, wholly unconnected with party, he acquired immense *éclat*. This was for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the claims of Baron de Bode. He was now turned of 80; he was obliged to support himself on a walking-stick while he spoke, and he was nearly blind. But his voice was strong, articulate, and musical, his arguments lucid, his reasoning ingenious and plausible, and he displayed a power of memory which at any age would have appeared almost miraculous. . . This was the most wonderful effort of a public speaker I ever witnessed in my time. He had a very bad case, yet he not only riveted the attention of all who heard him, but enlisted their sympathies on his side."

Rejection of Money Bills by the Lords.—On the 21st of May, 1860, the Nestor of the House of Lords, as he was styled, then in his 88th year, delivered a long and able speech against the second reading of the Bill for the Repeal of the Paper Duty. He thus maintained the right of the Lords to reject a money bill: "I do not dispute—nor can it be for a moment disputed—that we have no right whatsoever to amend what is called a money bill. We have, moreover, no right whatsoever to originate a bill of that nature. But that principle does not apply to the rejection of money bills. I take leave to say that there is not an instance to be found in which the House of Commons has controverted our right to reject money bills. . . My lords, as I said I would confine myself to this question of privilege, I will only further observe that the illusions—perhaps I may say the delusions—created by the introduction of the Budget seem to have passed away, and we have learned that, although brilliant eloquence has charms, yet, like other seductions, it is not without its dangers. The same schemes may bear the impress of genius, of imprudence, of rashness. *Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum*, is not an irreconcilable combination." *

National Safety and its Cost.—In July, 1859, when the public mind was agitated by the French war in Italy, and the announcement of

* See Mr. Gladstone's "Gigantic Innovation."

the projected annexation of Savoy to France, Lord Lyndhurst addressed the House of Lords on our continental relations, and said: "Self-reliance is the best road to distinction in private life. It is equally essential to the character and grandeur of a nation. It will be necessary for our defence that we should have a military force sufficient to cope with any Power or combination of Powers that may be brought against us. The question of the money expense sinks into insignificance. It is the price we must pay for our insurance, and it is but a moderate price for so important an insurance. I know that there are persons who will say, 'Let us run the risk.' Be it so. But, my lords, if the calamity should come, if the conflagration should take place, what words can describe the extent of the calamity, or what imagination can paint the overwhelming ruin that would fall upon us? I shall be told, perhaps, that these are the timid counsels of old age. My lords, for myself, I should run no risk. Personally, I have nothing to fear. But to point out possible peril, and how to guard effectively against it, that is surely to be considered, not as timidity, but as the dictates of wisdom and prudence. I have confined myself to facts that cannot be disputed. I think I have confined myself also to inferences which no man can successfully contravene. I hope what I have said has been in accordance with your feelings and opinions. I shall terminate what I have to say in two emphatic words, *Væ victis!*—words of solemn and most significant import."

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

(1769—1852.)

First Appearances of Wellington and Castlereagh.—Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Historic Memoirs of Ireland," wrote: "My personal acquaintance with the Duke of Wellington originated accidentally, soon after I commenced public life. In 1793, when I was in high repute, most prosperous at the bar, I occasionally gave large dinners. At one of those parties, Sir John Parnell brought with him, and introduced to me, Captain Wellesley and Mr. Stewart, two young members (of the Irish Parliament). Captain Arthur Wellesley had, in 1790, been returned to Parliament for Trim, county Meath, a borough under the patronage of his brother, the Earl of Mornington. He was then ruddy-faced, and juvenile in appearance, and rather popular among the young men of his age and station. He occasionally spoke in Parliament, but evinced no promise of that unparalleled celebrity and splendour which he has since reached. Mr. Stewart (afterwards Lord Castlereagh) was the son of a country gentleman, generally accounted a very clever man, in the north of Ireland. He began his career in the House by a motion for a committee to inquire into the representation of the people, with the ulterior object of a reform in Parliament. He made a good speech, and had a majority. At the period to which I allude, I feel confident that nobody could have predicted that one of those young gentlemen would become the most celebrated general of his era, and the other the Minister of England. However, it is observable that to the personal intimacy of those two individuals

they owed their elevation. Sir Arthur Wellesley never would have had the chief command in Spain, but for the ministerial aid of Lord Castlereagh; and Lord Castlereagh could never have stood his ground as a Minister but for Lord Wellington's successes."

Early Frivolity.—An Unfulfilled Prediction.—"I remember," said Lord Plunket, "being on a committee with him. The duke (then Captain Wellesley or Wesley) was, I recollect, playing with one of those toys called quizzes, the whole time of the sitting of the committee."—This trait of the duke (remarks Lord J. Russell in his "Memoirs of Moore") coincides perfectly with all that I have ever heard about this great man's apparent frivolity at that period of his life. Luttrell, indeed, who is about two years older than the duke, and who lived on terms of intimacy with all the Castle men of those days, has the courage to own, in the face of all the duke's present glory, that often, in speculating on the future fortunes of the young men with whom he lived, he has said to himself, in looking at Wellesley's vacant face, "Well, let who will get on in this world, *you* certainly will not!"

Traffic in Irish Boroughs.—In the "Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of the Duke of Wellington" during the time when he was Sir Arthur Wellesley and Chief Secretary for Ireland (1807 to 1809), the following passages, among others of similar nature, show the way in which Parliamentary boroughs were at that time dealt with as political counters. Sir Arthur writes to the Right Hon. Charles Long: "Pennefather has promised us the refusal of Cashell, but he has not stated his terms. We shall have Athlone, I believe, but I have not yet seen Justice Day. Wynne has arranged for Sligo with Canning; I don't know whether it is the Secretary of State or not. Lord Portarlington is in England, and the agent who settled for that borough upon the last general election was Mr. Parnell. We have no chance with him, and it would be best to arrange the matter with Lord Portarlington. I heard here that he had sold the return for six years at the last election, and if that should be true, of course we shall not get it now. I have written to Roden, and have desired Henry to settle with Enniskillen. The former is in Scotland, the latter in London. I have desired Lord H. to send to Lord Charleville about Carlow. Tell Henry to make me acquainted with the price of the day." And again: "I have written to Henry (Wellesley) about a seat for myself; of course I should not wish to pay much money for one. A man has offered me a seat for Wallingford; let me know who shall be returned for it. Names for the following boroughs: Cashell, Tralee, Enniskillen; Athlone, possibly. Tell Lord Palmerston to give me his interest for Sligo, and desire his agent, Henry Stewart, to do as I order him." "I have thought it advisable to encourage Mr. Croker to persevere at Downpatrick. He has promised allegiance, and all that he required was a sum of 2000*l.* to carry on the contest, and I have, by the duke's advice, promised to supply it."

First Appearance in the House of Lords.—The Duke of Wellington took his seat in the House of Lords for the first time on the 28th of June, 1814. "Hansard" records that a considerable concourse

of persons had assembled below the bar to witness his grace's introduction, an unusual number of peers were present, and "below the throne sat the Duchess of Wellington, and the Countess of Mornington, the venerable mother of the noble duke. His patents of creation as baron, earl, marquis, and duke, were severally read, and occupied a considerable time." The Lord Chancellor (Eldon) addressed him, to convey the thanks of the House for the services he had rendered to his sovereign and his country, and remarked, "In the execution of that duty he could not refrain from calling his attention, and that of the noble lords present, to a circumstance singular in the history of that House, that upon his introduction he had gone through every dignity of the peerage in this country which it was in the power of the Crown to bestow."

The King not a Gentleman.—When Lord Liverpool was forming his administration in 1822, he insisted on the necessity of offering the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Canning, and impressed his opinions on this subject so strongly upon the Duke of Wellington, that his grace, though he had some prejudices of his own to conquer, undertook to vanquish those of his Majesty against Mr. Canning's appointment. A lady who was an intimate friend of George IV., and at that moment of the duke also, and who was then staying at Brighton, told me (writes Lord Dalling) that the duke went down to Brighton and held an interview with the King, and she related to me parts of a conversation which, according to her, took place on this occasion. "Good God, Arthur, you don't mean to propose to me that fellow as Secretary for Foreign Affairs; it is impossible! I said, on my honour as a gentleman, he should never be one of my ministers again. You hear, Arthur; on my honour as a gentleman! I am sure you will agree with me that I can't do what I said on my honour as a gentleman I would not do." "Pardon me, sire; I don't agree with you at all. Your Majesty is not a gentleman." The King started. "Your Majesty, I say," continued the imperturbable soldier, "is not a gentleman, but the Sovereign of England, with duties to your people far above any to yourself; and these duties render it imperative that you should at this time employ the abilities of Mr. Canning." "Well!" drawing a long breath, "if I must, I must," was finally the King's reply. (Lord Dalling added, in a note, that the accuracy of the story having been disputed, he had it in some measure confirmed by Lady Palmerston; but he thought that, like most tales of a similar nature, it probably had some foundation, although not precisely correct either in details or date.)

A Sovereign Mimicking his Ministers.—Mr. Raikes had the following from the Duke of Wellington: "When George IV. sent for me to form a new administration in 1828, he was then seriously ill, though he would never allow it. I found him in bed, dressed in a dirty silk jacket and a turban nightcap, one as greasy as the other; for, notwithstanding his coquetry about dress in public, he was extremely dirty and slovenly in private. The first words he said to me were, 'Arthur, the Cabinet is defunct,' and then he began to describe the manner in which the late Ministers had taken leave of him, on giving in their resignations. This

was accompanied by the most ludicrous mimicry of the voice and manner of each individual, so strikingly like, that it was quite impossible to refrain from fits of laughter."

The Premier also Commander-in-Chief.—It is a remarkable circumstance that the Duke's acceptance of the Premiership did not strike him at first as incompatible with his retention of the office of Commander-in-Chief. He thus alludes to the matter in a "memorandum on Military Patronage," dated March 13, 1839: "In the winter of 1827–8, Lord Goderich having reported to George IV. that the Government was defunct, I being at that time Commander-in-Chief of the army, the King sent for me; and, I conclude for my sins, I was told I was to form a Government for his Majesty. I acceded, and very shortly after the Government was formed, *it was intimated to me by my colleagues* that I ought to resign my office as Commander-in-Chief of the army. I resigned accordingly, and Lord Hill was recommended to the King to be my successor. I, at the same time, declared my determination never to interfere from that time in any military affair or arrangement, and particularly not in one of a personal nature, unless I should be called upon for my advice or assistance by the general commanding the army in chief, by the sovereign, or his ministers."

The Duel between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchilsea.—The Duke incurred great odium by the measure for Catholic Emancipation, which he had formerly opposed. The duel which arose out of it is thus referred to in the "Memoir" of the duke, published in the *Times*: "One episode of the history is too remarkable to be omitted. The duke had been chosen patron of the new collegiate institution in the Strand, which, under the name of King's College, was destined to combat the rival seminary in Gower Street. On the disclosure of the ministerial policy, Lord Winchilsea, writing to a gentleman connected with the new establishment, spoke of the duke and his patronship in these terms:—'Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party, that the noble duke, who had for some time previous to that period determined upon breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State.' These expressions, coming from such a quarter, appeared to the duke to call for personal notice, and, after a vain essay of explanations, the Prime Minister of England, attended by Sir Henry Hardinge, and the Earl of Winchilsea, attended by Lord Falmouth, met in Battersea Fields on the 21st of March (1829), in full session, to discharge loaded pistols at each other on a question concerning the Protestant religion. The life of the great captain, however, was not exposed to danger. Lord Winchilsea, after receiving the duke's shot, fired in the air, and then tendered the apology in default of which the encounter had occurred."—Mr. Gleig mentions that "when the moment for action arrived, it was found that the duke did not possess a case of

duelling pistols." With reference to this affair, the Duke of Wellington wrote as follows to the Duke of Buckingham (April 21, 1829): "The truth is that the duel with Lord Winchilsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it and carry it out to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did do to attain the object which I had in view. I was living here for some time in an atmosphere of calumny. If I said a word, whether in Parliament or elsewhere, it was misrepresented for the purpose of fixing upon me some gross delusion or falsehood. Even my conversations with the King were repeated, misrepresented, and commented upon; and all for the purpose of shaking the credit which the Parliament were inclined to give to what I said. I am afraid that the event itself shocked many good men; but I am certain that the public interests at the moment required that I should do what I did." What was thought of the matter at the time is shown in the "Greville Memoirs." "At twelve o'clock the duke went to Windsor to tell the King what had happened. The King, it seems, was highly pleased with the affair, and he said, 'I did not see the letter; if I had, I certainly should have thought it my duty to call your attention to it.' . . I think (continues Greville) the duke ought not to have challenged Winchilsea. It was beneath his dignity; it lowered him, and was more or less ridiculous. Lord Jersey met him coming from Windsor, and spoke to him. He said, 'I could not do otherwise, could I?'"

An Undesigned Effect.—When (relates Earl Russell) at the meeting of Parliament, Nov. 3rd, 1830, the Duke of Wellington declared that the constitution of the House of Commons was perfect, and that the wit of man could not *à priori* have devised anything so good, the general feeling was one of dismay. The House of Lords, usually so calm, showed signs of amazement and perturbation. The duke whispered to one of his colleagues, "What can I have said which seems to make so great a disturbance?" "You have announced the fall of your Government, that is all," replied his more clear-sighted colleague.

The Government in One Man's Hand.—When the Melbourne Ministry was dismissed by the King in 1834, and the Duke of Wellington was sent for to form a Cabinet, Sir Robert Peel, on whom he chiefly relied for assistance, was absent in Italy. The arrangements consequently made are thus commented upon by Mr. Spencer Walpole, in his "History of England from 1815":—"The King made Wellington First Lord of the Treasury; he entrusted him with the seals of the Home Office, and gave him the seals of the two other Secretaries of State. These arrangements virtually placed the patronage and the power of the State in the hands of one man. They were severely reprobated at the time in the Whig press, and afterwards in Parliament, as 'an unconstitutional concentration of responsibility and power.' The politicians who used this language had, however, hardly thought out its meaning. There was nothing unconstitutional in Wellington assuming four of the highest offices of State at the instance of his king. Three of those offices had, in fact, been evolved out of one within his own lifetime; and one Secretary of State was and

is technically competent to transact the business of all the others. The one thing which was unconstitutional in 1834, or which, in more correct language, was opposed to the practice of the Constitution, was the dismissal of the Whig Ministry. All that followed was only a corollary to that proceeding, and Whig statesmen would have done well to have confined their censure to the act, and to have abstained from criticising the arrangements which were consequent upon it. The general public, judging the matter more accurately, were merely amused at the spectacle which the duke afforded them. They saw the man who had been the hero of their boyhood, who had again become the hero of their declining years, driving from office to office, signing letters, dictating minutes, and discharging without assistance the work which it had previously taken four busy ministers to perform. Instead of blaming Wellington for straining the Constitution, most people praised him for his industry, and commended the singleness of character which raised all his actions above suspicion. Wellington had again become the hero of the nation; and the nation was gratified at the new proof which its hero was giving of his amazing capacity for work."

The Premier and the Commons. — Guizot relates in his "Memoirs of Peel" that on the occasion just mentioned, when the Duke of Wellington was summoned to William IV. at Brighton, the old leader of the Tories gave a great example at once of modesty and power. "It is not to me," he told the King, "but to Sir Robert Peel that your Majesty must apply to form a Cabinet; and to him it belongs to direct it. The difficulty and the predominance are in the House of Commons; the leader of that House must be at the head of the Government. I will serve under him in any post which your Majesty may please to entrust to me."

A Great Country cannot have a Little War.—It was in a speech in Parliament in January, 1838, that the Duke of Wellington made this celebrated remark. He said: "My lords, I entreat you, and I entreat the Government, not to forget that a great country like this can have no such thing as a little war. They must understand that if they enter on these operations they must do it on such a scale, and in such a manner, and with such determination as to the final object, as to make it quite certain that those operations will succeed, and that at the very earliest possible period."

The Queen's Government must be Supported.—When the Corn Laws Abolition Act came to the House of Lords, I said to Lyndhurst (writes Campbell) that he was bound to defend it. "No," answered he, "this is unnecessary, for the Duke of Wellington has secured a majority in its favour, although he thinks as badly of it as I should have done seven years ago. Thus he addressed a Protectionist peer, who came to lament to him that he must on this occasion vote against the Government, having such a bad opinion of the bill—'Bad opinion of the bill, my lord! You can't have a worse opinion of it than I have; but it was recommended from the throne, it has passed the Commons by a large majority, and we must all vote for it. The Queen's Government must be supported!'"

Wellington and Palmerston.—In a debate on the conduct of the war in the Crimea, in May, 1855, Lord Ellenborough related the following anecdote to the House of Lords, in depreciation of Lord Palmerston, who was then at the head of affairs: "I recollect sitting by the side of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, during the unfortunate difficulty between him and Mr. Huskisson, which led to the resignation of a portion of the gentlemen forming the Government. The Duke of Wellington was suddenly called out of the house, and when he returned he said to me, 'That was Palmerston who wanted to see me, to tell me if Huskisson went he must go too.' The duke continued, 'I said nothing; it was not for me to fire great guns at small birds.'"

Characteristics of His Speeches.—In the House of Lords (wrote the *Times*) "the duke was a regular attendant, and not unfrequently a speaker, but the journals of that august body supply few testimonies of our hero's excellence. His opinions and votes, excepting when his natural conservatism had not yet been sufficiently influenced by pressure from without, were rarely otherwise than soundly given, but his motives were often imperfectly expressed. It has been said that a collection of Cromwell's speeches would make the most nonsensical book in the world, and though such a remark is certainly not warranted by the orations of Wellington, yet on this point a certain resemblance is discoverable between the two great soldiers. The duke allowed himself in addressing the House to be carried away, not perhaps by his feelings, but by the impetus of a delivery which, without being either fluent or rapid, was singularly emphatic and vehement. He magnified his own opinions in order to impress them upon his hearers. If he recommended, as he did with great alacrity, a vote of thanks to an Indian general, the campaign was always 'the most brilliant he had ever known;' if he wished to stigmatise a disturbance of the peace, it was something transcending 'anything he had ever seen in all his experience,' though such a quality could hardly be predicated of any disorders under the sun. The duke could appreciate events with unfailing nicety, but he failed in the capacity to describe them, and of late years his speeches, where they were not tautology, were often contradictions. Nor could the failing be traceable to age alone, for it was observed, though in a less degree, during the earlier stages of his career, and is the more remarkable from the contrast presented by his despatches."

A Military Style.—Macaulay (says Trevelyan) was fond of repeating an answer made to him by Lord Clarendon in the year 1829. The young men were talking over the situation, and Macaulay expressed curiosity as to the terms in which the Duke of Wellington would recommend the Catholic Relief Bill to the Peers. "Oh," said the other, "it will be easy enough. He'll say, 'My lords! Attention! Right about face! March!'" This military style of the duke was burlesqued, in very similar words, some years later in the "Bon Gaultier Ballads."

A Blunt Denial.—In 1842 a petition from the farmers of Essex was presented to the House of Lords by Lord Western, who said the agricultural body had been deceived by Sir Robert Peel. This statement

was at once denied by the Duke of Wellington, who said, in his characteristic manner, "The noble lord should have waited for the opportunity of stating the when, and the where, and the how, and in what words my right honourable friend has deceived the public. But, my lords, I deny the fact; and, as formally and emphatically as the noble lord has stated it, I say it is not true; and that's the end of it."

"Down to the House" in his Last Days.—The lobby of the House of Lords was sometimes, in the Duke's last years, the resort of persons who had travelled far to catch a sight of him. His well-known habit, even in the feebleness of eighty years, was to be driven daily from Apsley House in a cabriolet, and, after remaining in the Lords' chamber a short time, he would return as he came. One day, during the International Exhibition of 1851, a party of American gentlemen had gathered round the lobby, in eager expectation of the reappearance of the duke, who, they were informed, was within the house. Not many minutes had passed when he was seen advancing down the narrow passage to the outer porch. He tottered as he walked, almost swaying from side to side; and as he reached the porch the Americans, some half dozen in number, took off their hats and pressed forward to within two or three yards. The duke's coming and going were not usually noticed by anyone with formality, nor did he, as a rule, seem to remark things near him, his eye apparently being intent on something far away—reminding an observer of how it might have looked, for instance, when detecting the weak point in Marmont's evolutions at Salamanca. But that distant sight, nevertheless, took in everything passing around, and on this occasion the duke paused for a moment, apparently interested by the unusual although silent demonstration before him, and he slowly raised a forefinger to his forehead in answering salute. In a few seconds he had entered his cab unassisted, and was driven away. The party present seemed to think a cheer might be an impertinence; but immediately the duke had gone, the feeling of the spectators broke forth. "There," said one of the Americans to an English gentleman who had been chatting with them, and informing them as to the men and things around, "there—we have seen the Exhibition, but we wanted still more to see the Duke. It was worth coming all the way." The duke's systematic visits to the House of Lords terminated only by his death, in the following year.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

(1788—1850.)

Patience Wanted.—Peel's first appearances in the House of Commons were not very promising. They were thus alluded to at the time by the writer of a satire entitled "The Last Will and Testament of a Patriot:"—"I give and bequeath my patience to Mr. Robert Peel; he will want it all before he becomes Prime Minister of England; but in the event of such a contingency, my patience is to revert to the people of England, who will stand sadly in want of it."

A Paternal Caution.—An anecdote which I have from good

authority (wrote M. Guizot) would give reason for believing that Sir Robert Peel had been long and naturally inclined to the tendency to which he yielded when, after having been a stubborn Conservative, he became an ardent reformer. It is said that in 1809, when he entered the House of Commons, his father, old Sir Robert Peel, went to Lord Liverpool and said to him, "My son, you may be sure, is a young man of rare talent, and will one day play an important part; but I know him well; at bottom his tendencies are Whig. If we do not immediately enlist him in our ranks, he will escape from us; give him something to do, he will serve you well, but you must make sure of him without delay."

Father and Son.—On the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the Bank of England and the resumption of cash payments, in 1819, Peel was chosen chairman, and in that capacity he brought up the report, and proposed the resolutions it embodied. "His speech," writes Francis in his "Critical Biography of Peel," "was heralded by one of those dramatic incidents which are so rare in our public proceedings; rare, perhaps, because they really exercise so slight an influence on the conduct of our public men. His father, Sir Robert Peel, in presenting a petition from merchants of the City of London against the proposed change in the currency laws, alluded to the relative positions of himself and his son with respect to the question. Speaking with much emotion, but with the unpretending frankness which marked his parliamentary conduct, he said: 'To-night I shall have to oppose a very near and dear relative. But while it is my own sentiment that I have a duty to perform, I respect those who do theirs, and who consider that duty to be paramount to all other considerations. I have mentioned the name of Mr. Pitt. My own impression is certainly a strong one in favour of that great man. All of us have some bias, and I always thought him the first man in the country. I well remember, when the near and dear relative I have alluded to was a child, I observed to some friends that the man who discharged his duty to his country in the manner Mr. Pitt had done, was the man of all the world to be admired, and the most to be imitated; and I thought at that moment that if my life, and that of my dear relative, should be spared, I would one day present him to his country to follow in the same path. It is very natural that such should be my wish, and I will only say further of him, that, though he is deviating from the proper path in this instance, his head and heart are in the right place, and I think they will soon recall him to the right way.' The son did not pass unnoticed this allusion of his father. At the close of an able and powerful speech, in which he explained his own reasons for a change of opinion, and the general views of the committee, he said: 'Many other difficulties presented themselves to me in discussing this question: among them is one which it pains me to observe—I mean the necessity I am under of opposing myself to an authority to which I have always bowed from my youth up, and to which I hope I shall always continue to bow with deference. My excuse is now, that I have a great public duty imposed upon me, and that, whatever may be my private feelings, from that duty I must not shrink.'"

Peel's Challenge to O'Connell.—In August, 1815, in consequence of some expressions used by the great agitator at a public meeting, a hostile correspondence took place between Peel (then Irish Secretary) and O'Connell, which, however, ended without a hostile meeting. O'Connell was arrested, and bound to keep the peace within the kingdom; they then agreed to go to the Continent, but O'Connell was again placed under arrest on reaching London. MacGhee says much controversy occurred relative to this affair, and he conjectures that some friendly Argus kept the police on the *qui vive*, to prevent the shedding of valuable blood; but the fact is that no secret was made in the Irish newspapers of O'Connell's movements and intentions, and the notice of the authorities was necessarily drawn to the matter. It was with reference to this affair that Lord Norbury indulged in a jest at O'Connell's expense a short time afterwards. O'Connell was addressing his lordship, who seemed to pay but indifferent attention to what he was saying. "I am afraid, my lord," said O'Connell, pausing in his argument, "that your lordship does not apprehend me." "I beg your pardon," replied the facetious judge, "I do perfectly; and, indeed, no one is more easily apprehended than Mr. O'Connell, when he wishes to be."

"What is a Pound?"—In supporting his resolutions on the currency in 1819, Peel said: "The main question is this, Can we go on safely without a standard of value? All the witnesses examined by the committee agreed that we could not, except one, a Mr. Smith; who, on being asked if there should be no standard, said he would retain the 'pound.' Upon being further asked, What is a pound? he said it was difficult to explain, but that there was no gentleman in England who did not know what a pound was. He added that a pound was a standard which had existed in this country eight hundred years—three hundred years before the introduction of gold coin! I confess" (continued Mr. Peel) "that I can form no idea of a pound or a shilling, as detached from a definite quantity of the precious metals. I have the same difficulties to encounter as had Martinus Scriblerus in following the metaphysical speculations of his tutor, the philosophic Crambe. Being asked if he could form an idea of a universal man, he replied that he conceived him to be a knight of the shire, or the burgess of a corporation, who represented a great number of individuals, but that he could form no other idea of a universal man. Further to puzzle him, he was asked if he could not form the universal idea of a lord mayor. To which he replied, that never having seen but one lord mayor, the idea of that lord mayor always returned to his mind, and that he had therefore great difficulty to abstract a lord mayor from his gold chain and furred gown; and that, moreover, unfortunately the only time he ever saw a lord mayor he was on horseback, and that the horse on which he rode, consequently, not a little disturbed his imagination. Upon this, says the history, Crambe, like the gentleman who can form an abstract idea of a pound, swore that he could frame a conception of a lord mayor, not only without his horse, gown, and gold chain, but even without stature, feature, colour, hands, feet, or any body whatever; and this, he contended, was the true universal idea of a lord mayor."

Catholic Emancipation.—On the 5th of March, 1829, Peel proposed, in the House of Commons, the abolition of the political and civil disabilities which weighed upon the Catholics. Two cruel charges (relates Guizot) were brought against him—tergiversation and fear. He repelled them with candid and high-minded good sense. "I cannot," he said, "purchase the support of my honourable friends by promising to adhere at all times and at all hazards, as minister of the Crown, to arguments and opinions which I may have heretofore propounded in this House. I reserve to myself, distinctly and unequivocally, the right of adapting my conduct to the exigencies of the moment and to the wants of the country. This has been the conduct of all former statesmen, at all times and in all countries." And, with regard to the charge of yielding to intimidation: "In my opinion," he said, "no motive can be more justly branded as ignominious than that which is usually termed cowardice. But there is a temper of mind much more dangerous than this, though it may not be so base; I mean the fear of being thought to be afraid. Base as a coward is, the man who abandons himself to the fear of being thought a coward displays little more fortitude." And when the debate drew near to its close, with his heart torn by the recollections of Canning, which had been so often invoked against him, he said, "The credit belongs to others, and not to me. It belongs to Mr. Fox, to Mr. Grattan, to Mr. Plunket, to the gentlemen opposite, and to an illustrious friend of mine, who is now no more. . . I was on terms of the most friendly intimacy with my honourable friend down even to the day of his death; and I say, with as much sincerity of heart as man can speak, that I wish he were now alive to reap the harvest which he sowed, and to enjoy the triumph which his exertions gained. I would say of him as he said of the late Mr. Perceval: 'Would he were here to enjoy the fruit of his victory!'—

'Tuque tuis armis, nos te poteremur, Achille.'"

Finality in Reform.—Sir Robert Peel, addressing the electors of Tamworth in 1834, stated that he "considered the Reform Bill a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or by insidious means."

"Register, Register, Register!"—Addressing the electors at a Tamworth election dinner in August, 1837, Sir Robert Peel said: "It may be disagreeable, and, indeed, inconvenient to attend to the registration of voters which annually takes place throughout the country. All this may be revolting; but you may depend upon it that it is better you should take that trouble than that you should allow the constitution to become the victim of false friends, or that you should be trampled under the hoof of a ruthless democracy. The advice which has been given by some persons was, 'Agitate, agitate, agitate!' The advice which I give you is this—Register, register, register!"

An Honourable Distinction.—In a speech at Merchant Taylors' Hall in May, 1835, Sir Robert Peel said: "Gentlemen, will you allow me to recall to your recollection what was the grand charge against myself

—that the King had sent for the son of a cotton-spinner to Rome, in order to make him Prime Minister of England. Did I feel that by any means a reflection on me? Did that make me at all discontented with the state of the laws and institutions of the country? No; but does it not make me, and ought it not to make you, gentlemen, do all you can to reserve to other sons of other cotton-spinners the same opportunities, by the same system of laws under which this country has so long flourished, of arriving by the same honourable means at the like distinction?"

Peel's Denunciation of Cobbett.—In 1833, Cobbett moved a resolution, the effect of which was to pray the King to dismiss Sir Robert Peel from his Privy Council, as the author of the Bill of 1819, which had been the cause of the distress of the country. A long, and, though occasionally violent, a feeble speech from Cobbett ushered in the motion, which was seconded by Mr. John Feilden. Sir Robert answered him (says Francis) in a magnificent speech, of which the most remarkable passage, though it has often been quoted, will bear repetition. After an elaborate refutation of all Cobbett's arguments, and a scornful repudiation of the implied accusation that he had himself gained by the change of currency, Sir Robert burst forth in these words: "It is on public grounds that the honourable member assails me. The honourable member has not the same motives for attacking me which he has had for attacking others. I have never lent the honourable member my confidence; from me the honourable member has never received any obligation. His object in assailing me is, doubtless, to strike terror by the threat of his denunciations —to discourage opposition, from the fear of being signalised as a victim. But I tell the gentlemen of England that their best security is in boldly facing and defying such insidious efforts. God forbid that the honourable member's speculations on the prospect of public confusion should be realised. I labour under no anxiety that they will. I feel confident that whatever may be the political differences that divide public men, all who are interested in the upholding of law and property will unite in their defence to put down such attempts. Not only would it be the bitterest calamity, but a calamity embittered by the greatest disgrace, to live under such an ignoble tyranny as he would impose.

> 'Come the eleventh plague rather than this should be;
> Come sink us rather in the sea;
> Come, rather, pestilence, and reap us down;
> Come God's sword, rather than our own.
> Let rather Roman come again,
> Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane.
> In all the bonds we ever bore,
> We grieved, we sighed, we wept;—we never blushed before.'

Blush, indeed, we shall, if we submit to this base and vulgar domination and I for one—believing as I do that I have been selected as an object of attack, for the purpose of discouraging resistance to the insidious efforts which the honourable gentleman is daily making to weaken the foundations of property and the authority of the law—I will, at least, preserve

myself from the reproach of having furthered the objects he has in view by any symptom of intimidation or submission." The passage from old Abraham Cowley, delivered with the fine sonorous voice and lofty manner into which Sir Robert Peel fell in moments of *real* excitement, produced an electrical effect. Well (continues Francis) we remember the scene. Cobbett, his grey hairs pleading for his sincerity, had been heard as a duty, but with regret. His antagonist had borne himself along on the rising sympathy of the House. Rarely, indeed, does the British senate even *seem* to do injustice; but now, the disgust of the listeners, and their excitement under Sir Robert's stirring address, overpowered all forms. Cobbett rose, was met with a shout almost of execration, retired to his seat, rose again, again was met with an indignant repulse, once more and yet once more essayed to speak against the storm of passion, till at last he staggered to his place beside his seconder, for the first time, perhaps, in his life utterly quelled by his fellow-men. The accused statesman, gathering himself up with dignity, declared he would not vote on a question so personal to himself, and left the house majestically, amidst a hurricane of cheers. Four members only—John O'Connell, Thomas Attwood, James Roe, and Patrick Leader—were found supporting Cobbett and Feilden, while the voters for Peel numbered 298. Then came an incident scarcely less dramatic. Lord Althorp, the Whig chief of the House, moved that the resolution should be *expunged from the Journals*. On a division there were still only four against the motion, Feargus O'Connor supplying the place of John O'Connell; and, the votes on the other side amounting to 295, the resolution of Lord Althorp was carried out.

The "Shock of Collision" between the Houses.—In a speech at Merchant Taylors' Hall in 1838, Sir Robert Peel said, "My object for some years past has been to lay the foundations of a great party, which, existing in the House of Commons, and deriving its strength from the popular will, should diminish the risk and deaden the shock of collisions between the two deliberative branches of the Legislature."

The Bedchamber Question.—On being invited to form a Ministry on the resignation of Lord Melbourne in 1839, Peel requested that the principal offices in the Royal household, and among them those of the Queen's ladies of the bedchamber, might be placed at his disposal. It was not (says M. Guizot) with Sir Robert Peel, but with the Duke of Wellington, that the idea of making this request would appear to have originated. The young Queen was shocked at it; it was, the Whigs told her, an exorbitant pretension, utterly unauthorised by precedent. It was added that the great ladies of the Conservative party had spoken of it as of a triumph over the Queen, and had said that when they composed her Court they would be better able to restrain her within constitutional limits than the Whigs had been. On the day after Sir Robert Peel had made his demand, he received from the Queen the following note: "The Queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir Robert Peel, to remove the ladies of her bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Sir Robert replied in a long and respectful

letter, sensible and constitutionally true, but rather heavy, and as devoid of elegance as of complaisance. He was evidently better suited to a Parliament than to a Court. The negotiation was broken off, and furnished a subject for debate in both Houses. The Conservatives, Wellington and Peel, maintained their ground; the Whigs vindicated the Queen's refusal, and declared themselves ready to accept the responsibility of it. They at once returned to office, and Sir Robert Peel on his side resumed, for two years more, his position as the ruling spirit of the Opposition.

An Unconciliatory Manner.—Sir Robert Peel's manner was frequently unfortunate. "When I first went into Parliament," said one of Peel's most successful and eloquent political followers to Mr. Maddyn, 'I was not personally acquainted with Sir Robert Peel. I greatly admired his talents, and I approved of his principles, and many of his connexion were anxious to see me in the House. I publicly avowed myself at the hustings as one of his supporters, and I sacrificed money, time, and trouble to gain a seat for his cause. After being about a fortnight in the House, it was proposed to me by ——— that I should be personally introduced to Sir Robert, and it was arranged to wait for a leisure moment to do so. It was while we were sitting in the temporary edifice, just before going into Sir Charles Barry's new house. We were both in the lobby, and Sir Robert walked slowly across, and went into the long passage that used to lead into the House of Lords. Nobody was with him. 'Now is the time,' said Lord ———, and he ran after Sir Robert Peel, calling him by name. I followed at a short distance, and heard my name mentioned. I advanced to meet him, and raised my hat. A freezing bow was all that I received—not a smile, not a single word of encouragement, not the slightest civility."—Another illustration of the unfortunate effect of Peel's manner will be found in a speech delivered by Mr. Cobden at a public meeting, Dec. 17, 1845. He said: "I have no reason, and I think you will all admit it, to feel any very great respect for Sir Robert Peel. He is the only man in the House of Commons that I can never speak a word to in private without forfeiting my own respect, and the respect of all those men who sit around me." And yet the Minister was then on the eve of adopting Mr. Cobden's policy, and paying a handsome tribute to his eloquence and his exertions. (See, under Cobden, "Unadorned Eloquence.")

Peel as a Humourist.—Peel shone (writes Mr. Hayward) where such a man would be least expected to shine, in humour. He also excelled in quiet sarcasm. In the debate on commercial distress (Dec. 3, 1847), Alderman Reynolds, one of the members for Dublin, had asked, "Did not everybody know that the profit and advantage of banking consisted very much in trading on your credit in contradistinction to your capital?" In the course of the masterly reply with which Peel closed the debate he said: "I have the greatest respect for bankers in general, and Irish bankers in particular, and among Irish bankers I well know the position enjoyed by the honourable gentleman. Now, with all the respect to which he is entitled, and with all suavity and courtesy, I will tell him that, in his banking capacity, I would rather have his capital than his credit."—In

1848 Feargus O'Connor was charged in the House with being a Republican. He denied it, and said he did not care whether the Queen or the Devil was on the throne. Peel replied: "When the honourable gentleman sees the sovereign of his choice on the throne of these realms, I hope he 'll enjoy, and I 'm sure he 'll deserve, the confidence of the Crown."—Sheil had learnt and forgotten the exordium of a speech which began with the word "necessity." This word he had repeated three times, when Sir R. Peel broke in—"is not *always* the mother of invention."

Effect of Mr. Disraeli's Attacks.—"It has always (says Mr. Hayward) seemed unaccountable to us that Peel, who had joined battle without losing heart or ground with such antagonists as Brougham, Canning, Stanley, and Lord Russell, should have quailed before Mr. Disraeli; or, if quailed be too strong a term, should have allowed himself to be so ruffled and annoyed: *Contempsi Catilinæ gladios: non pertimescam tuos.* He was so irritated on the night of the third reading of the Corn Law Bill that he came after the debate to Lord Lincoln (the late Duke of Newcastle) at Whitehall Place, and insisted on his carrying a hostile message to Mr. Disraeli. On Lord Lincoln's positive refusal, Sir Robert was going off in search of another second, and was with difficulty driven from his purpose by the threat of an application to a magistrate. The most plausible explanation is that he was maddened by the clamorous cheers of his quondam friends and followers:

'Non me tua fervida terrent
Dicta, ferox; Dii me terrent'—

the *Dii* being understood in the theatrical sense—the gods that thunder their applause or censure from the gallery. It must be remembered also that there was twice over some foundation for the charge so pointedly levelled at him, of having acted like the Turkish admiral who steered the fleet under his command straight into the harbour of the enemy; and that Mr. Disraeli was in his happiest vein. This was the night (May 15, 1846) when he declared Peel's life to be 'one great appropriation clause;' termed the Treasury bench 'political pedlars that bought their party in the cheapest market and sold us in the dearest;' and compared the conversion of the Peelites to that of the Saxons by Charlemagne, 'who, according to the chronicle, were converted in battalions and baptised in platoons.'"—In the House, Sir Robert gave the following reply to Mr. Disraeli's attack: "I feel that I should be offering an insult to the House—I should be offering an insult to the country—if I were to condescend to bandy personalities upon such an occasion. Sir, I foresaw that the course which I have taken from a sense of public duty would expose me to serious sacrifices. I foresaw, as its inevitable result, that I must forfeit friendships which I most highly valued, that I must interrupt political relations in which I felt sincere pride; but the smallest of all the penalties which I anticipated were the continued venomous attacks of the member for Shrewsbury. Sir, I will only say of the honourable gentleman that if he, after reviewing the whole of my public life—a life extending over thirty years previously to my accession to office in 1841—if he then enter-

tained the opinion of me which he now professes; if he thought I was guilty of those petty larcenies from Mr. Horner and others, it is a little surprising that in the spring of 1841, after his long experience of my public career, he should have been prepared to give me his confidence. It is still more surprising that he should have been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office, thus implying the strongest proof which any public man can give of confidence in the honour and integrity of a Minister of the Crown."

The Fall of Sir Robert Peel.—On the evening of the 25th of June, 1846, the announcement was made to the House of Commons that the Lords had agreed to Sir Robert Peel's Corn and Customs Bills (effecting the Repeal of the Corn Laws) without amendment. This was the signal for the closing of a lengthened debate on the Irish Coercion Bill, then before the House. The circumstances attending the division which hurled Sir Robert Peel from power are thus described by Mr. Disraeli, in his "Life of Lord George Bentinck":—

"At length, about half-past one o'clock, the galleries were cleared, the division called, and the question put. In almost all previous divisions where the fate of a Government had been depending, the vote of every member, with scarcely an exception, had been anticipated; that was not the case in the present instance, and the direction which members took as they left their seats was anxiously watched. More than one hundred Protectionist members followed the Minister; more than eighty avoided the division, a few of these, however, had paired; nearly the same number followed Lord George Bentinck. But it was not merely their numbers that attracted the anxious observation of the Treasury bench, as the Protectionists passed in defile before the Minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion; the flower of that great party which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them. They were men to gain whose hearts and the hearts of their fathers had been the aim and exultation of his life. They had extended to him an unlimited confidence and an admiration without stint. They had stood by him in the darkest hour, and had borne him from the depths of political despair to the proudest of living positions. Right or wrong, they were men of honour, breeding, and refinement, high and generous character, great weight and station in the country, which they had ever placed at his disposal. They had been not only his followers but his friends; had joined in the same pastimes, drank from the same cup, and in the pleasantness of private life had often forgotten together the cares and strife of politics.

"He must have felt something of this, while the Manners, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes passed before him. And those country gentlemen, 'those gentlemen of England,' of whom, but five years ago, the very same building was ringing with his pride of being their leader—if his heart were hardened to Sir Charles Burrell, Sir William Jolliffe, Sir Charles Knightly, Sir John Trollope, Sir Edward Kerrison, Sir John Tyrrell, he surely must have had a pang when his eye rested on Sir John Yarde Buller, his choice and pattern country gentle-

man, whom he had himself selected and invited, but six years back, to move a vote of want of confidence in the Whig Government, in order, against the feeling of the Court, to install Sir Robert Peel in their stead. They trooped on: all the men of mettle and large-acred squires, whose spirit he had so often quickened, and whose counsel he had so often solicited in his fine Conservative speeches in Whitehall Gardens. . .

"When Prince Metternich was informed, at Dresden, with great ostentation, that the Emperor had arrived—'Yes; but without his army,' was the reply. Sir Robert Peel was still First Minister of England, as Napoleon remained Emperor for a while after Moscow. Each, perhaps, for a moment had indulged in hope, it is so difficult for those who are on the pinnacle of life to realise disaster. They sometimes contemplate it in their deep and far-seeing calculations, but it is only to imagine a contingency which their resources must surely baffle; they sometimes talk of it to their friends, and oftener of it to their enemies, but it is only as an insurance of their prosperity and as an offering to propitiate their Nemesis. They never believe in it. . . .

"The news that the Government were not only beaten, but by a majority so large as 73, began to circulate. An incredulous murmur passed it along the Treasury bench. 'They say we are beaten by 73!' whispered the most important member of the Cabinet, in a tone of surprise, to Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert did not reply, or even turn his head. He looked very grave, and extended his chin, as was his habit when he was annoyed and cared not to speak. He began to comprehend his position, and that the Emperor was without his army."

The Minister's Valediction.—The speech in which Sir Robert announced the resignation of his Ministry, June 29, 1846, was concluded by the following passage: "Within a few hours, probably, that power which I have held for the period of five years will be surrendered into the hands of another—without repining, without complaint on my part—with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence I have received during several years, than of the opposition which during a recent period I have encountered. In relinquishing power, I shall leave a name, severely censured I fear by many who, on public grounds, deeply regret the severance of party ties—deeply regret that severance, not from interested or personal motives, but from the firm conviction that fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—constitutes a powerful instrument of government. I shall surrender power severely censured also by others who, from no interested motive, adhere to the principle of protection, considering the maintenance of it to be essential to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honourable motives, clamours for protection because it conduces to his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice."

A Political Moral.—Mr. Cobden, in his pamphlet "The Three Panics," published in 1862, narrated the following: "On the evening of the 24th of February, 1848, whilst the House of Commons was in session, a murmur of conversation suddenly arose at the door and spread throughout the house, when was witnessed—what never occurred before or since, in the writer's experience—a suspension for a few minutes of all attention to the business of the House, whilst every member was engaged in close and earnest conversation with his neighbour. The intelligence had arrived of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, and of the proclamation of the Republic. . . The writer of these pages was sitting by the side of the late Mr. Hume when the tidings reached their bench. Sir Robert Peel was on the opposite front seat, alone, his powerful party having been broken and scattered by his great measure of Corn Law Repeal. 'I'll go and tell Sir Robert the news,' exclaimed Mr. Hume, and stepping across the floor, he seated himself by his side and communicated the startling intelligence. On returning to his place, he repeated, in the following words, the commentary of the ex-minister: 'This comes of trying to carry on a government by means of a mere majority of a chamber, without regard to the opinion out of doors. It is what these people (pointing with his thumb over his shoulder to the Protectionists behind him) wished me to do, but I refused.'"

His Character by Guizot.—"Sir Robert Peel is the most eminent statesman who has sprung from the ranks of democracy—the most honest as well as the most able, the most congenial and faithful to democracy, at the same time as the most free from its evil tendencies. Although adopted by the aristocracy from his very entrance into public life, and although he served in their ranks, he never gave himself over to them; and far from pretending, as it is said, to the honour of belonging to their body, he was proud of his plebeian origin, and did not seek to conceal it either by his manners or by his maxims. He was dignified without elegance, and with, perhaps, more susceptibility than was consistent with his superiority, which he ought to have enjoyed with greater confidence and ease. On seeing him at court, in the drawing-rooms of Windsor, I was struck by a little constraint and stiffness in his attitude; he was evidently the most important and the most respected man there, and yet he did not look as if he were at home; his sway did not appear to be exempt from embarrassment; he governed without reigning. No one felt or expressed a deeper and more affectionate respect for the ancient institutions, the ancient manners, the whole old social order of his country; he revered and loved the past though he was not of it—and that is a certain mark of great judgment as well as of virtue; but, at the same time, he regarded aristocratic distinctions and honours with something more than indifference—it was his fixed resolve to reject them."

SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

(1792—1861.)

The Child Father of the Man.—As a boy (says Professor Pryme) Graham exhibited the future bent of his life. When other boys

were choosing what they would be, he would say, "I will be a statesman." A stone is still shown in his native village on which the youthful politician stood and harangued his playmates.

A Contemptuous House.—Mr. Graham was first returned for Hull in 1818, at the age of twenty-six. His election cost his family 6000*l*. His first appearances in the House were failures. Among his early displays was a speech with regard to a bill which had been introduced to prevent any person not an inhabitant or freeman of a town from taking part in its political meetings. Mr. Torrens says: "Mr. Graham wished to know if a member who sat for a borough of which he was neither an inhabitant nor freeman would come within the mischief of the Act? He paused to listen for the report of his shot; but few were attending, and nobody cried 'Hear.' He looked to see if it had hit, but the under-secretaries were talking to one another on the Treasury bench, and Lord Castlereagh was occupied in smelling the hot-house flower in his button-hole. Mr. Graham repeated his question in other words, but with no better effect. He felt half vexed with himself at having got up, but he was up, and must go on; so he thought he would argue the point. The case was not an imaginary one, he said, for it was his own, as he happened to sit for a borough of which he was neither a freeman nor an inhabitant, and of which he was not likely to become either, having no connection with the place. At this unlucky proffer of irrelevant information he heard, or thought he heard, something like a suppressed laugh. He felt himself getting confused, a little at first, and then very much so. For a few minutes he rambled on through commonplace and reiteration, but no timely cheer came to his rescue, and he sat down without any distinct recollection of what he had said or what he had intended to say. Mr. Henry Lascelles, who sat opposite, whispered to a mutual friend, 'Well, there is an end of Graham; we shall hear no more of him.'"

His later Appearances.—Very tall in person (says Mr. Maddyn), "with a handsome and intellectual countenance, Sir James Graham possessed great advantages for addressing an aristocratic assembly. His manner, at first, was apparently so mild that in commencing one of his elaborate attacks, the hearer could scarcely conceive how much hoarded ammunition was about to be exploded, with the certainty of doing dreadful damage to his adversaries. When just about to make a spring upon his political foe, there was an air of drawing-room lassitude about the wily descendant of the Græmes that reminded one of his ancestors; sudden in attack, and about as merciless as sudden. Standing at the table in the calm attitude of a Mayfair fine gentleman, who could have expected so much fierceness of nature to dwell within that breast?"

"Hats Off!"—On the 20th of June, 1837, the King died at Windsor; and on the same day both Houses met for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria. On the following day Lord John Russell appeared at the bar of the Commons, charged with a message from the Queen. A cry instantly arose (says Torrens) of "Hats off!" and the Speaker, forgetful for the moment of the precise usage

on such occasions, announced from the chair that "members must be uncovered." Everyone present forthwith complied, with the exception of Sir James Graham, who excited some observation by continuing to wear his hat until the first words of the message were pronounced. As nothing at the time escaped the vigilance of party criticism, a paragraph appeared the same evening in the *True Sun*, reflecting on the supposed indecorum. At the meeting of the House next day the right honourable baronet called attention to the fact, for the purpose of explaining that he had only complied with the older, and, as he thought, better custom, of waiting until the initiatory word "Regina," or "Rex," was uttered before uncovering; a mode of testifying respect for the Crown which was more emphatic, and which had, he thought, a better effect. The Speaker said that the honourable member for East Cumberland was correct in his observance of the practice of the House; and he accounted for his own apparent deviation therefrom by his desire to preserve order and to save time.

Opening of Letters by the Home Office.—In June, 1844, Mr. T. S. Duncombe presented petitions to the House of Commons from several gentlemen, one of whom was M. Mazzini, complaining that their letters had been delayed and opened by the Post Office authorities, and praying for a committee of inquiry on the subject. Sir James Graham, who was then Home Secretary, said that power was given to the Secretary of State by statute to open letters passing through the Post Office, and he had given his warrant in the case of one of the petitioners accordingly. Sir Robert Peel defended the action of his colleague, by saying that Fox and Grenville had exercised the same power. There was a strong feeling in the House, however, against it, and a motion which virtually amounted to want of confidence in the Ministry was defeated only by 206 against 162. Eventually the Government agreed to the appointment of secret committees of both Houses to inquire into and report upon the subject. It appeared from the reports presented that the power in question was exercised under the statute 9th Anne, cap. 10, which directs that no letters sent by post should be opened or delayed without an express warrant under the hand of one of the principal Secretaries of State; and 1st Victoria, cap. 36, which contains a similar direction. The Lords' committee reported that 182 warrants had been issued since 1822, and added that "the issue of six or seven warrants annually upon a circulation of 220 millions of letters cannot be regarded as materially interfering with the sanctity of private correspondence." The Commons' committee found that "the last two warrants rested on grounds connected with the personal safety of a foreign sovereign (the Emperor of Russia) intrusted to the protection of England," and added, "It appears to your committee that under circumstances so peculiar, even a slight suspicion of danger would justify a minister in taking extraordinary measures of precaution." Information obtained from some of the opened letters, respecting an intended insurrection in Italy, was found by both committees to have been communicated to a foreign power, but "it was not (added the Commons) of a nature to compromise the safety of any individual within reach of that

power, nor was it made known to that power by what means that information had been obtained." The matter excited great commotion in the country, and for some time afterwards envelopes and seals, with such mottoes as "Not for Sir James Graham," were commonly exhibited for sale.

Disposing of "Hansard."—In 1846 Sir James Graham had made up his mind to defend a Corn Law no more. Sentence after sentence and phrase upon phrase, which had fallen from him in the heat of rhetorical indiscretion in the days when he sat on the left of the Speaker's chair, were now dug up out of "Hansard," and flung at him by exasperated Protectionists, amid the angry cheers of those around him, and the loud laughter of those opposite. But he had anticipated this, and had made up his mind how to deal with it. When challenged by Mr. Stafford to say whether or not he had changed his opinion, he replied, "I freely admit that past declarations of opinions made by members of the House who have subsequently arrived at power, or who aspire to power, much more the declarations made by the First Minister of the Crown, if at all at variance with the course which he has subsequently pursued, are subjects worthy of reference, and which call for explanation. The honourable member for Northamptonshire made a direct appeal to the Government, and challenged us, if we had changed our opinions, manfully to own it. I answer that challenge. I do frankly avow my change of opinion, and by that avowal I dispose of whole volumes of 'Hansard,' and of all the charges which have been made on the ground of inconsistency."—*Torrens.*

Altered Circumstances.—When addressing the House one evening on the oft-debated subject of the connection between the rate of wages and the price of food, Sir James reiterated his declaration that experience had convinced him that the former had a constant tendency to rise as the latter fell. Lord George Bentinck, who was sitting on the front Opposition bench below him, threw back his head, and looking round at him exclaimed, "Ah! yes; but you know you said the other thing before." A shout of laughter, in which Sir James joined, was followed by cheers and counter-cheers, and curiosity was on tip-toe for the retort. From his perch, as he used to call it, the ex-minister looked down at his noble antagonist, and said, in a tone of ineffable humour, "The noble lord's taunts fall harmless upon me; I am not in office now."—*Ibid.*

Curliness and Sarcasm.—On the vote of want of confidence which defeated Lord Derby's Ministry in 1859, Mr. Disraeli referred to a speech Sir James Graham had made at Carlisle during the recent general election, while introducing a young relative as a candidate for that borough. He affected to understand Sir James's remarks, when he read them, as coming from this young candidate, and said: "When I read that charge upon the Ministry, which, I was told, was to be the basis of a vote of want of confidence, and which was made without the slightest foundation, and with a bitterness which seemed to me to be perfectly gratuitous, I naturally said, 'Young men will be young men.' Youth will be, as we all know, somewhat reckless in assertion, and when we are juvenile and

curly, one takes a pride in sarcasm and invective. One feels some interest in a young relative of a distinguished member of this House; and, although the statements were not very agreeable to her Majesty's Ministers, I felt that he was a chip of the old block. I felt—and I hope my colleagues share in the sentiment—that when that young gentleman entered this House, he might, when gazing upon the venerable form and listening to the accents of benignant wisdom that fell, and always fall, from the right honourable gentleman the member for Carlisle (laughter)—he might learn how reckless assertion in time might mature into accuracy of statement—and how bitterness and invective, however organic, can be controlled by the vicissitudes of a wide experience" (much laughter). Sir James replied to this a few nights afterwards: "The right honourable gentleman remarked upon the mild influences of age, presenting in his own person a contradiction to the Horatian maxim, '*Lenit albescens animos capillus*,' because he was an illustration of the fact that one might lose one's curls and still retain one's taste for sarcasm. . . The right honourable gentleman will pardon me if I express to him an opinion. I regard him as the Red Indian of debate. By the use of the tomahawk he has cut his way to power, and by a recurrence to the scalping system he hopes to prevent the loss of it" (cheers and laughter).

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

(1775—1847.)

Introduction of the Repeal Question.—The year 1834 was rendered remarkable by the introduction of the Repeal question into the House of Commons. O'Connell told me (says Mr. Daunt) he was forced to take this step bitterly against his will. "I felt," said he, "like a man who was going to jump into a cold bath; but I was obliged to take the plunge."

A Wonderful Shower of Rain.—In the session of 1833 (writes his son) a speech of Mr. Daniel O'Connell's, upon an Irish question of considerable interest and importance, was not only grievously abbreviated (by the reporter), but the sense of it entirely perverted in several passages. As I recollect, it was a speech on the then very exciting and difficult subject of the tithes of the Protestant Church in Ireland; and Mr. O'Connell, among other things, was made to say that he would vote in a certain way on the immediate point under consideration, "although it was directly in the teeth of all his former opinions on the subject!" On his bringing the matter before the House under the usual form of a "Breach of Privilege," and making complaint of being thus treated, the defence set up by the reporter was that, during his walk from the House to the newspaper office, the rain, which was falling heavily at the time, had most unfortunately streamed into his pocket and washed out the notes he had made of Mr. O'Connell's speech. Upon which the latter remarked that it was the most extraordinary shower of rain he had ever heard of, inasmuch as it had not only *washed out* the speech he did make, but had *washed in* another, and an entirely different one.

"Beastly Bellowings."—Macaulay writes in his Journal, June 11, 1840: "The House was engaged upon Stanley's Irish Registration Bill. The night was very stormy. I have never seen such unseemly demeanour, or heard such scurrilous language in Parliament. Lord Norreys was whistling, and making all sort of noises. Lord Maidstone was so ill-mannered that I hope he was drunk. At last, after much grossly indecent conduct, a furious outbreak took place. O'Connell was so rudely interrupted that he used the expression 'beastly bellowings.' Then rose such an uproar as no O. P. mob at Covent Garden Theatre, no crowd of Chartists in front of a hustings, ever equalled. Men on both sides stood up, shook their fists, and bawled at the top of their voices. Freshfield, who was in the chair, was quite unable to keep the smallest order. O'Connell raged like a mad bull; and our people—I for one—while regretting and condemning his violence, thought it was much extenuated by the provocation. . . A short and most amusing scene passed between O'Connell and Lord Maidstone, which in the tumult escaped the observation of many, but which I watched carefully. 'If,' said Lord Maidstone, 'the word beastly is retracted, I shall be satisfied. If not, I shall not be satisfied.' 'I do not care whether the noble lord be satisfied or not.' 'I wish you would give me satisfaction.' 'I advise the noble lord to carry his liquor meekly.' At last the tumult ended from absolute physical weariness. It was past one, and the steady bellowers of the Opposition had been howling from six o'clock with little interruption."

His Duel with D'Esterre.—O'Connell was not sufficiently guarded in his language when speaking of other men, and on one occasion some one opposite to him said, "Such language might provoke a duel." "Oh, no," remarked O'Connell, pointing to one of his hands with the other; "there's too much blood upon this hand already." I heard him say this, and the effect, as he suited the action to the word, was very great.—*Professor Pryme.* O'Connell here referred to the incident of his duel with D'Esterre, which is thus related by Phillips:—"In one of his many mob-speeches, O'Connell called the Corporation of Dublin a 'beggarly corporation.' A gentleman named D'Esterre affected to feel this as a personal affront, he being one of that very numerous body, and accordingly fastened a quarrel on the offender. It is quite true that O'Connell endeavoured to avoid the encounter. But he did not do enough. He should have summoned D'Esterre before the tribunal of the country, after failing to appease him by a repeated declaration that he meant him no personal offence, and could not, he being a total stranger to him. However, on the occasion in question he showed a total absence of what is vulgarly called fear; indeed, his fixed determination was remarkable. Let those who read the following anecdote remember that he most reluctantly engaged in the combat; that he was then the father of seven children; and that it was an alternative of life or death with him, D'Esterre being reputed an unerring marksman. Being one of those who accompanied O'Connell, he beckoned me aside to a distant portion of the very large field, which had a slight covering of snow. 'Phillips,' said he to me, 'this seems not a personal, but a political affair. I am obnoxious

to a party, and they adopt a false pretence to cut me off. I shall not submit to it. They have reckoned without their host, I promise you. I am one of the best shots in Ireland at a mark, having, as a public man, considered it a duty to prepare, for my own protection, against such unprovoked aggression as the present. Now remember what I say to you. I may be struck myself, and then skill is out of the question; but if I am not, my antagonist will have cause to regret his having forced me into this conflict.' The parties were then very soon placed on the ground, at, I think, twelve paces distance; each having a case of pistols, with directions to fire when they chose, after a given signal. D'Esterre rather agitated himself by making a short speech, disclaiming all hostility to his Roman Catholic countrymen, and took his ground, somewhat theatrically, crossing his pistols upon his bosom. They fired almost together, and instantly on the signal. D'Esterre fell, mortally wounded. There was the greatest self-possession displayed by both."

Wanted, a Bellman.—At the Clare election, to the horror (says Phillips) of Vesey Fitzgerald, the rival candidate and a member of the then administration, Daniel, with the aid of his priests, polled tenant against landlord. Vesey, a lord in embryo, could not stand it, and he fled. Next day was a great day for Daniel. Priest, curate, coadjutor, bishop—he who, with no franchise, had voted notwithstanding; and he who, having one, had voted *very often*—the whole available population, the pure children of nature as he called them, and some of them most justly, hailed their champion as he shouted from the hustings, "Boys, where's Vasy Vigarald? Och hone, Vasy, but it's me that's dull without ye. *Righi, mavourneen! righi,** and send the bell about for him. Here's the cry for you—

'Stolen or strayed,
Lost or mislaid,
The President of the Board of Trade.'"

Scorning Advantage.—During a Dublin election, where Mr. West was a candidate, O'Connell resorted to his nicknames, and "sow West" and "ugly West" were lavished liberally. "Gentlemen," said West, good humouredly, "Mr. O'Connell takes advantage of me, for he wears a wig." "I scorn all advantage," exclaimed Daniel, casting off the ornament, and exhibiting a scalp literally without a hair between it and heaven—"I scorn all advantage; compare us now, boys; is sow West the beauty?"—*Curran and his Contemporaries.*

An Unexpected Opponent.—Fagan, in his "Life and Times of O'Connell," relates an incident that occurred during the canvass of the constituency of the county of Kerry, when the "Liberator's" nephew was a candidate for the representation. Daniel spoke from the balcony of the Chamber of Commerce in Tralee one day, and opposite him were the committee rooms of the Knight of Kerry. In the midst of a very powerful speech a donkey suddenly began to bray. The effect was most ludicrous. Every man, woman, and child, tittered, while the Conserva-

* "Run, darling! run!"

tive gentlemen roared aloud. Placid and collected, however, O'Connell looked around. A smile lighted up his face, and, raising his voice to its fullest pitch, he cried out, "Hear him! hear him, boys! 'tis the chairman of the Knight of Kerry's committee."

Parodies.—Some of O'Connell's parodies and poetical applications in debate (remarks Phillips) caught the humour of the House, and were considered felicitous. Amongst these was his sneer at the smallness of Lord Stanley's personal adherents after some general election :—

> "Thus down thy hill, romantic Ashbourne, glides
> The Derby dilly, carrying six insides."

His celebrated parody on three members of Parliament, Colonels Sibthorp, Perceval, and Verner, was extremely ready, and produced a roar :—

> "Three colonels, in three distant counties born,
> Lincoln, Armagh, and Sligo did adorn.
> The first in matchless impudence surpassed,
> The next in bigotry—in both, the last.
> The force of Nature could no further go—
> To beard the third, she shaved the other two."

Two of these gentlemen looked as if they never needed a razor, and the third (Sibthorp) as if he repudiated one.

Jupiter Relenting.—The following is related by Phillips, as illustrative of the arbitrary disposition of the great Repealer: "On a matter of parliamentary inquiry, on which I had quite as much experience as himself, our judgments differed, and I fared accordingly. No one could ever tell, however, when the storm might arise; but he had it ready, and often nursed it in smiles. After walking down with me to the House of Commons one evening, arm-in-arm, as friendly as possible, he vehemently assailed me on the subject alluded to. He refused to retract. No alternative was left but to right myself, which was done in a way by no means to his satisfaction. After my excellent friend Colonel Perceval, in his place in Parliament, read my letter of reply, Daniel fell into one of his paroxysms. 'The gallant member,' said he, 'may now congratulate himself on having severed a friendship of twenty-five years' standing.' Friendship indeed! His translation of the *idem velle et idem nolle* must have been a curiosity. For six months and upwards, when we met, his look was a wild glare. At last it pleased his Jupitership to relent. He walked up to me one day in the Reform Club, in high good humour: 'Charles, shake hands; I'm tired not speaking to you. I *forgive you!*'"

The Mob Orator.—The following allusion to O'Connell is to be found in Lord Lytton's "St. Stephen's" :—

> "Had that fierce railer sprung from English sires,
> His creed a Protestant's, his birth a squire's,
> No blander Pollio, whom our Bar affords,
> Had graced the woolsack and cajoled 'my Lords.'
> Pass by his faults, his art be here allow'd—
> Mighty as Chatham, give him but a crowd;
> Hear him in senates, second-rate at best,

Clear in a statement, happy in a jest;
Sought he to shine, then certain to displease;
Tawdry yet coarse-grain'd, tinsel upon frieze.
His Titan strength must touch what gave it birth;
Hear him to mobs, and on his mother earth!"

And the poet thus records his own observation of the power of O'Connell's voice over an immense crowd:—

"Methought no clarion could have sent its sound
Even to the centre of the hosts around;
And, as I thought, rose the sonorous swell,
As from some church-tower swings the silvery bell.
Aloft and clear, from airy tide to tide,
It glided, easy as a bird may glide;
To the last verge of that vast audience sent,
It play'd with each wild passion as it went;
Now stirr'd the uproar, now the murmur still'd
And sobs or laughter answer'd as it will'd.
"Then did I know what spells of infinite choice,
To rouse or lull, has the sweet human voice;
Then did I seem to seize the sudden clue
To the grand troublous Life Antique—to view,
Under the rock-stand of Demosthenes,
Mutable Athens heave her noisy seas."

The Last Speech.—On the 3rd of April, 1846 (writes Mr. Disraeli in his "Life of Bentinck") Mr. O'Connell had announced that he should state his views at length on the condition of Ireland. Accordingly, when the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate (on the Irish Coercion Bill) was read, he rose at once to propose an amendment to the motion. He sat in an unusual place, in that generally occupied by the leader of the Opposition, and spoke from the red box, convenient to him from the number of documents to which he had to refer. His appearance was of great debility, and the tones of his voice were very still. His words, indeed, only reached those who were immediately around him, and the ministers sitting on the other side of the green table, and listening with that interest and respectful attention which became the occasion. It was a strange and touching spectacle to those who remembered the form of colossal energy, and the clear and thrilling tones that had once startled, disturbed, and controlled senates. Mr. O'Connell was on his legs for nearly two hours, assisted occasionally in the management of his documents by some devoted *aide-de-camp*. To the House generally it was a performance in dumb show, a feeble old man muttering before a table; but respect for the great parliamentary personage kept all as orderly as if the fortunes of a party hung upon his rhetoric; and though not an accent reached the gallery, means were taken that next morning the country should not lose the last and not the least interesting of the speeches of one who had so long occupied and agitated the mind of nations.

RICHARD LALOR SHEIL.

(1794—1851.)

The Grave of a Government.—Professor Pryme says: "Mr. Sheil was distinguished, like O'Connell, by his advocacy of a repeal of the Union, and was one of the most eloquent and impressive speakers in the Parliament (1835). On a motion respecting Ireland, during Peel's short administration, he said that the grievances of that country had been fatal to several Governments, and 'even now,' pointing with bended form to that space of the floor which lies before the Treasury bench, 'have dug the grave that is yawning before the present one.' The sensation which his action and his figure created was so intense that we were almost tempted to look if there were not a chasm in the place he pointed to. He spoke with prophetic lore."

A Burst of Patriotism.—One of his most remarkable and beautiful outbursts of nationality (writes Francis) was in 1837, in his celebrated attack on Lord Lyndhurst for his "alien" speech. Alluding to the alleged charge that the Irish were aliens in blood and religion, he delivered this magnificent burst: "Where was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, when these words were uttered? Methinks he should have started up to disclaim them.

'The battles, sieges, fortunes that he'd passed,'

ought to have come back upon him. He ought to have remembered that, from the earliest achievement in which he displayed that military genius which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and surpassing combat which has made his name imperishable—from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies were filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Whose were the athletic arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? What desperate valour climbed the steeps and filled the moats of Badajos? All, all his victories should have rushed and crowded back upon his memory—Vimiera, Badajos, Salamanca, Albuera, Toulouse—and, last of all, the greatest. Tell me, for you were there—I appeal to the gallant soldier before me (pointing to Sir Henry Hardinge), who bears, I know, a generous heart in an intrepid breast—tell me, for you must needs remember, on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, while death fell in showers upon them; when the artillery of France, levelled with the precision of the most deadly science, played upon them; when her legions, incited by the voice, inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the contest;—tell me if, for an instant (when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost), the 'aliens' blanched? And when, at length, the moment for the last decisive movement had arrived; when the valour, so long wisely checked, was at last let loose; when, with words familiar but immortal, the great captain exclaimed, 'Up, lads, and at them!'—tell me if Catholic Ireland with less heroic valour than the natives of your own glorious isle precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England,

Scotland, Ireland flowed in the same stream, on the same field; when the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together; in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited; the green arm of spring is now breaking on their commingled dust; the dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Partakers in every peril, in the glory shall we not participate? And shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our lifeblood was poured out?" The effect produced by this passage will not be easily forgotten. The passionate vehemence of the speaker and the mournful music of his voice were a living echo to the deep emotions with which his soul seemed charged.

Sheil and Feargus O'Connor.—Towards the end of March, 1848 (writes Torrens), considerable apprehensions were entertained regarding the effect of certain writings and speeches addressed to the working classes—then suffering severely from want of employment—by Mr. Feargus O'Connor. Meeting him one day in the lobby of the House of Commons, Mr. Sheil drew him aside, and expostulated with him in a friendly but warning tone on the mischief he might heedlessly do to others as well as to himself. Remonstrance appearing to prove ineffectual, he said at length, in low but monitory accents, "Well, you will take your own course; but remember, I tell you as a friend, the Home Office has its eye upon you, and you may regret when too late your unwillingness to take prudent advice." "Oh!" exclaimed O'Connor, raising his voice, "this comes well from the *Right Honourable* Richard Lalor Sheil, whom I once heard on the hustings—when he was only, like myself, a plain *honourable* gentleman—tell the people what their rights were, and that if after due demand they could not get them by peaceful and constitutional means, he would not be found to shrink from leading them when other efforts must be tried." "But did you never hear," said Mr. Sheil, "what the people said to me afterwards? They told me that they knew very well that I had no more notion of taking up arms, or leading them to the field, than Feargus O'Connor."

An Appeal for the Jews.—In the second reading of the Bill for removing Jewish disabilities, introduced by Lord John Russell's Government in 1848, Mr. Sheil made the following appeal in its favour: "There have been repeated references in this House to the author of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' but I think that a name still more illustrious might have been cited. Was not Bolingbroke, the fatally accomplished Bolingbroke, to whose genius were offered tributes amounting almost to idolatrous veneration—was not Bolingbroke, who united to external accomplishment high intellectual endowments, and whose intercourse in private life exercised a species of fascination on all who had the misfortune to approach him—was not Bolingbroke, the infidel Bolingbroke, a member of this House? Was he stopped by the test which arrested the Jew? Did he not, on the contrary, tread upon it, and mount to the height of power, and become a confidential adviser of the Sovereign? Is it not preposterous that a man by whom revelation was rejected, who doubted the immortality of the soul, who doubted a future state of reward and

punishment, who doubted eternity and providence, who believed nothing, who feared nothing, who hoped for nothing, who laid no restraint upon his depravity, who had no incentive to virtue beyond such natural promptings as God may have given him—is it not monstrous that such a fiend should find his way into the House of Commons, and climb to the pinnacle of power, and that you should slap the door with indignation in the face of an honourable and conscientious man, who adheres to the religion in which he was born and bred—of a man who believes in the facts which constitute the foundation of Christianity, who believes in the existence of the noble part of our being, who believes in the mercies of God and who practises humanity to man, who believes in the ten great injunctions on which all morality is based, whose ear is never deaf to the supplications of the suffering, whose hand is open as day to melting charity, and whose life perhaps presents a better exemplification of the precepts of the Gospel than any of those men, for the sake of whose Christian religion the dishonouring disabilities are injuriously maintained?"

LORD JOHN (EARL) RUSSELL.

(1792—1878.)

A Host in Himself.—Walking, says Samuel Rogers, some years ago (about 1838 or 1839) through the Park with the Duke of Wellington, I said to him, among other things, "What an array there is in the House of Commons against Lord John Russell—Peel, Stanley, Graham, &c.!" "Lord John," replied the Duke, "is a host in himself."

His Introduction of the Reform Bill.—Earl Russell gave, in the introduction to his "Speeches," the following account of the effect produced in Parliament by the provisions of the first Reform Bill:—"So little were the opposite party prepared for the Bill, that a few days before the 1st of March, 1831, Sir Robert Peel, in a careful speech, derided what had been done on the subjects of peace and retrenchment, and predicted that when the plan of Reform should be developed, it would occasion disappointment by the meagreness of its proportions and the trifling nature of the changes recommended. The effect, therefore, of the revelations of the 1st of March was astounding. . . It was no wonder that this proposition, when placed boldly and baldly before the House of Commons, created feelings of astonishment, mingled with joy or with consternation, according to the temper of the hearers. Mr. John Smith, himself a member for a nomination borough, said the proposal took away his breath. Some, perhaps many, thought that the measure was a prelude to civil war, which, in point of fact, it averted. But incredulity was the prevailing feeling, both among the moderate Whigs and the great mass of the Tories. The Radicals alone were delighted and triumphant. Mr. Joseph Hume, when I met him in the streets a day or two afterwards, assured me of his hearty support to the Government. He said on another subject, in a public speech, that he was ready to vote black white in order to carry the measure of Reform. Lord Durham, who was sitting under the gallery on the 1st of March, told me he was inclined to doubt

the reality of what was passing before his eyes. A noble lord who sat opposite to me, and who has long ago succeeded to a seat in the House of Lords, cheered me so vociferously that I was myself inclined to doubt his meaning. I found afterwards that his cheers were meant derisively, to show his thorough conviction of the absurdity and impracticability of my proposals."—Lord Broughton in his "Recollections" says: "Never shall I forget the astonishment of my neighbours as Lord John Russell developed his plan. Indeed, all the House seemed perfectly astounded; and when he read the long list of the boroughs to be either wholly or partially disfranchised, there was a sort of wild ironical laughter. Lord John seemed rather to play with the fears of his audience; and, after detailing some clauses that seemed to complete the scheme, smiled and paused, and said, 'More yet.' When Lord John sat down, we of the Mountain cheered long and loud, although there was hardly one of us that believed such a scheme could, by any possibility, become the law of the land."

"Finality" in Reform.—In June, 1837, Lord John Russell observed of the Reform Act, in the House of Commons, "Her Majesty's Ministers, while they consider it a final measure, do not intend that it should remain a barren Act upon the statute-book, but that it should be followed up in such a manner as would ennoble, invigorate, and enlarge the institutions of the country." The name "Finality John" was frequently applied to his lordship after this declaration; but in 1849, in the course of a debate on certain proposals connected with the Charter, Lord John denied having ever used the word "finality" in the sense imputed to him.

Upsetting the Coach.—The satirist's portrait of Lord John Russell, in the following lines from Lytton's "New Timon," becomes far from uncomplimentary at its close:—

> "Next cool, and all unconscious of reproach,
> Comes the calm 'Johnny who upset the coach.'*
> How form'd to lead, if not too proud to please—
> His fame would fire you, but his manners freeze.
> Like or dislike, he does not care a jot;
> He wants your vote, but your affection not.
> Yet human hearts need sun, as well as oats,—
> So cold a climate plays the deuce with votes.
> And while his doctrines ripen day by day,
> His frost-nipp'd party pines itself away;—

* A note is added here: "Lord Stanley's memorable exclamation on a certain occasion which now belongs to history—'Johnny's upset the coach.' Never was coach upset with such perfect *sang-froid* on the part of the driver."

The "coach" in question was the Ministry of Earl Grey, in 1834. The exclamation was hastily scribbled on a piece of paper, and passed to Sir James Graham. The story went that Sir James slipped this paper into his pocket; it was found there the same night by his valet, who carried it to the *Times* office, and in this way the ministerial crisis oozed out to the public. This story, however, has been denied.

From the starved wretch its own loved child we steal,
And 'Free Trade' chirrups on the lap of Peel!
But see our statesman when the steam is on,
And languid Johnny glows to glorious John!
When Hampden's thought, by Falkland's muses dress'd,
Lights the pale cheek, and swells the generous breast;
When the pent heat expands the quickening soul,
And foremost in the race the wheels of genius roll!"

Mind Triumphing over Matter.—Here is another picture of Lord John Russell, by an acute observer (Mr. Maddyn):—"His outward form was frail and weakly; his countenance sicklied over with the effects of ill health and solitary self-communing; his figure shrunken below the dimensions of ordinary manhood; his general air that of a meditative invalid. But within that feeble body was a spirit that knew not how to cower, a brave heart that could pulsate vehemently with large and heroical emotions, a soul that aspired to live nobly in a proud and right manly career. His voice was weak, his accent mincing with affectation, his elocution broken, stammering, and uncertain, save when in a few lucky moments his tongue seemed unloosed, and there came rushing from his lips a burst of epigrammatic sentences—logical, eloquent, and terse, and occasionally vivified by the fire of genius. Then would his right hand convulsively be clenched, his head proudly thrown back, the outline of his face become rigid and drawn, and the small form seem to dilate, while the cheek would blanchen with moral excitement, as the ecstacy of applauding partizans made the walls of the Senate ring with echoing cheers."

Occasional Sparks.—The speeches of Lord John Russell, as a rule, show few sparkles of the genius which the literary portraits just referred to, like all contemporary impressions, recognise so freely. The wit and brilliancy which Lord John Russell undoubtedly possessed appear to have been deliberately and entirely subordinated to a staid, methodical way of dealing with parliamentary business, and to a sense of ministerial responsibility. It was often a momentary flash which alone revealed the full light within. This latent power was shown at times in unexpected repartee; and one of the most telling retorts ever uttered in either House of Parliament was made by Lord John when Sir Francis Burdett, after turning from Radical to Tory, thought proper to sneer at the "cant of patriotism." "I quite agree," said Lord John, "with the honourable baronet that the cant of patriotism is a bad thing. But I can tell him a worse—the *re*cant of patriotism—which I will gladly go along with him in reprobating whenever he shows me an example of it."

Equal Rights.—In a speech in the House of Commons in May, 1830, Lord John Russell thus opposed the idea of universal suffrage: "Considering our system—considering our monarchy and our House of Lords, and remembering the state of property in this country, I do not think that the exercise of universal suffrage could end otherwise than in a collision that would produce either a Commonwealth on the one hand, or an absolute Monarchy on the other. Mr. Fox, however violent he might be in opposition to, or in pursuit of, a particular measure, yet pre-

served a high degree of moderation in the most stormy times. When Mr. Fox was speaking of the doctrines of equality, so much in fashion at the time of the French Revolution, he said, 'I too, Sir, am for equality. I think that men are entitled to equal rights, but to equal rights to unequal things.' To that observation, Sir, I adhere. I think that if universal suffrage were introduced, equal rights to unequal things could not in the long-run be maintained."

"Conservatives" and "Reformers."—During the election of a new Parliament which followed the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, Lord John Russell, in addressing the electors of Stroud, thus referred to the suggested abolition of the terms Whig and Tory, and the adoption by the latter party of the then new term Conservative: "If they are really and truly conservatives as regards the general institutions of the country, no name is deserving of more adherents, or would meet with more general approval; but with them it is a mere change of name, a mere *alias* to persons who do not like to be known under their former designation, and who under the name of Conservatives mean to be conservative only of every abuse—of everything that is rotten—of everything that is corrupt. If that, then, is the name that pleases them—if they say that the distinction of Whig and Tory should no longer be kept up—I am ready, in opposition to their name of Conservative, to take the name of Reformer, and to stand by that opposition. And in looking back to history, taking their sense of the denomination of Conservative, I think one may be as proud of the name of Reformer as they can be of the name of Conservative. What was Luther? Luther was a Reformer. Leo the Tenth, who opposed the Reformation, was a Conservative. What was Galileo? Galileo, who made great discoveries in science, was a Reformer. The Inquisition, who put him into prison, was Conservative. So, in the same way, with respect to every part of history, we find that in all times and in all countries there have been Reformers and Conservatives. The Christians who suffered martyrdom in Rome were Reformers. The Emperor who put these Christians to death, Nero, was a Conservative."

The Ecclesiastical Titles Act.—"No Popery."—Earl Russell thus commented in his "Recollections" upon this Act, which was passed in 1851:—"The object of that bill was merely to assert the supremacy of the Crown. It was never intended to prosecute any Roman Catholic bishops who did not act in glaring and ostentatious defiance of the Queen's title to the Crown. Accordingly, a very clever artist represented me in a caricature as a boy who had chalked up 'No Popery' upon a wall and then run away. This was a very fair joke. In fact, I wanted to place the assertion of the Queen's title to appoint bishops on the statute-book and there leave it. I kept in the hands of the Crown the discretion to prosecute or not any offensive denial of the Queen's rights. My purpose was fully answered. Those who wished to give the Pope the right of appointing bishops in England opposed the bill. When my object had been gained, I had no objection to the repeal of the Act."

"Factious Combination."—After the defeat of Lord Derby's Government in 1852, and the formation of the "Coalition Ministry" by

the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord John Russell (Secretary for Foreign Affairs) thus defended himself and his colleagues, before the electors of London, from the charge of factious combination: "If an omnibus, with some dozen passengers, were seen going down Ludgate-hill at a furious pace, and breaking into the shop windows, and injuring everybody that was going by, why, every man would concur—the men that were going eastward and the men that were going westward—all would concur in stopping that omnibus, and telling the coachman to get off his box. And how much surprised would all those passengers, with the policeman at their head, be if the coachman were to say, 'Why, this is a factious combination. You, gentlemen, are going some of you one way and some another, and yet you have all combined to prevent me driving my omnibus into the shops.' Such, however, was the charge made against us—a charge, however, which I think you will say we need not be very much concerned at."

"Peace with Honour."—On receiving an address at Greenock, in September, 1853, Lord John Russell spoke of the duty that devolved on this country to endeavour to secure the rights of nations by peace, if possible, and added: "But while we endeavour to maintain peace, I certainly should be the last to forget that if peace cannot be maintained with honour, it is no longer peace. It becomes then but a truce—a precarious truce, to be denounced by others whenever they may think fit—whenever they may think that an opportunity has occurred to enforce by arms their unjust demands either upon us or upon our allies. I trust that so long as I can bear any part in the public councils of this kingdom such will be my sentiments."

Dangerous People.—Earl Russell writes: "When we first heard of the seizure of the two Confederate commissioners on board the 'Trent' (in 1861), Lord Palmerston asked me privately what we should do. I answered shortly, quoting what Grattan said with reference to another power, and on another occasion, 'The United States' Government are very dangerous people to run away from.'"

Public Justice.—In May, 1854, Mr. Disraeli made a speech in the House of Commons animadverting severely on the general management of affairs by the Aberdeen Ministry, and in the course of it taunted Lord John Russell with having joined that Ministry "without a department," and "condescending to accept subordinate office under an ancient and inveterate political opponent." Lord John, in reply, defended his present connection with the Earl of Aberdeen, and expressed his confidence in his colleagues, adding: "Should I be of opinion that the conduct of the war is not safe in the hands of the present Government—that the Government is not carrying on the war with the vigour which makes war successful, and with a view to a peace which alone could be safe and honourable—from that moment I should cease to be a member of it. But, Sir, considering that that is the great and pressing question of the country, no taunts of the right honourable gentleman would make me leave the Government with which I am connected—a position, God knows, of more labour and anxiety than of any pleasure, profit, or emolu-

ment. I repeat that, unless I were convinced that the present Government was more likely than any government which could be formed to carry on the war successfully, and to conclude it by an honourable peace, I should cease to be one of its members; but so long as I have that opinion, I shall trust to the House and to the country for putting a fair interpretation upon my conduct. I rely upon that justice which hardly ever fails to construe rightly the actions of public men."

"The Young Man from Northampton."—At the general election of 1857, a new candidate, of Northampton connections, was nominated by the Registration Association of the City of London to stand with other commercial men, to the exclusion of Lord John Russell. His lordship, in addressing the electors, made the following observations on this point: "If a gentleman were disposed to part with his butler, his coachman, or his gamekeeper—or if a merchant were disposed to part with an old servant, a warehouseman, a clerk, or even a porter—he would say to him, 'John (laughter), I think your faculties are somewhat decayed; you are growing old; you have made several mistakes; and I think of putting a young man from Northampton in your place.' (Laughter and cheers.) I think a gentleman would behave in that way to his servant, and thereby give John an opportunity of answering that he thought his faculties were not so much decayed, and that he was able to go on at all events some five or six years longer. That opportunity was not given to me. The question was decided in my absence, without any intimation to me, and I come now to ask you and the citizens of London to reverse that decision." The electors did so, Lord John being again returned in company with his former colleagues.

"Rest and be Thankful."—Earl Russell was entertained to dinner at Blairgowrie on the 26th of September, 1863, when, replying to the toast "Her Majesty's Ministers," he said: "With regard to domestic policy, I think we are all pretty much agreed, because the feeling of the country, and of those who have conducted great reforms, is very much like that of the man who, having made a road in your own highlands, put a stone on the top of the mountain with an inscription, 'Rest and be thankful.' That seems to be very much like our feeling; not that there are not other roads to make and other mountains to climb. But it seems to be the feeling of the country, in which I cannot help joining, that our policy is rather to 'rest and be thankful' than to make new roads."

Talent in the Lords.—"When a great question arises (says Earl Russell) which requires a display of more than ordinary knowledge of history, more accurate learning, more constitutional lore, and more practical wisdom than is to be found in the usual debates of Parliament, I know not where

> 'the general debate,
> The popular harangue, the tart reply,
> The logic and the wisdom and the wit,'

are to be found in greater perfection than among the prelates on the episcopal bench, the peers of three centuries of nobility, and the recent occupants of the woolsack."

Precious Possessions.—When the Reform Bill of the Aberdeen Ministry, of which Lord John Russell had charge in the House of Commons, was withdrawn in 1854, his lordship received one of the highest compliments ever offered by a political opponent. Mr. Disraeli said: "Although it has been my fate to be always seated opposite to the noble lord, I can say, most sincerely, that no one in this House has a more heartfelt respect for the noble lord than I have. I think his character and career are precious possessions of the House of Commons, and I am sure that the members of this House will always cherish them. Wherever the noble lord sits, I am sure he will be accompanied by the respect of every member of this House; and I think the manner in which to-night he has made what was evidently a painful communication is in every way worthy of the noble lord's character."

Earl Russell's Judgment on Himself.—To speak of my own work, I can only rejoice that I have been allowed to have my share in the task accomplished in the half century which has elapsed from 1819 to 1869. My capacity, I always felt, was very inferior to that of the men who have attained in past times the foremost place in our Parliament, and in the councils of our Sovereign. I have committed many errors, some of them very gross blunders. But the generous people of England are always forbearing and forgiving to those statesmen who have the good of their country at heart. Like my betters, I have been misrepresented and slandered by those who know nothing of me; but I have been more than compensated by the confidence and the friendship of the best men of my own political connection, and by the regard and favourable interpretation of my motives which I have heard expressed by my generous opponents, from the days of Lord Castlereagh to those of Mr. Disraeli.—*Introduction to "Speeches."*

LORD PALMERSTON.

(1784—1865.)

Entrance into Parliament.—The first constituency Lord Palmerston aspired to represent in the House of Commons was that of the University of Cambridge, for which he was nominated in 1806, and again in 1807, but proved on both occasions unsuccessful. The earlier of these events is alluded to by Byron, in "Hours of Idleness," in the following doggerel stanza:—

> "Then would I view each rival wight,
> Petty and Palmerston survey,
> Who canvass there, with all their might,
> Against the next elective day."

His lordship, however, was returned for the borough of Newport (I.W.) at the general election in 1807, but his name does not occur in "Hansard" as a speaker till the following year. In his "Autobiography" he wrote respecting his return: "I came into Parliament for Newtown in the Isle of Wight, a borough of Sir Leonard Holmes'. One condition required was that I would never, even for the election, set foot in the place. So jealous

was the patron lest any attempt should be made to get a new interest in the borough."

Early Promotion.—Lord Palmerston, soon after his return to Parliament, was made a Junior Lord of the Admiralty in the Duke of Portland's Administration. He had spoken only once in the House, and was but twenty-five years of age, when Mr. Perceval offered him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in his Government. After consultation with friends, he declined on the ground of his inexperience, and was then offered the Secretaryship at War—an office distinct from the Secretaryship *for* War, and concerned chiefly in the accounts of the department. He accepted this with reluctance, entering in his Journal: "I have always thought it unfortunate for any one, and particularly a young man, to be put above his proper level, as he only rises to fall the lower." This Secretaryship he continued to hold under various Administrations from 1809 till 1828.

Attempt to Assassinate Him.—The attempt to assassinate Lord Palmerston is thus related in a letter from the Rev. A. Harris to Lord Fitzharris, given in the Malmesbury Correspondence:—"April 8th, 1818. I have just seen Palmerston after this horrible attempt to assassinate him. He has received a contusion upon the backbone, but not a very severe one, and there is not the least reason for alarm. His escape was a very narrow one. The assassin, whose name is Davis, and who had been an officer in Spain, met him upon the staircase at the War Office, and was quite close to him when he fired; the ball penetrated his coat and waistcoat about the middle of his spine, and glanced off. Palmerston walked on to the room where his secretary was sitting, and told him that he had been shot at, but did not know what injury he had received. Astley Cooper, and another surgeon of the name of Lynn, came immediately, and found the flesh upon the backbone contused, but that the ball had not penetrated the skin. The ball was found upon the staircase. The surgeons conveyed Palmerston home. Meanwhile the assassin was seized by two messengers and put into safe custody. Palmerston told me that he knew him to be mad, and for that reason had declined seeing him, having received two letters lately asking him to do so." Lord Palmerston thus jocularly referred to the occurrence in a letter to Lord Malmesbury a few days afterwards: "After all, I am not half so sore as either Don Quixote or Sancho, upon many occasions in their adventures. . . One comfort is that I shall be recorded in illustrious company, as having had the same escape as the Duke of Wellington and the Regent; but I have so far the advantage of the latter that my bullet *has* been found, though, luckily, *not in me*."

Coming to the Front.—The following occurs in the "Journal" of C. Greville, Clerk of the Council, under date June 11, 1829: "The event of last week was Palmerston's speech on the Portuguese question, which was delivered at a late hour and to an empty house, but which they say was exceedingly able and eloquent. This is the second he has made this year of great merit. It was very violent against Government. He has been twenty years in office and never distinguished himself before—a proof how

many incidental circumstances are requisite to bring out the talents which a man may possess. The office he held was one of dull and dry detail, and he never travelled out of it. He probably stood in awe of Canning and others, and was never in the Cabinet; but having lately held higher situations and having acquired more confidence, and the great men having been removed from the House of Commons by death or promotion, he has launched forth, and with astonishing success. Lord Granville told me he had always thought Palmerston was capable of more than he did, and had told Canning so, who did not believe it."

A Three-Decker.—Canning, however, when Prime Minister, is reported to have once spoken with regret of the loss he sustained through the silence of his Secretary at War. "What would I give"—he is said to have exclaimed, when wearied with assaults from the Opposition benches—"what would I give to get that three-decker, Palmerston, to bear down upon them."

A Prophecy.—Lord Palmerston foretold not only the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel, but also the period of its adoption. Speaking in September, 1841, he said: "The right honourable baronet had said that he was not prepared to declare that he would never propose a change in the Corn Laws, but he certainly should not do so unless at the head of an united Cabinet. Why, looking at the persons who form his administration, he must wait something near five years before he can do it." It is a remarkable coincidence (remarks Francis) that in four years and eight months from the date of this prediction, Sir Robert Peel introduced his measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

"Off-hand" Debating.—In a speech against Sir Robert Peel's Government, in 1842, Lord Palmerston thus referred to Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby): "The noble lord the member for North Lancashire is almost the only member of the present Government who, in the course of this session, has said much upon foreign affairs. The noble lord, on the occasion to which I allude, made a very good off-hand speech, for no man is a better off-hand debater than the noble lord. But off-hand debaters are sometimes apt to say whatever may come into their heads on the spur of the moment, without stopping to consider—as they would do if they had time—whether what they are going to say is strictly consistent with the facts to which it applies. I remember to have heard of a celebrated minister of a foreign country, living about the middle of the last century, who was giving instructions to one of his agents as to the language he should hold in regard to the conduct of another government. The agent, having listened to the instructions, ventured, with great humility and very submissively, to suggest that the language which he was ordered to hold was not strictly consistent with fact, and might indeed be thought to be altogether at variance with fact. What was the minister's answer? 'Never mind *that!* What in the world does *that* signify? It is a good thing to say, and take care you say it.' That minister would, I think, have made not a bad off-hand debater in this House."

A Defence of "Restless Activity."—In March, 1843, Mr. Roebuck had moved for a committee to inquire into the causes of war with

Afghanistan, and had attacked Lord Palmerston, in his capacity as the late Foreign Secretary. His lordship thus replied: "The honourable and learned gentleman did not intend, I am sure, to have done that which I think he has done, that is, to speak in a complimentary manner of myself as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He stated a fact, and he coupled that fact with an epithet. In doing this, he certainly did not mean to be complimentary; but I throw the epithet aside, and look only to the statement of fact, which I consider to be complimentary to anyone in the situation which I had the honour to hold. The honourable and learned gentleman accused me of a 'mischievous and restless activity' in the discharge of my official duties. Now, with regard to the term 'mischievous,' I must take the liberty of saying that the honourable and learned gentleman appears to me to have peculiar notions of what is and what is not mischievous; and, therefore, he will pardon me for saying that his opinion that my official conduct was mischievous will not disturb the conviction of my mind that it was of a contrary tendency. That there was 'activity' the honourable and learned gentleman declares; and we have his unequivocal testimony to the fact. I thank him for that compliment. He says that my 'restless activity encircled the globe.' The sun never sets upon the interests of this country; and the individual whose duty it is to watch over the foreign relations of this country would not be worthy of his position, if his activity was not commensurate with the extensive range of the great interests that require his attention. That was my position; the honourable and learned gentleman admits my activity, and I thank him. . . I say, Sir, that our foreign policy was eminently successful; that we engaged in many great and important transactions; that those transactions were invariably brought to a conclusion according to the views of the British Government; that although at many periods there was great danger of disturbance to the peace of Europe, yet we—endowed, as the honourable and learned gentleman has sneeringly said, with miraculous power of running near the brink of danger, but never into it—succeeded in maintaining the peace of Europe."

"Old Women."—Lord Aberdeen in 1849, in the course of an attack on Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, said that Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Naples, had only been received by the King for the same reason that the old woman of Syracuse acquiesced in the tyranny of Dionysius—lest the devil should come next. Lord Palmerston replied to this a few evenings later: "There are men who, having passed their whole lives in adoring the Government of Austria, because they deemed it the great symbol of the opinions which they entertained, at last became fickle in their attachment, and transferred their allegiance to the Government of France, because they thought that in that Government they saw an almost equal degree of leaning to the arbitrary principle, and because they, forsooth, suspected that Government of designs hostile to the interests of freedom. We have heard of persons of that sort making use of the expression 'old women.' Public men ought not to deal in egotism, and I will not apply to them the expression that has fallen from their own

mouth. I will only say that the conduct of such men is an example of antiquated imbecility."

"Civis Romanus Sum."—The celebrated application of this phrase by Lord Palmerston occurred in the House of Commons on the 25th of June, 1850. The occasion was the debate on a vote of confidence in the foreign policy of Lord John Russell's Government, with especial reference to the affairs of Greece. Lord Palmerston, as the minister whose acts were immediately in question, entered into an elaborate defence of his entire foreign policy, and, after speaking for five hours, closed his peroration with a passage which is thus given in "Hansard":—"I contend that we have not in our foreign policy done anything to forfeit the confidence of the country. We may not, perhaps, in this matter or in that, have acted precisely up to the opinions of one person or of another—and hard indeed it is, as we all know by our individual and private experience, to find any number of men agreeing entirely in any matter on which they may not be equally possessed of the details of the facts, and circumstances, and reasons, and conditions which led to action. But, making allowances for those differences of opinion which may fairly and honourably arise among those who concur in general views, I maintain that the principles which can be traced through all our foreign transactions, as the guiding rule and directing spirit of our proceedings, are such as deserve approbation. I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this House, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it—whether the principles on which the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman, in days of old, held himself free from indignity when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong." —Sir Robert Peel, although speaking against the vote of confidence, remarked of Lord Palmerston's defence, amid the cheers of the House, "His speech made us all proud of the man who delivered it."

The Minister of England.—After the House of Lords, in 1850, had passed a vote of censure on the foreign policy of the Russell Administration, the Premier remarked of his Foreign Secretary, in the debate which ensued in the Commons: "So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend that he will act, not as the minister of Austria, or as the minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as the minister of England." The observation was thought, by some, mere tautology; but it was not so considered by Sir Robert Peel, who thus referred to it on a subsequent evening: "The noble lord said that his noble friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs would not be the minister of Austria, would not be the minister of Russia, and would not be the minister of France, but would be the minister of England. What was the meaning of that declaration? The noble lord

has too much prudence and discretion to point a sarcasm against three of the greatest powers of Europe; but he could afford to be very liberal with such weapons when directed against his predecessors. My construction of that passage was, that the noble lord meant to contrast the conduct of the noble lord the member for Tiverton with the conduct of the Earl of Aberdeen."

Shooting the Policeman.—In the defence of his foreign policy in June, 1850, Lord Palmerston thus referred to an attack which had been made upon him by Sir James Graham with regard to the affairs of Portugal: "Portugal is now in the enjoyment of a constitution, and practically it is working as well as, under all circumstances, and considering how recently it has been established, could perhaps have been expected. 'Oh, but,' said the right honourable baronet, 'you have Costa Cabral as minister, and your object was to get rid of him.' Now, the fault I find with those who are so fond of attacking me either here or elsewhere, in this country or in others, is that they try to bring down every question to a personal bearing. If they want to oppose the policy of England, they say, 'Let us get rid of the man who happens to be the organ of that policy.' Why, it is like shooting a policeman. As long as England is England, as long as the English people are animated by the feelings, and spirit, and opinions which they possess, you may knock down twenty foreign ministers one after another, but depend upon it no one will keep his place who does not act upon the same principles. When it falls to my duty, in pursuance of my functions, to oppose the policy of any Government, the immediate cry is, 'Oh, it's all spite against this man or that man, Count this or Prince that, that makes you do this!'"

"Judicious Bottle-holding."—On the 18th of November, 1851, Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Minister, received deputations from the borough of Finsbury and the parish of Islington, who presented addresses congratulating his lordship on the aid he had rendered the Sultan of Turkey in effecting the liberation of Kossuth. The Foreign Secretary declared himself highly gratified by such an expression of opinion on the part of so large a number of his fellow-countrymen; and, in alluding to the difficulties which were felt in the conduct of foreign affairs, he said (*Times* report), "a great deal of good generalship and judgment was required, and during the pending struggle a good deal of judicious bottle-holding was obliged to be brought into play." The phrase formed the subject of a characteristic cartoon for *Punch* shortly after it was uttered.

His Dismissal from the Foreign Secretaryship.—When Lord Palmerston was dismissed from Lord John Russell's Government, for having expressed to the French Ambassador his approval of Prince Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, the ministerial explanations respecting the event were anxiously awaited by the country. They were given immediately on the assembling of Parliament, February 3rd, 1852, in the debate on the address in answer to the speech from the throne. Lord John made an elaborate statement to the House, in the course of which he thus explained his reasons for the course he had felt compelled to adopt: "The Secretary

of State for Foreign Affairs, putting himself in the place of the Crown, neglected and passed by the Crown, in order to give his own opinion with respect to the state of affairs in France. Now, it struck me that a Secretary of State, constitutionally, has no such power. It appears to me that he can only act with the sanction and the authority of the Crown in matters of very great importance. In matters of small importance I am ready to admit that the Secretary of State must be allowed to take a course which to him seems best, without a continual reference to the Crown; but in this matter, which was of the utmost importance—namely, that of giving the moral influence and support of England to the act of the President of the French Republic—it seems to me that it was an affair so great that the opinion, not only of the Prime Minister, but of the Cabinet, should have been taken, and that no such opinion should have been expressed without their concurrence, and without the sanction of the Crown. . . When this took place, as I conceived the authority of the Crown had been set aside, and set aside for a purpose which the Government could not sanction, it appeared to me that I had no other course than to inform my noble friend that, while I held office, he could no longer hold the seals of the Foreign Office." Lord Palmerston's statement in his own justification was to the effect that the communication complained of had been made in a non-official conversation with the French ambassador. He held that "if the doctrine of the noble lord were established, and if the Foreign Secretary were to be precluded from expressing on passing events any opinion to a Foreign Minister, except in the capacity of an organ of a previously consulted Cabinet, there would be an end to that freedom of intercourse between Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Ministers, which tends so much to good understanding and to the facility of public business."—Earl Russell in his "Recollections," published in 1875, makes the following remarks upon this episode: "Baron Stockmar, whose memoirs have been published, seems to have acquiesced in the opinion that my conduct on that occasion was dilatory and undecided. My own judgment upon it is that it was hasty and precipitate. I ought to have seen Lord Palmerston, and I think I could, without difficulty, have induced him to make a proper submission to her Majesty's wishes, and agree to act in conformity with conditions to which he had already given his assent. I felt it to be my duty to declare the political connection between Lord Palmerston and myself to be dissolved. But I felt at the same time that my Government was so much weakened that it was not likely to retain power for any long time."

Overthrow of the Russell Administration.—Lord Palmerstone speedily avenged himself upon the Government from which he had been dismissed. On the 20th of February—only a week or two after the debate just mentioned—Lord John Russell moved for leave "to bring in a Bill to amend the laws respecting the Local Militia." Lord Palmerston proposed some amendments to the motion, the chief being to omit the word "local." He made a powerful speech, one of his most telling points being as follows: "The whole of the objections of the Government to the formation of a regular militia are founded upon a radical distrust of the

people of the United Kingdom. Sir, there is no foundation for this distrust; there is no reason to believe that the people of England would not rally round the national standard. It will not be for the first time that the people of Scotland will have risen up in arms and have fought the enemies of the United Kingdom; and if it be that we cannot trust the people of Ireland to be faithful and true to their Queen and country, why, Sir, let us at once send for a Russian force to defend us, or let us have an Austrian garrison in London. Let us hide our heads in shame and confusion; let us confess that England is no longer England; that her people are no longer endowed with that spirit and courage which sustained them in times gone by; and that they will not take up arms in their own defence, in defence of their homes and their families, of their Sovereign and their country. Such seems to be the idea of the framers of this Bill." On a division as to the word "local," the Government were defeated by 136 votes against 125, and Ministers immediately resigned.

A Thing in a Wrong Place.—At a meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1852, Lord Palmerston made the following remarks: "If ever there was a case in which it was true that knowledge is power, that maxim is peculiarly true in reference to the aids which chemistry affords to agriculture. Allusion has been made to the question of guano, and it has been mentioned, what is perfectly true, that when I held an office which would have enabled me, if it had been possible, to assist the farmer with regard to guano, my endeavours proved fruitless. In fact, the Peruvians were not more disposed to let us put a price on their guano than the British farmer would be to have a price put upon his corn (laughter). But, gentlemen, I cannot but think that the progress of chemical science, and the application of that science to practical agriculture, may lead you to something which will render you less anxious and solicitous about this same guano, and that, instead of sending to the other end of the world for more manure for our fields, we shall find something nearly, if not quite, as good within a few hundred yards of our dwellings. Now, gentlemen, I have heard a definition of dirt. I have heard it said that dirt is nothing but a thing in a wrong place. Now, the dirt of our towns precisely corresponds with that definition. It ought to be upon our fields, and if there could be such a reciprocal community of interests between the country and the towns, that the country should purify the towns and the towns should fertilise the country. I am much disposed to think that the British farmer would care less than he does, though he still might care something, about Peruvian guano."

National Fasts and Everyday Duties.—In the autumn of 1853, Lord Palmerston, then Home Secretary, received an address from the Presbytery of Edinburgh requesting the appointment of a day of national fast, in view of the probable approach of cholera. To this his lordship replied: "It does not appear to Lord Palmerston that a national fast would be suitable to the circumstances of the present moment. The Maker of the universe established certain laws of nature for the planet in which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or neglect of those laws. Lord Palmerston would suggest that the best

course which the people of this country can pursue, to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring in planning and executing measures, by which those portions of their towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorer classes, and which, from the nature of things, must most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence, and be fruitful in death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of an united but inactive nation. When man has done his utmost for his own safety, then is the time to invoke the blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions."

The Indefatigable.—Professor Pryme relates the following in illustration of Lord Palmerston's well-known capacity for mental labour: "One night, after a very late division, we were walking up Parliament-street together, when just opposite Downing-street he said to me, 'I must leave you here, for I have a dispatch to revise at the Foreign Office.' I expressed some surprise at his continuing his labours so far into the night, and he replied that he frequently did so." Another remark by a political associate may be cited to similar effect. Lord Granville in 1880, in receiving, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a deputation on the subject of the slave traffic in the East, said, "More than forty years ago I came to the Foreign Office as a young man, and the one thing which struck me more than anything else was the immense amount of endless labour which Lord Palmerston gave to every detail connected with the slave trade."

Palmerston's Début in the Premiership.—When (says the *Edinburgh Review*) he found himself at the head of the Cabinet, and leader of the House, he discovered that even his long experience of that body had not rendered him familiar with many of its usages. He set himself to learn the routine of his new position with the same patient industry with which more than forty years before, he had mastered the details of the War Office. Early and late was the Premier in his place; one of the first to come, one of the last to leave. Day after day saw him there before half-past four. Night after night did the summer morning find him still at his place. His first appearance as leader of the House of Commons was not entirely successful; but by the end of the session of 1855 he had effectually grappled with and overcome the difficulty. He continued the practice he thus commenced during the whole period of his Premiership.

A "Fortuitous Concourse of Atoms."—In announcing the dissolution of Parliament consequent upon the division on the question of the Chinese War (March 5th, 1857), Lord Palmerston, referring to the combination of parties which had produced the majority adverse to his Government, said: "Combination implies a certain degree of similarity and identity of feeling. Now the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Disraeli) in what he stated to the House spoke with a calmness, a temper, and a statesman-like view of a great occasion, which did honour to himself and to the party of which he is the leader. The right honourable gentleman the member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Gladstone), however, was carried away by an impetuosity and irritation of mind which certainly did

not betoken any previous concert with the right honourable gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire, and which will, I think, be considered by him an unfortunate omen for that co-operation which is to follow the assumed combination between them. I said nothing to-night with regard to combination or conspiracy, or anything, I believe, which could give offence to anyone; I did state that which is a fact. You may call it combination; you may call it the accidental and fortuitous concourse of atoms; you may call it the accidental meeting of different gentlemen in one lobby; but I say that when gentlemen are in the habit of finding themselves in the same lobby, it is not unnatural to suppose that they may, under certain circumstances, be ready to unite themselves together for forming an administration, and become responsible for the opinions which they severally entertain."

Good Humour.—Lord Palmerston (writes Mr. Hayward) had humour of the genial give-and-take kind, which, for a party leader, is often more serviceable than wit. He was told that Mr. Osborne, a popular speaker whose dash and sparkle are relieved by good feeling and sagacity, regretted a personal conflict which he had provoked. "Tell him," said Lord Palmerston, "that I am not in the least offended, the more particularly because I think I had the best of it."

Administering Reproof.—He had (says Lord Dalling) a good-natured, gay way of giving reproofs when he did not mean them to be severe, of which every one who had much correspondence with him will recollect some example. "Put a little more starch into your neckcloth, my dear ——," he said to a favourite diplomatist who he thought did not hold up his head high enough at the court where the minister represented us. . . To one gentleman who was perpetually pressing on him some claims of his father to a peerage, which claims had been frequently put aside by him, after reminding his correspondent courteously of this fact and of the reasons for it, he writes, as if relieving himself from a disagreeable thought, "I confess I cannot see what advantage or satisfaction can accrue to your father from drawing from me at repeated intervals a repetition of this statement."

Answering a Troublesome Elector.—At the general election in 1852, Lord Palmerston's return for Tiverton was unopposed, but he had to submit to a crossfire of questions from some of the Radical electors, and especially from a persistent individual named Rowcliff, a butcher of the town. Lord Palmerston in the course of his reply said: "My good friend, Mr. Rowcliff, has reproached me for not coming often enough among you. I must say that he does not appear disposed to make my visits here particularly agreeable to me (laughter). . . Mr. Rowcliff says that I only told you of the good that Governments and Parliaments have done, and that I have myself done, and that I have not told you of the bad. Why, God bless me! it was quite unnecessary for me to do that when he was here (loud laughter). If there was a bad thing to be recorded, to be invented, or to be imagined, I am quite sure Mr. Rowcliff would be the first man to tell you of it. (Laughter, which was increased when Mr. Rowcliff called out "Question!") Well, Mr. Rowcliff

is impatient under this castigation. I will hit lower or higher, just as he pleases, but he must allow me to hit somewhere. Mr. Rowcliff has asked me what government I mean to join. Now, that is a question which must depend upon the future; but I will tell him what government I do not mean to join. I can assure you and him that I never will join a government called a Rowcliff Administration." The noble lord presently touched as follows upon another question that had been put to him: "I am for septennial Parliaments. A septennial Parliament, practically, is not a Parliament that lasts for seven years, for we all know that the average duration of the Parliament during the last thirty or forty years has not been more than three or four years. If you establish annual Parliaments you will have the country in a perpetual commotion. Your members of Parliament will not have time to learn their duties, and your business will be ill done. In the same way, if you have triennial Parliaments, during the first year the members will be learning their business, in the second year they will just be beginning useful measures, and in the third year they will be thinking of the Rowcliffs of their respective constituencies (laughter), and endeavouring to shape their course, not for the good of their country, but in order to conciliate the most noisy of their constituents."*

Manner in Debate.—Speaking of one of Lord Palmerston's early displays in the House of Commons, Lord Dalling remarks that, while portions of his address were delivered with great ease and facility, "in others there was that hesitation, and superabundance of gesture with the hands, which were perceptible to the last when Lord Palmerston spoke unprepared, and was seeking for words; for, though he always used the right word, it often cost him pains to find it."

Happy Quotation.—Lord Palmerston was often peculiarly happy in the quotations with which he enforced an argument or illustrated a position in debate; and these not unfrequently culled rather from the byeways than from the highways of literature. One instance may be mentioned. During a discussion on the style of architecture to be adopted for the new law courts, his lordship was maintaining the propriety of admitting a plentiful supply of natural light into the obscure and knotty questions of law, and of giving to the gentlemen of the long robe scope and verge enough to facilitate their movements from court to court. "We have all heard," he said, "of

> 'Rich windows that exclude the light,
> And passages that lead to nothing.'"

The architectural features to which his lordship referred were characteristics of that ancient pile where in former times—

> "My grave Lord Keeper led the brawls,
> The seal and maces danced before him,"

but he, for one, did not think it desirable that they should be repeated too often at the present day.

* Compare under "Sir Richard Steele," p. 95.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

(1800—1870.)

Exciting Spanish Gratitude.—The Earl of Clarendon, who was Foreign Minister at the outbreak of the Crimean War, succeeded to the peerage on the death of his uncle in 1839, and never sat in the House of Commons. His earlier years were devoted to diplomacy, and he had for some time filled the post of British Minister at Madrid, when he was called to the House of Lords, and resigned his ambassadorial functions. He had not been long a member of the Upper House when a debate on Spanish affairs arose, in which Lord Clarendon ably defended the policy of the Government he had represented, and spoke warmly of the prospects of Liberal institutions in Spain. His speech so pleased the Spaniards that it was circulated throughout the country, a gold medal was struck in his honour, and it was resolved to present the upholder of Spanish dignity with a handsome work of art.

"Drifting into War."—On the 14th of February, 1854, the Marquis of Clanricarde, in moving in the House of Lords for further information respecting the cessation of diplomatic relations with the Court of St. Petersburg, and the war which appeared imminent, inquired of the Government, "If we are at peace, what is the peace? and what is the peace that is the object of the war?" In the course of his reply the Earl of Clarendon said: "The question had been asked whether we were at peace or war, and was one very difficult to answer distinctly. We are not at war, because war is not declared; we are not strictly at peace with Russia. (A laugh.) My noble friend may laugh; but he must know perfectly well that I am correct in saying that we are not at war with Russia, although diplomatic relations with that country are suspended. . . Therefore, I consider that we are in the intermediate state; that our desire for peace is just as sincere as ever; but then, I must say that our hopes of maintaining it are gradually dwindling away, and that we are drifting towards war."

"Europe on a Mine."—The Earl of Clarendon used this expression with reference to the state of Europe before the Crimean War. In a speech on the 25th of May, 1855, he said: "We have learnt a great deal of the intentions of Russia, and the means she possessed of giving effect to those intentions. We now know what were the vast military resources of Russia, how stealthily they had been accumulated, and how readily they could be made available. We now know something of the almost incredible amount of warlike stores which had been accumulated in Sebastopol, where Russia had no commerce to protect, and we are also aware of the gigantic fortifications which were contemplated at Bomarsund. Why, Europe was really standing upon a mine without being aware of it, while the influence of Russia was so skilfully exercised as to paralyse both Governments and people. The encroachments of Russia were unheeded, although her designs had been suspected and denounced; but it was nobody's business to interfere effectually, and no one wished to

disturb the general peace, until the mine which had been silently and slowly prepared was exploded by the rashness of Prince Menchikoff."

LORD MACAULAY.

(1800—1859.)

His Characteristics as a Speaker.—By all accounts (writes Dean Milman) Macaulay's delivery was far too rapid to be impressive; it wanted also variety and flexibility of intonation. Even the most practised reporters panted after him in vain; how much more the slower intellects of country gentlemen and the mass of the House! This, however, only heightens our astonishment that speeches so full, so profoundly meditated, yet with so much freedom, with no appearance of being got by heart, with such prodigality of illustration and allusion, should be poured forth with such unhesitating flow, with such bewildering quickness of utterance. To read them with delight and profit, we read them rather slowly; we can hardly conceive that they were spoken less deliberately. It may be questioned, and has been questioned, whether Macaulay was, or could have become, a masterly debater. This accomplishment, except in rare examples, is acquired only by long use and practice. When Macaulay entered the House, the first places were filled by men of established influence and much parliamentary training. Even if he had felt called upon to make himself more prominent, it may be doubted whether he could have sufficiently curbed his impetuous energy, or checked his torrent of words. He would have found it difficult to assume the stately, prudent, reserved, compressed reply; he might have torn his adversaries' arguments to shreds, but he would not have been content without a host of other arguments, and so would have destroyed the effect of his own confutation. Still, it is remarkable that on two occasions a speech of Macaulay's actually turned the vote of the House, and carried the question (a very rare event) in his own way—the debate on the Copyright Act, and the question of judges holding seats in the House of Commons. Though he took his seat, Lord Macaulay never spoke in the House of Peers; he went down, we believe, more than once with the intention of speaking, but some unexpected turn in the debate deprived him of his opportunity; his friends, who knew the feeble state of his health at that time, were almost rejoiced at their disappointment in not hearing him in that which would have been so congenial a field for his studied and matured eloquence.

"Express Train" Oratory.—The following graphic sketch of Macaulay's demeanour in the House and his manner in delivery is from Francis's "Orators of the Age":—"In the House of Commons, abstraction is his chief characteristic. He enters the House with a certain pole-star to guide him—his seat; how he reaches it seems as if it were a process unknown to him. Seated, he folds his arms and sits in silence, seldom speaking to his colleagues, or appearing to notice what is going forward. An opening is made in the discussion, and he rises, or rather darts up from his seat, plunging at once into the very heart of his subject, without exordium or apologetic preface. In fact, you have for a few seconds

heard a voice, pitched in alto, monotonous, and rather shrill, pouring forth words with inconceivable velocity, ere you have become aware that a new speaker, and one of no common order, has broken in upon the debate. A few seconds more, and cheers—perhaps from all parts of the House—rouse you from your apathy, compelling you to follow that extremely voluble, and not very enticing voice, in its rapid course through the subject on which the speaker is entering, with a resolute determination, as it seems, never to pause. You think of an express train, which does not stop even at the chief stations. On, on he speeds, in full reliance on his own momentum, never stopping for words, never stopping for thoughts, never halting for an instant, even to take breath—his intellect gathering new vigour as he proceeds, hauling the subject after him, and all its possible attributes and illustrations, with the strength of a giant, leaving a line of light on the pathway his mind has trod, till, unexhausted and apparently inexhaustible, he brings this remarkable effort to a close by a peroration, so highly sustained in its declamatory power, so abounding in illustration, so admirably framed to crown and clench the whole oration, that surprise, if it has even begun to wear off, kindles anew, and the hearer is left utterly prostrate and powerless by the whirlwind of ideas and emotions that has swept over him."

His Early Speeches.—Macaulay's first speech in Parliament was made on the Jewish Disabilities, in 1830, and was moderately successful; but in the following year his masterly speeches on the Reform Bill brought him to the front rank as an orator. Jeffrey, his colleague on the *Edinburgh*, who was also in Parliament, thus wrote to Lord Cockburn respecting Macaulay's speech on the second reading of the bill: "No division last night, as I predicted, and not a very striking debate. A curious series of prepared speeches by men who do not speak regularly, and far better expressed than nine-tenths of the good speeches, but languid and inefficient, from the air of preparation, and the want of nature and authority, with which they are spoken. There was but one exception, and it was a brilliant one. I mean Macaulay, who surpassed his former appearance in closeness, fire, and vigour, and very much improved the effect of it, by a more steady and graceful delivery. It was prodigiously cheered, as it deserved, and I think puts him clearly at the head of the great speakers, if not the debaters, of the House. I once meant to have said something, but I now think it impossible." A session or two later, Jeffrey again wrote: "I breakfasted to-day at Rogers's with Macaulay and Sydney Smith! both in great force and undaunted spirit. Mac. is a marvellous person. He made the very best speech that has been made this session, on India, a few nights ago, to a House of less than fifty. The Speaker, who is a severe judge, says he rather thinks it the best speech he ever heard."

An Indiscretion.—In 1839, Lord Melbourne offered to Macaulay the office of Secretary at War with a seat in the Cabinet—the office, however, being then one of second rank, as the chief responsibility in army affairs then lay with the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. The office was willingly accepted, particularly as it was coupled

with an honour which had been denied to men like Burke and Sheridan. The appointment of course necessitated the return of Macaulay to his constituents for re-election; and he incurred much ridicule and censure by a want of taste and judgment—especially remarkable in the case of so keen a critic—in dating his address to the electors of Edinburgh from Windsor Castle, where he was staying as the Queen's guest.

Giving the House a Story.—The following may be taken as an example of Macaulay's power to illustrate and enliven a subject of debate, however abstruse its nature. In February, 1845, Sir Robert Peel brought forward his New Tariff, in which were proposed discriminating duties on sugar, a prohibitory duty being imposed on foreign sugar manufactured by slave labour, while raw sugar of similar production was to be admitted freely for manufacture here. "I remember," said Mr. Macaulay, "something very like the right honourable baronet's morality in a Spanish novel, which I read long ago. I beg pardon of the House for detaining them with such a trifle, but the story is much to the purpose. A wandering lad, a sort of Gil Blas, is taken into the service of a rich old silversmith, a most pious man, who is always telling his beads, who hears mass daily, and observes the feasts and fasts of the Church with the utmost scrupulosity. The silversmith is always preaching honesty and piety. 'Never,' he constantly repeats to his young assistant, 'never touch what is not your own; never take liberties with sacred things.' Sacrilege, as uniting theft with profaneness, is the sin of which he has the deepest horror. One day, while he is lecturing after his usual fashion, an ill-looking fellow comes into the shop with a sack under his arm. 'Will you buy these?' says the visitor, and produces from the sack some church plate and a rich silver crucifix. 'Buy them!' cries the pious man. 'No, nor touch them; not for the world. I know where you got them. Wretch that you are, have you no care for your soul?' 'Well, then,' says the thief, 'if you will not buy them, will you melt them down for me?' 'Melt them down!' answers the silversmith, 'that is quite another matter.' He takes the chalices and the crucifix with a pair of tongs; the silver, thus *in bond*, is dropped into the crucible, melted, and delivered to the thief, who lays down five pistoles, and decamps with his booty. The young servant stares at this strange scene. But the master very gravely resumes his lecture. 'My son,' he says, 'take warning by that sacrilegious knave, and take example by me. Think what a load of guilt lies on his conscience. You will see him hanged before long. But as to me, you saw that I would not touch the stolen property. I keep these tongs for such occasions; and thus I thrive in the fear of God, and manage to turn an honest penny.'"

Subscriptions to Race Meetings, &c.—During Macaulay's earlier connection with Edinburgh as one of its representatives, he was applied to for a subscription to the annual race meeting of the city, the sum of fifty guineas having usually been given under such circumstances. He declined to continue the practice, and thus expressed his views to his friend Mr. Adam Black: "In the first place, I am not clear that the object is a good one. In the next place, I am clear that by giving

money for such an object, in obedience to such a summons, I should completely change the whole character of my connection with Edinburgh. It has been usual enough for rich families to keep a hold on corrupt boroughs by defraying the expense of public amusements. Sometimes it is a ball; sometimes a regatta. The Derby family used to support the Preston races. The members for Beverley, I believe, find a bull for the constituents to bait. But these were not the conditions upon which I undertook to represent Edinburgh. In return for your generous confidence, I offer faithful parliamentary service, and nothing else. The call that is now made is one so objectionable that I must plainly say, I would rather take the Chiltern Hundreds than comply with it. If our friends want a member who will find them in public diversions, they can be at no loss. I know twenty people who, if you elect them to Parliament, will gladly treat you to a race and a race-ball once a month. But I shall not be very easily induced to believe that Edinburgh is disposed to select her representatives on such a principle."

The "Bray" of Exeter Hall.—This celebrated expression, which lost Macaulay his seat for Edinburgh, occurred in his speech on the second reading of the Maynooth College Bill, in April, 1845. The passage containing it is thus given in his Speeches: "What substitute does the honourable baronet (Sir Robert Peel) give his followers to console them for the loss of their favourite Registration Bill? Even this Bill for the Endowment of Maynooth College. Was such a feat of legislation ever seen? And can we wonder that the eager, honest, hot-headed Protestants, who raised you to power in the confident hope that you would curtail the privileges of the Roman Catholics, should stare and grumble when you propose to give public money to the Roman Catholics? Can we wonder that, from one end of the country to the other, everything should be ferment and uproar; that petitions should, night after night, whiten all our benches like a snowstorm? Can we wonder that the people out of doors should be exasperated by seeing the very men who, when we were in office, voted against the old grant to Maynooth, now pushed and pulled into the House by your whippers-in to vote for an increased grant? The natural consequences follow. All those fierce spirits, whom you hallooed on to harass us, now turn round and begin to worry you. The Orangeman raises his war-whoop: Exeter Hall sets up its bray: Mr. Macneile shudders to see more costly cheer than ever provided for the priests of Baal at the table of the Queen; and the Protestant Operatives of Dublin call for impeachments in exceedingly bad English. But what did you expect? Did you think, when, to serve your turn, you called the Devil up, that it was as easy to lay him as to raise him?"

The House of Commons "The Beast."—In a letter written to Mr. T. F. Ellis in 1834, when Macaulay was in India, he tells his friend: "The Rajah was by no means the greatest fool whom I found at Mysore. I alighted at a bungalow appertaining to the British Residency. There I found an Englishman who, without any preface, accosted me thus: 'Pray, Mr. Macaulay, do you not think that Buonaparte was the

Beast?' 'No, sir, I cannot say that I do.' 'Sir, he was the Beast. I can prove it. I have found the number 666 in his name. Why, sir, if he was not the Beast, who was?' This was a puzzling question, and I am not a little vain of my answer. 'Sir,' said I, 'the House of Commons is the Beast. There are 658 members of the House; and these, with their chief officers—the three clerks, the Serjeant and his deputy, the chaplain, the doorkeeper, and the librarian—make 666."

The Taste of the House of Commons.—In February, 1831, Macaulay thus wrote to Whewell: "I am impatient for Praed's *début*. The House of Commons is a place in which I would not promise success to any man. It is the most peculiar audience in the world. I should say that a man's being a good writer, a good orator at the bar, a good mob-orator, or a good orator in debating clubs, was rather a reason for expecting him to fail than for expecting him to succeed in the House of Commons. A place where Walpole succeeded and Addison failed; where Dundas succeeded and Burke failed; where Peel now succeeds and Mackintosh failed; where Erskine and Scarlett were dinner-bells; where Lawrence and Jekyll, the two wittiest men, or nearly so, of their time, were thought bores, is surely a very strange place. And yet I feel the whole character of the place growing upon me. I begin to like what others about me like, and to disapprove what they disapprove. Canning used to say that the House, as a body, had better taste than the man of best taste in it, and I am very much inclined to think that Canning was right."

Parliamentary Government.—Lord Macaulay's remarks on this subject, in his review of Pitt's career, are as follows: "Parliamentary government, like every other contrivance of man, has its advantages and its disadvantages. On the advantages there is no need to dilate. The history of England during the 170 years which have elapsed since the House of Commons became the most powerful body in the State, her immense and still growing prosperity, her freedom, her tranquillity, her greatness in arts, in sciences, and in arms; her maritime ascendancy, the marvels of her public credit, her American, her African, her Australian, her Asiatic empires, sufficiently prove the excellence of her institutions. But those institutions, though excellent, are assuredly not perfect. Parliamentary government is government by speaking. In such a government, the power of speaking is the most highly prized of all the qualities which a politician can possess; and that power may exist in the highest degree without judgment, without fortitude, without skill in reading the characters of men or the signs of the times, without any knowledge of the principles of legislation or of political economy, and without any skill in diplomacy or in the administration of war. Nay, it may well happen that those very intellectual qualities which give a peculiar charm to the speeches of a public man may be incompatible with the qualities which would fit him to meet a pressing emergency with promptitude and firmness. It was thus with Charles Townshend. It was thus with Windham. It was a privilege to listen to those accomplished and ingenious orators. But in a perilous crisis they would be found far inferior in all the quali-

ties of rulers to such a man as Oliver Cromwell, who talked nonsense, or as William the Silent, who did not talk at all."

EDWARD BULWER, LORD LYTTON.

(1805—1873.)

Early Appearance as a Reformer.—Mr. E. Bulwer (afterwards Lord Lytton) first sat in Parliament as the representative of St. Ives, for which constituency he was returned in 1831; and he addressed the House on the 5th of July, on the second reading of the Reform Bill. On that occasion he thus expressed himself on behalf of a popular representation: "At a time when authority can no longer support itself by the solemn plausibilities and the ceremonial hypocrisies of old, it was well that a government should be placed upon a solid and sure foundation. In no age of the world, but least of all in the present, could any system of government long exist which was menaced both by the moral intelligence and the physical force of a country."

Democracy.—Speaking on the Reform Bill introduced by Lord Palmerston's Government in 1860, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton said: "Pure democracy, in the classic sense of the word, has conferred on the civilised world too many benefits, as well as warnings, not to have its full share of enthusiastic admirers among men of cultivated minds and generous hearts. But for pure democracy you must have the elements that preserve its honesty and ensure its duration. Those elements are not to be found in old societies, with vast disparities of wealth, of influence, of education; they belong to the youth of nations, such as colonies; and when any gentleman cites to us the example of a colony for some democratic change that he would recommend to the ancient monarchy of England, I can only say that he has not studied the horn-book of legislation. The acute democrats of that sublime republic by which we are all unconsciously instructed whenever we discuss the problems of government—the acute democrats of Athens—were well aware of the truth I endeavour, before it is yet too late, to impress upon you; they were well aware that democracy cannot long co-exist with great inequalities of wealth and power; they therefore began by ostracising the powerful, to end by persecuting the wealthy." Another remark on this subject by the same speaker will be remembered: "Democracy is like the grave—it never gives back what it receives."

A Defence of the Crimean War.—In a speech in favour of the continued prosecution of war with Russia, in June, 1855, Sir E. B. Lytton said: "Let me suppose that when the future philanthropist shall ask what service on the human race did we in our generation signally confer, some one trained perhaps in the schools of Oxford or the Institute of Manchester shall answer: 'A Power that commanded myriads—as many as those that under Xerxes exhausted rivers in their march—embodied all the forces of barbarism on the outskirts of civilisation. Left there to develop its own natural resources, no State molested, though all apprehended, its growth. But, long pent by merciful Nature in its own

legitimate domains, this Power schemed for the outlet to its instinctive ambition; to that outlet it crept by dissimulating guile—by successive treaties that, promising peace, graduated spoliation to the opportunities of fraud. At length, under pretexts too gross to deceive the common sense of mankind, it proposed to seize that outlet—to storm the feeble gates between itself and the world beyond.' Then the historian shall say that we in our generation—the united families of England and France—made ourselves the vanguard of alarmed and shrinking Europe, and did not sheathe the sword until we had redeemed the pledge to humanity, made on the faith of two Christian sovereigns, and ratified at those distant graves which liberty and justice shall revere for ever."

Ministerial Coalitions.—In a speech on Mr. Roebuck's celebrated motion in January, 1855, for a select committee to inquire into the conduct of the Crimean War, Sir E. B. Lytton made a very effective remark on this subject. He said: "Looking through our modern history, I find that most of our powerful, even popular Administrations, have been coalitions. Both the Administrations of Mr. Pitt were coalitions; and the last was very remarkable, for he first turned out the Addington Government, and then coalesced with six of its members. Nay, he was not contented till he had netted the expelled Prime Minister himself, and made him Lord President of the Council. But then there is one indisputable element of a coalition, and that is, that *its members should coalesce.* Now, sir, it is that element which seems to me wanting in the present Cabinet (Lord Aberdeen's). It has been a union of party interests, but not a coalition of party sentiment and feeling."

EDWARD GEOFFREY, EARL OF DERBY.

(1799—1869.)

His Manner.—"Gladstone's manner," says Professor Pryme, "I never saw excelled except by Lord Derby's, when he was in the House of Commons. The speaking of these two was like a stream pouring forth; or it might be described as if they were reading from a book. I have heard Pitt, Fox, and other great speakers, but never any to equal Lord Derby (when Mr. Stanley) for elegance and sweetness of expression."

His First Speech.—Mr. Stanley was three years in the House of Commons before he took part in its debates. His first speech was made in 1824, upon a bill for lighting Manchester with gas. Sir James Mackintosh, who spoke after him, very highly complimented the young member on his performance, and said, "No man could have witnessed with greater satisfaction than himself an accession to the talents of the House which was calculated to give lustre to its character and strengthen its influence; and this was more particularly a subject of satisfaction to him when he reflected that these talents were likely to be employed in supporting principles which he conscientiously believed to be most beneficial to the country." Mr. Stanley in the earlier portion of his career was identified with the Whig party.

Parliamentary Instinct.—Macaulay, in his essay on Chatham, thus alludes to the readiness in debate which Mr. Stanley manifested

from the first: "Scarcely any person has ever become a great debater without long practice and many failures. It was by slow degrees, as Burke said, that Charles Fox became the most brilliant and powerful debater that ever lived. Charles Fox himself attributed his own success to the resolution which he formed when very young, of speaking, well or ill, at least once every night. 'During five whole sessions,' he used to say, 'I spoke every night but one, and I regret only that I did not speak on that night too.' Indeed, with the exception of Mr. Stanley, whose knowledge of the science of parliamentary defence resembles an instinct, it would be difficult to name any eminent debater who has not made himself a master of his art at the expense of his audience."

Raising a Storm.—The Coercion Bill, introduced when Mr. Stanley was Secretary for Ireland, gave occasion for one of the most effective displays of his eloquence. The incident is thus narrated by Earl Russell: "It was thought right that Lord Althorp, as the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, should bring in the bill. He did so in a manner tame and ineffective. His detail of the outrages committed in Ireland was like reading a few of the blackest pages of the 'Newgate Calendar.' The Liberal majority were disappointed, sullen, and ready to break out into mutiny against their chief. Mr. Stanley, who was sitting next to me, greatly annoyed at the aspect of the House, said to me, 'I meant not to have spoken till to-morrow night, but I find I must speak to-night.' He took Lord Althorp's box of official papers, and went upstairs to a room where he could look over them quietly. After the debate had proceeded for two or three hours longer, with no change of temper in the House, Mr. Stanley rose. He explained, with admirable clearness, the insecure and alarming state of Ireland. He then went over, case by case, the more dreadful of the outrages which had been committed. He detailed, with striking effect, the circumstances attending the murder of a clergyman and the agony of his widow, who, after seeing her husband murdered, had to bear in terror running knocks at the door, kept on all night by the miscreants who had committed the crime. The House became appalled and agitated at the dreadful picture which he placed before their eyes; they felt for the sorrows of the innocent; they were shocked at the dominion of assassins and robbers. When he had produced a thrilling effect by these descriptions, he turned upon O'Connell, who led the opposition to the measure, and who seemed a short time before about to achieve a triumph in favour of sedition and anarchy. He recalled to the recollection of the House of Commons that, at a recent public meeting, O'Connell had spoken of the House of Commons as 658 scoundrels. In a tempest of scorn and indignation, he excited the anger of the men thus designated against the author of the calumny. The House, which two hours before seemed about to yield to the great agitator, was now almost ready to tear him to pieces. In the midst of the storm which his eloquence had raised, Stanley sat down, having achieved one of the greatest triumphs of eloquence ever won in a popular assembly by the powers of oratory."

An Effective Quotation.—The powers of elocution which Mr.

Stanley exercised in the Commons, before he was transplanted to the Lords as Lord Stanley (his father's second title), are shown by an incident which occurred in connection with O'Connell, a few years later than the scene just mentioned. For any speaker to give the House of Commons twenty lines of Shakespeare, not only without exciting its murmurs or contempt, but with great effect, was an achievement possible only to such a speaker as Stanley himself. The circumstances under which the incident occurred are thus described by Mr. Lecky: "When Lord Melbourne came into power, O'Connell gave his Ministry the whole weight of his support. His opponents Lord Grey and Mr. Stanley were no longer in the Ministry. . . The Melbourne Ministry exhibited the rare spectacle of a government opposed by the majority of the English members in the House of Commons, and by the great majority of the House of Lords, and at the same time unpopular with the country, but kept in power by the votes of the Irish members. O'Connell supported it very loyally, and, although in his position there was perhaps no great merit in not being a place-hunter, it is worthy of notice how cheerfully he acquiesced in his exclusion from a Ministry of which he was for some time the mainstay. On questions of persons and offices the Ministers found him uniformly moderate and conciliatory, and in this respect his attitude formed a marked contrast to that of Lord Brougham. In 1838 he refused one of the highest legal positions in Ireland—that of Chief Baron. The Repeal cry at this time was suffered to sink, and in Ireland as in England O'Connell steadily and powerfully supported the Ministry. There can, however, be no question that his support was ultimately a source of weakness. . . It would have been impossible to give O'Connell a place in it without shattering it, and there was no taunt against Ministers more applauded than their alleged subserviency to the agitator. The House of Commons seldom rang with more enthusiastic plaudits than when Mr. Stanley, in one of his attacks upon the Government, quoted these lines from Shakespeare:—

'But shall it be that you, that set the crown
Upon the head of this forgetful man,
And for his sake wear the detested blot
Of murderous subornation—shall it be
That you a world of curses undergo,
Being the agents, or base second means,
The cords, the ladder, or the hangman rather?
O, pardon me that I descend so low
To show the line and the predicament
Wherein you range under this subtle king.
Shall it for shame be spoken in these days,
Or fill up chronicles in time to come,
That men of your nobility and power
Did 'gage them both in an unjust behalf,
As both of you—God pardon it!—have done? . .
And shall it be, in more shame, further spoken,
That you are fooled, discarded, and shook off
By him for whom these shames ye underwent?'"

A Slip.—We remember (says the writer of a biographical notice of Lord Derby) to have heard Lord Macaulay say that no one ever attempted to catch Lord Stanley tripping, and to interrupt him in his speech, without coming by the worst in the encounter. He might well say so, for he was himself an example of the truth of his words. On one occasion, in the full rush and torrent of his eloquence, Lord Stanley used the expression "mutually suicidal." It was, perhaps, not strictly defensible, and the slip was too much for the "book in breeches," who was then sitting on the front bench in opposition, to pass over. Half rising from his seat, and removing his hat with well-affected courtesy, he repeated the words in an inquiring tone, "Mutually suicidal?" Lord Stanley checked himself for an instant, looked his antagonist full in the face, and, without attempting to justify the expression, contemptuously replied, "The right honourable gentleman is a great verbal critic." The cheers of the House showed the retort had told.

"The Rupert of Debate."—This well-known epithet was applied to Lord Stanley by Lord Lytton in his poem, "The New Timon." The following is the passage in which it occurs:—

> "The brilliant chief, irregularly great,
> Frank, haughty, rash—the Rupert of Debate.
> Nor gout nor toil his freshness can destroy,
> And time still leaves all Eton in the boy.
> First in the class, and keenest in the ring,
> He saps like Gladstone, and he fights like Spring.
> Ev'n at the feast his pluck pervades the board,
> And dauntless game-cocks symbolise their lord.
> Lo where atilt at friend—if barr'd from foe—
> He scours the ground and volunteers the blow,
> And, tired with conquest over Dan and Snob,
> Plants a slight bruiser on the nose of Bob.
> Decorous Bob, too friendly to reprove,
> Suggests fresh fighting in the next remove,
> And prompts his chum, in hopes the vein to cool,
> To the prim benches of the Upper School.
> Yet who not listens with delighted smile
> To the pure Saxon of that silver style?
> In the clear style a heart as clear is seen,
> Prompt to the rash—revolting from the mean."

Mr. Disraeli, however, appears to have originated the expression. The "New Timon" was first published in 1846; but in April, 1844, Mr. Disraeli thus alluded to Lord Stanley, in a discussion on some charges brought by Mr. Ferrand against Sir James Graham: "The noble lord in this case, as in so many others, first destroys his opponent, and then destroys his own position afterwards. The noble lord is the Prince Rupert of Parliamentary discussion; his charge is resistless; but when he returns from the pursuit he always finds his camp in the possession of the enemy."

A New Crop of Statesmen.—Shortly after the formation of his first Ministry, in 1852, Lord Derby and the rest of the members of the

Government were entertained by the Goldsmiths' Company. Alluding in his speech to the efforts he had made to form a Cabinet, he illustrated them by a reference to the recent gold discoveries, and said: "It was supposed that the crop of statesmen was one of very limited amount, for which, if you were disposed to search, you must dig in certain favoured localities, and confine yourself to searching for them there. I am happy to think, gentlemen, that to some extent I have been instrumental in dispelling that illusion. A fortunate adventurer, I have boldly opened a new mine, and I am happy to say that in the opinion of competent judges, so far as it has been yet worked, the ore that has been raised contains among it as large a proportion of sterling metal, with as little admixture of dross, as any that was ever drawn from the old and exclusive mines to which we were formerly confined."

A Candid Confession.—Writing to Lord Derby (then Prime Minister) in 1858, the Prince Consort informed him incidentally that Prince Alfred had just passed his examination as a naval cadet and received his appointment, and said: "I send you Prince Alfred's examination papers, which may, perhaps, interest you. He solved the mathematical problems almost all without fault, and did the translations without a dictionary." In his reply, after thanking the Prince for sending him the papers, Lord Derby wrote: "As I looked over them, I could not but feel very grateful that no such examination was necessary to qualify her Majesty's Ministers for their offices, as it would very seriously increase the difficulty of framing an administration."

The Democratic Tide.—It was often imputed to the Earl of Derby that he had said he considered it his mission to "stem the tide of democracy." The exact phrase did not proceed from his own mouth, but was founded on a passage in a speech he delivered on the 15th of March, 1852. Replying to a question from Lord Beaumont as to the intentions of the new Government with respect to duties on corn, Earl Derby said: "We are threatened with far more serious consequences than could result from the imposition of a 4*s*., 5*s*., or 7*s*. duty on foreign corn. The question before us is, whether the Government of this country can be carried on, and as to the principles on which it is to be carried on. And when I appeal to the country it will be on these grounds: Will you, Protectionists and Free Traders, all you who desire the advantage of all the interests of the country, place your confidence in, and give your support to, a Government which, in the hour of peril, did not hesitate to take the post of danger when the helmsman had left the helm? Will you support a Government which is exerting itself to protect the country against any hostile attack, to maintain the peace of the world, to maintain and uphold the Protestant institutions of the country, to give, to the utmost of its power, religious and moral education throughout the land; and which will exert itself moreover, I don't hesitate to say, to *stem* with some opposition, to supply some barrier against the current of that continually increasing and encroaching *democratic influence* in this nation, which is bent on throwing the whole power and authority of the Government nominally into the hands of the masses, but practically and really

into those of demagogues and republicans, who exercise an influence over those unthinking masses—will you, I say, support a Government which is determined to resist that noxious and dangerous influence, and to preserve inviolate the prerogatives of the Crown, the rights of your lordships' House, and the liberties of a freely-elected and freely-represented House of Commons? These, my lords, are the questions on which, when I go to the country, I make my appeal, on behalf of myself and of my colleagues; and, in the words which are placed in the mouths of the meanest felons that stand in the prisoner's dock, but which are not unworthy of the mouth of the first minister of the first country in the world, I say, 'I elect that we shall be tried by God and our country.'"—(Hansard's Report.)

"Meddle and Muddle."—Lord Derby made use of this expression in February, 1864, to characterise the policy then being pursued by Earl Russell as Foreign Minister: "The foreign policy of the noble earl (said he), as far as the principle of non-intervention is concerned, may be summed up in two truly expressive words—'meddle' and 'muddle.' During the whole course of his diplomatic correspondence, wherever he has interfered—and he has interfered everywhere—he has been lecturing, scolding, blustering, and—retreating."

The "Leap in the Dark."—On the third reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords, August 6th, 1867, the Earl of Derby said: "No doubt we are making a great experiment and 'taking a leap in the dark,' but I have the greatest confidence in the sound sense of my fellow-countrymen, and I entertain a strong hope that the extended franchise which we are now conferring upon them will be the means of placing the institutions of this country on a firmer basis, and that the passing of the measure will tend to increase the loyalty and contentment of a great portion of her Majesty's subjects."

"Dishing the Whigs."—Lord Derby's style was always dignified in debate, but in conversation with his colleagues he was often extremely colloquial and idiomatic. An example has been given in his brief remark to Sir James Graham on the downfall of the Grey Ministry, "Johnny's upset the coach." Another famous saying must be instanced. Replying to an old associate who thought the Reform Bill of the Derby-Disraeli Cabinet had gone too far in a popular direction, the Earl of Derby is said to have contented himself with the remark, "We have dished the Whigs!" as a complete justification of his policy.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

(1805.)

His Early Candidatures.—The future leader of the Conservative party first became a candidate for Parliament under Radical auspices, presenting himself at High Wycombe in 1832, with recommendations from Hume and O'Connell. Being repeatedly unsuccessful here, in 1835 he offered himself for Taunton, and on this occasion spoke against O'Connell. The latter shortly after made a characteristic reply, in which he declared of his opponent that "he possesses just the qualities of the

impenitent thief who died upon the cross, whose name, I very believe, must have been Disraeli." Smarting under this onslaught, Mr. Disraeli challenged the son of the Irish demagogue to perform "the vicarious duty of yielding satisfaction for the insults which your father has too long lavished with impunity on his political opponents;" for O'Connell, after his fatal combat with D'Esterre (p. 256), had vowed not to fight a duel again. Mr. Morgan O'Connell on a similar occasion had offered to meet Lord Alvanley, but he now declined; and Mr. Disraeli thereupon wrote to the father a letter in which he said, "With regard to your taunts as to my want of success in my election contests, permit me to remind you that I had nothing to appeal to but the good sense of the people. No threatening skeletons canvassed for me;" with more to the same effect, concluding with the words, "We shall meet at Philippi."

A Forecast.—Melbourne and Disraeli.—Mr. Disraeli, before he entered Parliament, was asked by Mr. and Mrs. Norton to meet at dinner Lord Melbourne, then Home Secretary. The interview is thus related by Mr. Torrens in his "Memoirs of Melbourne:"—"Young Disraeli was not long returned from his travels in the East, with traits of which he had interested Mrs. Norton on the occasion of their first acquaintance. He had just then been defeated in an attempt to get into Parliament for the borough of Wycombe, where he attributed his failure to the want of support by the Whigs. Mrs. Norton presented him after dinner to the Home Secretary, who had the power, she said, of retrieving the disappointment if he chose; and whose frank and open manner led to a long conversation, in which Mr. Disraeli mentioned the circumstances of his late discomfiture, dwelling on each particular with the emphasis which every young man of ambition since Parliament was invented is sure to lay upon the broken promises and scandalous behaviour of his victorious foes. The minister was attracted more and more as he listened to the uncommonplace language and spirit of the youthful politician, and thought to himself he would be well worth serving. Abruptly, but with a certain tone of kindness which took away any air of assumption, he said, 'Well now, tell me,—what do you want to be?' The quiet gravity of the reply fairly took him aback—'I want to be Prime Minister.' Melbourne gave a long sigh, and then said very seriously: 'No chance of that in our time. It is all arranged and settled. Nobody but Lord Grey could perhaps have carried the Reform Bill; but he is an old man, and when he gives up, he will certainly be succeeded by one who has every requisite for the position, in the prime of life and fame, of old blood, high rank, great fortune, and greater ability. Once in power, there is nothing to prevent him holding office as long as Sir Robert Walpole. Nobody can compete with Stanley. I heard him the other night in the Commons, when the party were all divided and breaking away from their ranks, recall them by the mere force of superior will and eloquence: he rose like a young eagle above them all, and kept hovering over their heads till they were reduced to abject submission. There is nothing like him. If you are going into politics and mean to stick to it, I dare say you will do very well, for you have ability and enterprise; and if you are careful

how you steer, no doubt you will get into some port at last. But you must put all these foolish notions out of your head; they won't do at all. Stanley will be the next Prime Minister you will see.' How both would have started had their sybil-like hostess unfolded then and there in prophetic dream the fate in store for each; for the one, that before many months, and for the other after the lapse of five-and-thirty years, that he should be Prime Minister of England!" Mr. Torrens also mentions that in later years, when Lord Melbourne listened to the telling onslaughts by his early acquaintance on Peel, he recalled his strange talk at Storey's Gate, and exclaimed, "By Jove, I believe he'll do it after all."

His First Appearance in Parliament.—Mr. Disraeli was first returned in 1837, as representative of Maidstone, and delivered his maiden speech on the 7th of December in that year, on Irish election petitions. He was heard with continual interruptions, but concluded with a prophecy which has become famous. The following was his peroration, as given in "Hansard":—"Nothing was so easy as to laugh. He wished before he sat down to show the House clearly their position. When they remembered that, in spite of the support of the hon. and learned member for Dublin (Mr. O'Connell) and his well-disciplined band of patriots, there was a little shyness exhibited by former supporters of her Majesty's Government—when they recollected the 'new loves' and the 'old loves' in which so much of passion and recrimination was mixed up between the noble Tityrus of the Treasury bench and the learned Daphne of Liskeard (loud laughter)—notwithstanding the *amantium iræ* had resulted, as he had always expected, in the *amoris integratio* (renewed laughter)—notwithstanding that political duel had been fought, in which more than one shot was interchanged, but in which recourse was had to the secure arbitrament of blank cartridges (laughter)—notwithstanding emancipated Ireland and enslaved England, the noble lord might wave in one hand the keys of St. Peter, and in the other—(the shouts that followed drowned the conclusion of the sentence). 'Let them see the philosophical prejudice of man.' He would certainly gladly hear a cheer, even though it came from the lips of a political opponent. He was not at all surprised at the reception which he had experienced. He had begun several times many things, and he had often succeeded at last. He would sit down now, but the time would come when they would hear him." A week after, he spoke a few sentences on the Copyright Bill, and he addressed the House several times in the following session.

An Early Passage with Palmerston.—Mr. Disraeli stood for Shrewsbury in 1841 as an ardent supporter of Sir Robert Peel, and on his election wrote to inform the Conservative leader that "the electors of Shrewsbury had done their duty." Shortly after, Sir Robert acceded to power, and the fact that the honourable gentleman received no appointment in his Government was alluded to in the following session by Lord Palmerston. Mr. Disraeli had brought forward a motion (March 8, 1842) in favour of blending the consular with the diplomatic body, and on certain portions of his speech Lord Palmerston made the following remarks: "The honourable gentleman had indeed affirmed the general principle that

political adherents ought to be rewarded by appointments, and he regretted to observe an exception to that rule in the person of the honourable gentleman himself. After the proof, however, of talent and ability which the honourable gentleman afforded, although perhaps not of great industry in getting up the details of his case, he trusted that before the end of the session the Government would overlook the slight want of industry for the sake of the talent, and that the House would see the maxim of the honourable member practically applied to his own case." To this Mr. Disraeli rejoined: "He must offer his acknowledgments to the noble viscount for his courteous aspirations for his political promotion. Such aspirations from such a quarter must be looked upon as suspicious. The noble viscount was a consummate master of the subject, and if the noble viscount would only impart to him the secret by which he had himself contrived to retain office during seven successive Administrations, the present debate would certainly not be without a result."

The "Young England" Party.—About the year 1843, this name became applied to a knot of young politicians in the House of Commons, of whom Mr. Disraeli was the most conspicuous. In his "Coningsby" the ideas of the party were supposed to be unfolded; and another of its prominent members, Lord John Manners, published a volume of poems ("England's Trust," &c.), one couplet in which has become famous:

> "Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,
> But leave us still our old nobility!"

The talented George Smythe, afterwards Lord Strangford, was also a member of this school of advanced, or, as many thought, retrograde politicians. Its members affected a spice of dandyism, of which the wearing of white waistcoats in the House was one of the peculiar signs. Mr. Henry Drummond once alluded to the group as "the members with sparkling eyes and white waistcoats."

The Whigs caught Bathing.—It was in a debate on the opening of letters at the Post Office, in 1845, that Mr. Disraeli used this celebrated illustration of the tactics of Sir Robert Peel. He said, "I know there are some who think that he is looking out for new allies. I never believed anything of the kind. The position of the right honourable gentleman is clear and precise. I do not believe he is looking to any coalition, although many of my constituents do. The right honourable gentleman has only exactly to remain where he is. The right honourable gentleman caught the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes. He has left them in the full enjoyment of their liberal position, and he is himself a strict conservative of their garments."

The "Organised Hypocrisy."—In a debate on "the agricultural interest," March 17, 1845, Mr. Disraeli thus closed a powerful speech: "Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. For my part, if we are to have free trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honourable member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden), than by one who, through skilful parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what may be

the result. Dissolve, if you please, the Parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people, who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least—the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative Government is an Organised Hypocrisy."—The last two words are printed with capital letters in "Hansard's Debates," which are professedly revised by the speakers themselves.

"Tea-Kettle Precedents."—When Sir Robert Pee introduced the bill for the increased grant to Maynooth, he rested his arguments (says Francis) less upon any broad scheme of policy which might have compromised him directly with powerful parties, than upon the fact that the principle had been sanctioned, though obscurely, by parliamentary authority. This gave occasion to Mr. Disraeli to make a hit at the Premier, which was at once humorous and true. He said that with him great measures were always rested on small precedents; that he always traced the steam-engine back to the tea-kettle; that, in fact, all his precedents were "tea-kettle precedents."

A Parliamentary Middleman.—"The Dunciad of Politics."—In a debate on the Maynooth grant, Mr. Disraeli applied the first-named epithet to Sir R. Peel. He said: "Something has risen up in this country as fatal in the political world as it has been in the landed world of Ireland—we have a great parliamentary middleman. It is well known what a middleman is; he is a man who bamboozles one party and plunders the other, till, having obtained a position to which he is not entitled, he cries out, 'Let us have no party questions, but fixity of tenure.' . . I hope I shall not be answered by 'Hansard.' I am not surprised that the right honourable gentleman should be so fond of recurring to that great authority; he has great advantages; he can look over a record of thirty, and more than thirty, years of an eminent career. But that is not the lot of every one; and I may say as a general rule I am rather surprised that your experienced statesman should be so fond of recurring to that eminent publication. What, after all, do they see on looking over a quarter of a century, or more even, of their speeches in 'Hansard?' What dreary pages of interminable talk, what predictions falsified, what pledges broken, what calculations that have gone wrong, what budgets that have blown up! And all this, too, not relieved by a single original thought, or a single generous impulse, or a single happy expression! Why, 'Hansard,' instead of being the Delphi of Downing-street, is but the Dunciad of Politics."

Leading up to his Point.—Mr. Disraeli's art in this is illustrated in the following, from Maddyn's "Chiefs of Parties":—On one occasion, while Mr. Disraeli was playing the part of Junius on his legs, he convulsed the House of Commons while Sir Robert Peel winced under the torturing sarcasm. "Honourable gentlemen think that the conduct of the right honourable baronet is not guided by principle, and that it is extremely difficult to interpret his speeches or to understand his policy. I differ from that view. To me it seems that nothing can be more plain, or less unreserved, or more entirely straightforward than the right honourable baronet in his public course." (Looks of surprise from all sides.) "I say

that he has a perfectly frank mode of treating questions." (Increased surprise.) "I will give an infallible mode of deciphering him, when he is in his most tortuous mood of mind. If you want to know how the right honourable gentleman will ultimately act upon any distorted question in politics, all you have to do is "—(a long pause, and, amid a hushed expectation of the point, the accomplished political archer, with serene irony of countenance, launched his shaft)—"*to look to the last state of the poll.*"

"Candid Friends."—One of the sharpest of the passages between Mr. Disraeli and Sir Robert Peel was the following. Mr. Disraeli had made an attack on the Minister in the debate on opening letters in the Post Office, Feb. 20, 1845, and to this Sir Robert, on the following night, thus replied: "Notwithstanding the provocation of the honourable gentleman, I will not deal so harshly with him as he has dealt with me. He undertakes to assure the House that my vehemence was all pretended, and warmth all simulated. I, on the contrary, will do him entire justice; I do believe that his bitterness was not simulated, but that it was entirely sincere. . . The honourable gentleman is at perfect liberty to give a direct support to a hostile motion; but all I ask is, that when he gives that support to the motion, let him not say that he does it in a friendly spirit.

> 'Give me the avowed, erect, and manly foe;
> Firm I can meet, perhaps can turn the blow;
> But of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send,
> Save me, O save me, from a candid friend.'

Here we meet in debate with our opponents opposite. We enter into conflict with them, mutually attacking and repelling attack *adverso fronte*. When engaged in that conflict, it is certainly not very convenient, though it may be unavoidable, to have a blow aimed at your right flank which you did not expect." Mr. Disraeli, a few nights afterwards, thus retorted: "If the right honourable gentleman may find it sometimes convenient to reprove a supporter on his right flank, perhaps we deserve it—I, for one, am quite prepared to bow to the rod; but really, if the right honourable gentleman, instead of having recourse to obloquy, would only stick to quotation, he may rely on it, it would be a safer weapon. It is one he always wields with the hand of a master; and when he does appeal to any authority, in prose or verse, he is sure to be successful, partly because he seldom quotes a passage that has not previously received the meed of parliamentary approbation, and partly and principally because his quotations are so happy. The right honourable gentleman knows what the introduction of a great name does in debate—how important is its effect, and occasionally how electrical. He never refers to any author who is not great, and sometimes who is not loved—Canning for example. That is a name never to be mentioned, I am sure, in the House of Commons without emotion. We all admire his genius; we all, at least most of us, deplore his untimely end; and we all sympathise with him in his fierce struggle with supreme prejudice and sublime mediocrity—with inveterate foes and with 'candid friends.' The right honourable gentleman may be sure that a quotation from such an authority will always tell. Some lines, for example, upon friendship, written by Mr. Canning, and quoted by the right honourable

gentleman! The theme—the poet—the speaker—what a felicitous combination! Its effect in debate must be overwhelming; and I am sure, were it addressed to me, all that would remain for me would be thus publicly to congratulate the right honourable gentleman, not only on his ready memory, but on his courageous conscience." The recollection of the political relations between Canning and Peel made these sarcasms at the time peculiarly telling.

A Turning Point.—When Sir Robert Peel indicated his adoption of free trade policy, in a debate on the address on the first night of the session of 1846, the House, although intensely interested, did not seem eager to enter then upon a discussion of the subject. "Suddenly, however" (writes Mr. Justin M'Carthy), "a new and striking figure intervened in the languishing debate, and filled the House of Commons with a fresh life. There is not often to be found in our parliamentary history an example like this of a sudden turn given to a whole career by a timely speech. The member who rose to comment on the explanation of Sir Robert Peel had been for many years in the House of Commons. This was his tenth session. He had spoken often in each session. He had made many bold attempts to win a name in Parliament, and hitherto his political career had been simply a failure. From the hour when he spoke this speech, it was one long, unbroken, brilliant success. . . That moment when Disraeli rose was the very turning point of the fortunes of his party. There was genius, there was positive statesmanship in seizing so boldly and so adroitly on the moment. It would have been a great thing gained for Peel if he could have got through that first night without any alarm note of opposition from his own side. The habits of parliamentary discipline are very clinging. They are hard to tear away. Every impulse of association and training protests against the very effort to rend them asunder. A once powerful minister exercises a control over his long obedient followers somewhat like that of the heart of the Bruce in the fine old Scottish story. Those who once followed, will still obey the name and the symbol, even when the actual power to lead is gone for ever. If one other night's habitude had been added to the long discipline that bound his party to Peel; if they had allowed themselves to listen to that declaration of the session's first night without murmur, perhaps they might never have rebelled. Mr. Disraeli drew together into one focus all the rays of their gathering anger against Peel, and made them light into a flame. He showed the genius of the born leader by stepping forth at the critical moment and giving the word of command."

What is a Statesman?—"My conception," said Mr. Disraeli at this time, "of a great statesman is of one who represents a great idea—an idea which may lead him to power—an idea with which he may identify himself—an idea which he may develop—an idea which he may and can impress on the mind and conscience of a nation."—*Speech on the Address*, Jan. 22, 1846.

A Man of the People.—Mr. Roebuck, in a debate on the Corn Importation Bill in May, 1846, attacked Mr. Disraeli for changing his former political opinions, and the honourable gentleman thus replied: "It is

easy for the honourable and learned gentleman to get up and say, alluding to the honourable member for Montrose (Mr. Hume)—for whom I entertain, and I believe we all entertain, great respect—that I was at one time ready to follow him. Why, suppose it were so, that would be no very serious imputation against me, for the Prime Minister of England has recently given in his adhesion to that honourable member. But I don't wish to avail myself of any special pleading, nor even to say that, when a very young man, I entertained different opinions from those which I now entertain. I can't say that. I am not in a condition to have had hereditary opinions carved out for me, and all my opinions, therefore, have been the result of reading and of thought. I never was a follower of either of the two great aristocratic parties in this country. My sympathies and feelings have always been with the people, from whom I spring; and when obliged, as a member of this House, to join a party, I joined that party with which I believed the people sympathise."

A Gentleman of the Press.—In February, 1853, Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of the Board of Control, had made some strong remarks, in a speech to his constituents at Halifax, with regard to the despotism of the French Emperor, especially in gagging the press. Mr. Disraeli a few nights afterwards, addressing the House of Commons on our relations with France, censured the language used by Sir Charles Wood, and in the course of his observations said: "There is no doubt that there is a considerable prejudice in this country against the present ruler of France, because he has terminated what we esteem parliamentary constitution, and has abrogated the liberty of the press. It is unnecessary for me to say that it is not probable I shall ever say or do anything which should tend to depreciate the influence or diminish the power of Parliament or the press. My greatest honour is to be a member of this House, in which all my thoughts and feelings are concentrated; and as for the press, I am myself a gentleman of the press, and have no other escutcheon."

"Looming in the Future."—Mr. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, issued an address to his constituents, the electors of Buckinghamshire, in June, 1852, in which he announced the approaching dissolution of Parliament. Referring to a revision of our taxation, he said: "The times are favourable to such an undertaking; juster notions of taxation are more prevalent than heretofore; powerful agencies are stirring, which have introduced new phenomena into finance, and altered the complexion of the fiscal world; and the possibility of greatly relieving the burdens of the community, both by adjustment and reduction, seems to loom in the future."

Ministry upon Sufferance.—In a speech against the Government of Lord Aberdeen in 1854, Mr. Disraeli charged its members, Lord John Russell especially, with having offered a factious opposition to the measures of Lord Derby, while they were now engaged in carrying them out. "Look," said he, "at the distinguished and gifted beings before me; what have they done at all equal to the establishment of the militia on the voluntary principle, or the reform of the Court of Chancery? Then there was another enlightened and liberal proposition, which laid down

the principle since adopted by Lord John Russell in his Reform Bill, that the forfeited seats should be given to great counties, and they proposed to give them to the West Riding and to Lancashire. How was that opposed? By the sanctimonious eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Gladstone), who said that a Government upon sufferance could not be permitted to bring forward a measure of Parliamentary Reform. I suppose the vision of a perfect Reform Government passed before the prescient and prophetic glance of the right honourable gentleman. Yet what have you got in the way of parliamentary reform from the Government of All the Talents? When we brought forward financial measures and failed, we did that which it was our part to do—at least when I have the misfortune to propose measures and fail; for I will never be a Minister upon sufferance."

Obstruction and the British Constitution.—In committee of supply in June, 1857, Mr. Disraeli made the following remarks, which have received illustration in more recent times: "With regard to the estimates, a very great change had taken place within the last two or three years in the form of drawing them up. . . In old days a vote was asked, say the 100,000*l.* for palaces; the Minister who prepared that vote was supposed to be master of the subject; he explained it if necessary, and the House if satisfied granted that sum on his responsibility. . . Now the fault of the present system was that they had in one vote too many items. It was perfectly absurd to fill up the vote with details of every miserable item, as if the Minister could not, for example, be charged, without the interference of the House, with the responsibility of a water-closet. But under the present system the matter might become serious as regarded the public business. Any four men might by the forms of the House bring its business to a close. Any four men could by the forms of the House make a dissolution of Parliament absolutely necessary. And, if there was not sufficient good sense in the country to insure that these four men would never be returned again, they might destroy the British Constitution at any time."

A Forecast of the Royal Titles Bill.—It is shown in Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort" that it was the custom for the Minister who led in the House of Commons to forward to the Queen brief abstracts or outlines of its proceedings. On the discussion, in 1858, of the bill transferring the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, Mr. Disraeli (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) wrote to her Majesty that such satisfactory progress had been made with it in the House that it might be regarded as safe, and he added: "It is, the Chancellor of the Exchequer really thinks, a wise and well-digested measure, ripe with the experience of the last five years; but it is only the ante-chamber of an imperial palace, and your Majesty would do well to deign to consider the steps which are now necessary to influence the opinions and affect the imaginations of the Indian populations. The name of your Majesty ought to be impressed upon their native life." This remark clearly foreshadows the measure which was introduced several years later, when the writer became Prime Minister, to enable the Queen

to assume the title of Empress of Hindostan. That Act was passed, after much opposition, in 1876; but it afterwards appeared that in 1869 the Duke of Argyll, as Minister for India in Mr. Gladstone's Government, had sent to the Ameer of Afghanistan a telegram, in which her Majesty was styled "Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India" —the latter words having been added to the draft telegram by the duke himself. The matter was the subject of question in both Houses in February, 1880.

The Age of Faith.—A meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society for the augmentation of small benefices gave occasion, in 1864, for one of the most celebrated of Mr. Disraeli's orations. Addressing himself to combat the assertion that the age of faith has passed, the speaker said: "When I observe what is passing around me, what is taking place in this country, and not only in this country but on the Continent, in other countries and in other hemispheres, instead of believing that the age of faith has passed, I hold that the characteristic of the present age is a craving credulity. Why, man is a being born to believe; and if you do not come forward, if no Church comes forward with its title-deeds of truth, sustained by the tradition of sacred ages and by the conviction of countless generations to guide him, he will found altars and idols in his own heart and in his own imagination. But observe what must be the relations of a powerful Church, without distinctive creeds, with a being of that nature. Rest assured that the great principle of political economy will be observed. Where there is a great demand, there will be a proportionate supply; and commencing, as the new school may, by rejecting the principle of inspiration, it will end by every priest being a prophet; and beginning as they do by repudiating the practice of miracles, before long we shall be living in a flitting scene of spiritual phantasmagoria. There are no tenets however extravagant, no practices however objectionable, which will not in time develop under such a state of affairs; opinions the most absurd, and ceremonies the most revolting, are perhaps to be followed by the incantations of Canidia and the Corybantian howl. But consider the country in which all this may take place. Look at the Europe of the present day and the Europe of a hundred years ago. It is not the same Europe; its very form is changed. Whole nations and great nations which then flourished are no longer found. There is not a political constitution in Europe existing at the present time which then existed. The leading community of the continent of Europe has changed all its landmarks, altered its boundaries, erased its local names; the whole jurisprudence of Europe has been subverted; even the tenure of land, which of all human institutions most affects the character of man, has been altered—the feudal system has been abolished; not merely laws have been changed, not merely manners have been changed, but customs have been changed. And what happened? When the turbulence was over—when the shout of triumph and the wail of agony were alike stilled—when, as it were, the waters had disappeared,* the sacred heights of Sinai and Calvary were

* Compare with Canning, "Subsidence of the Deluge," p. 209.

again revealed, and, amid the wreck of thrones and tribunals, of extinct nations and abolished laws, mankind bowed again before the divine truths that had been by omnipotent power, in His ineffable wisdom, entrusted to the custody and the promulgation of a chosen people."

"On the Side of the Angels."—It was in the same address at Oxford that Mr. Disraeli made this declaration, so much commented upon at the time—not always in a complimentary fashion. He said: "I hold that the highest function of science is the interpretation of nature, and the interpretation of the highest nature is the highest science. What is the highest nature? Man is the highest nature. But I must say that when I compare the interpretations of the highest nature with the most advanced, the most fashionable and modern school of modern science—when I compare that with older teachings with which we are familiar—I am not prepared to say that the lecture-room is more scientific than the Church. What is the question which is now placed before society with the glib assurance which to me is most astounding? That question is this—is man an ape or an angel? I am on the side of the angels. I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence those new-fangled theories."

Asian Mystery and Batavian Grace.—During the discussions in committee on the Reform Bill in 1867, Mr. Beresford Hope, opposing it, made some remarks reflecting upon Mr. Disraeli's conduct of the measure, and declared that he for one, whether he lost his seat or not, would vote with his whole heart and conscience "against the Asian mystery." Mr. Disraeli replied: "I can assure the honourable gentleman that I listened with great pleasure to the invectives he delivered against me. I admire his style; it is a very great ornament to discussion, but it requires practice. I listen with the greatest satisfaction to all his exhibitions in this House (oh, oh!)—and when he talks about an Asian mystery, I will tell him that there are Batavian graces in all that he says, which I notice with satisfaction, and which charm me." (Mr. Beresford Hope's action while speaking gave occasion to this sarcasm.)

"Educating his Party."—While Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Disraeli was entertained at a banquet by the Conservatives of Edinburgh, October 29th, 1867, when he went into an elaborate review of the subject of Reform, and defended the bill which had been passed, under his management, by the Government of Lord Derby. Speaking of the interval between 1860 and the period when the Conservative measure was introduced, he said: "During that period of seven years, with the advice, I may say under the instructions of my colleagues, I expressed the principles upon which any measure of parliamentary reform ought to be established. Now, mark this, because these are things which you may not have heard in any speech which has been made in the city of Edinburgh. I had to prepare the mind of the country, and to educate—if it be not arrogant to use such a phrase—to educate our party. It is a large party, and requires its attention to be called to questions of this kind with some pressure. I had to prepare the mind of Parliament and of the country on this question of reform. This was not only with the concurrence of Lord Derby, but of my colleagues."

A British Minister's Difficulties.—In his speech at the Edinburgh banquet, Mr. Disraeli thus depicted the cares and anxieties which attach to the position of Minister in this country: "I am the last man who would attempt to depreciate the difficulties which a British Minister has to meet, or would attempt to exaggerate the qualities which my colleagues possess. Indeed, when I remember the interests of these British Isles, so vast, so various, and so complicated—when I even recall to recollection the differences of race, which, however blended, leave a very significant characteristic—when I recollect that the great majority of the population of the United Kingdom rise every day and depend for their daily sustenance on their daily labour—when I recollect the delicate nature of our credit, more wonderful in my opinion than all our accumulated capital—when I remember that it is on the common sense, the prudence, and the courage of a community thus circumstanced that depends the fate of uncounted millions in ancient provinces, and that around the globe there is a circle of domestic settlements that watch us for example and inspiration—when I know that not a sun arises upon a British Minister that does not bring him care, and even inexpressible anxiety—an unexpected war, a disturbed and discontented colony, a pestilence, a famine, a mutiny, a declining trade, a decaying revenue, a collapse of credit, perhaps some insane and fantastic conspiracy—I declare I feel very often, I wonder where there is the strength of heart to deal with such colossal circumstances. But when I withdraw from the pressure of individual interest, and take a larger and deeper view of human affairs, I recognise that in this country, whatever may have been the tumult and the turmoil of our now almost countless generations, there have been three master influences that have at all times controlled and commanded our powers and passions, and they are industry, liberty, and religion. So long as this sacred combination influences the destiny of this country, it will not die; history will recognise its life, not record its decline and fall."

His Elevation to the Premiership.—On the resignation of the Earl of Derby, from failing health, in February, 1868, Mr. Disraeli, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, received a summons from the Queen to reconstruct the Cabinet. The autograph letter from Osborne thus calling him to assume the Premiership was carried by General Grey, who in 1832 had defeated Mr. Disraeli in his early candidature for a seat at High Wycombe.

Heedless Rhetoric.—During a debate on the Irish Church in 1868, Mr. Disraeli was often taunted with arguments he had used in a speech on the state of Ireland in 1844. He said, in one of his replies: "I have been reminded in the course of this debate of expressions which I used five-and-twenty years ago. I could remind other gentlemen of expressions they used on the same subject five-and-twenty years ago; but I do not much care for that sort of thing. With reference, however, to that passage which has been quoted from a speech made by me, I may remark that it appeared to me at the time I made it that nobody listened to it. It seemed to me that I was pouring water upon sand, but it seems now that the water came from a golden goblet. With regard to the

passage from that speech, there are many remarks which, if I wanted to vindicate or defend myself, I might legitimately make. . . . All this I might say; but I do not care to say it, and I do not wish to say it, because in my conscience the sentiment of that speech was right. It may have been expressed with the heedless rhetoric which I suppose is the appanage of all who sit below the gangway; but in my historical conscience the sentiment of that speech was right."

An Appeal to the Jury.—In the debate on Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church resolutions, in April, 1868, Mr. Disraeli said: "The only objection which I have to the attacks of the noble lord (Cranborne, afterwards Marquis of Salisbury) is that they invariably produce an echo from the other side. When the bark is heard from this side, the right honourable member for Calne (Mr. Lowe) emerges, I will not say from his cave,* but perhaps from a more cynical habitation. He joins immediately in the chorus of reciprocal malignity—

'And hails with horrid melody the moon.'

The right honourable gentleman was extremely exuberant in his comments upon my character and career. I will not trouble the House with a defence of that character and career. I have lived in this House more than thirty years, and can truly say that during that time comments upon my character and career have been tolerably free and plain. But the House has been the jury of my life, and it allows me now here to address it, and therefore here is not the place in which I think it necessary to vindicate myself."

The Country Governed by Rhetoric.—In May, 1871, a motion of Mr. Miall's, that it was expedient to apply the policy initiated by the disestablishment of the Irish Church to the other churches of the kingdom, was defeated by 374 to 89. Mr. Disraeli, in speaking against it, admitted that the principle was logical, but said, "Fortunately the country was not governed by logic. It was governed by rhetoric, and not by logic, or otherwise it would have been erased long ago from the list of leading communities. No form of religion represented more fully the national sentiment than the Established Church. For his own part, he had always believed that, organically, the English were a religious people. We had partially educated them, and we were now going to educate them completely; and when they were educated they would not fly to the conventicle; they would appreciate a learned clergy, a refined ritual, and the consolation of the beautiful offices of the Church."

Views of Toryism.—In June, 1872, Mr. Disraeli addressed, at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, "the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations." In the course of his speech he laid down the following principles with regard to the Tory party: "It was a great mistake that those who succeeded statesmen like Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville should have so conducted affairs that they built up their policy on the most contracted basis. The Tory party, unless it is a national party, is nothing. It is not a confederacy of nobles, it is not a demo-

* The Cave of Adullam—see under "Mr. Bright."

cratic multitude; it is a party formed from all the numerous classes of the realm—classes alike and equal before the law, but whose different conditions and different aims give vigour and variety to our national life. . . I have always been of opinion that the Tory party has three great objects. The first is to maintain the institutions of the country—not from any sentiment of political superstition, but because we believe that the principles upon which a community like England can alone safely rest—the principles of liberty, of order, of law, and of religion—ought not to be intrusted to individual opinion or to the caprice and passion of multitudes, but should be embodied in a form of permanence and power. We associate with the Monarchy the ideas which it represents—the majesty of law, the administration of justice, the fountain of mercy and of honour. We know that the Estates of the Realm, by the privileges they enjoy, are the best security for public liberty and good government. We believe that a national profession of faith can only be attained by maintaining an Established Church, and that no society is safe unless there is a public recognition of the Providential government of the world, and of the future responsibility of man."

"Sanitas Sanitatum, omnia Sanitas."—The speech in which Mr. Disraeli made this remark, in illustration of the proper domestic policy of a Government, was delivered to a meeting of Lancashire Conservatives, in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester, in April, 1872. In the course of a very effective oration, the right honourable gentleman (then leader of the Opposition) said: "In attempting to legislate upon social matters the great object is to be practical. I think public attention as regards these matters ought to be concentrated upon sanitary legislation. That is a wide subject, and, if properly treated, comprises almost every consideration which has a just claim upon legislative interference. Pure air, pure water, the inspection of unhealthy habitations, the adulteration of food, these and many kindred matters may be legitimately dealt with by the Legislature. . . Gentlemen, I cannot impress upon you too strongly my conviction of the importance of the Legislature and society uniting together in favour of these important results. A great scholar and a great wit 300 years ago said that, in his opinion, there was a great mistake in the Vulgate (which, as you all know, is the Latin translation of the Holy Scriptures), and that, instead of saying "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity"—*Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas*—the wise and witty King really said *Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas*. Gentlemen, it is impossible to overrate the importance of the subject. After all, the first consideration of a Minister should be the health of the people. A land may be covered with historic trophies, with museums of science and galleries of art, with universities and with libraries; the people may be civilised and ingenious; the country may be even famous in the annals and action of the world; but, gentlemen, if the population every ten years decreases, and the stature of the race every ten years diminishes, the history of that country will soon be the history of the past."—A few weeks afterwards, in a political banquet at the Crystal Palace, Mr. Disraeli thus defended his remarks against some adverse criticism which

had followed: "The views which I expressed in the great capital of the county of Lancaster have been held up to derision by the Liberal press. A very rising member among the new Liberal members denounced them the other day as the 'policy of sewage.' Well, it may be the 'policy of sewage' to a Liberal member of Parliament. But to one of the labouring multitude of England, who has found fever always to be one of the inmates of his household—who has, year after year, seen stricken down the children of his loins, on whose sympathy and material support he has looked with hope and confidence, it is not a 'policy of sewage,' but a question of life and death."

The "Exhausted Volcanoes."—In his speech to the Lancashire Conservatives, in 1872, Mr. Disraeli also used this simile, while criticising the recent course of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry: "As time advanced it was not difficult to perceive that extravagance was being substituted for energy by the Government. The unnatural stimulus was subsiding. Their paroxysms ended in prostration. Some took refuge in melancholy, and their eminent chief alternated between a menace and a sigh. As I sat opposite the Treasury bench, the Ministers reminded me of one of those marine landscapes not very unusual on the coast of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea."

A Blaze of Apology.—In the debate on the Address on the opening of the session of 1872, Mr. Disraeli thus referred to numerous speeches which had been made by Ministers during the recess—a period when the loss of the ship Megæra, the Alabama negotiations, and what was termed the "Collier scandal," had been among the prominent topics: "Although a considerable interval has elapsed since we all had the honour of seeing you (the Speaker) in your chair, yet the time appears to have passed over us so rapidly as not to have exercised that softening influence, or to have drawn that comparative oblivion over our controversies, which, in my opinion, is so highly salutary and beneficial. I attribute this in a great degree to the new system adopted by her Majesty's Ministers of vindicating their characters and their policy during the recess. We really have had no time to forget anything. Her Majesty's Ministers may be said during the last six months to have lived in a blaze of apology. (Cheers and laughter.) I must protest against this new system, which does not permit us to return to our labours with renovated physical powers and energies, or with our mental qualities and faculties refreshed, as we used to do in the old days. I think that for a ministerial vindication there is no place more fit than the floor of this House; and as for Ministerial explanations, they are of so marvellous a nature that even here they are difficult always to apprehend, but as they were given in the recess I confess I found them incomprehensible."

Defeat of the Gladstone Ministry on the Irish University Bill.—On the 11th of March, 1873, the second reading of the Irish University Bill of the Gladstone Government was before the House of Commons, and Mr. Disraeli made a telling speech against it. In one

passage he said: "If her Majesty's Government have not the confidence of the House of Commons, I want to know what they have the confidence of? It is a House returned under their auspices. ("No, no.") Well, elected under the exciting eloquence of the right honourable gentleman. When I remember that campaign of rhetoric, I must say I think this House was formally as well as spiritually its creation. . . This is essentially a material age. The opinions which are now afloat, which have often been afloat before, and which have died away as I have no doubt these will die in due time, are opposed, in my opinion, to all those sound convictions which the proper study of moral and mental philosophy has long established. But that such a proposition should be made in the land of the university which has produced Berkeley and Hutchinson makes it still more surprising. We live in an age when young men prattle about protoplasm, and when young ladies in gilded saloons unconsciously talk atheism. And this is the moment when a Minister, called upon to fulfil one of the noblest duties which can fall upon the most ambitious statesman—namely, the formation of a great university—formally comes forward and proposes the omission from public study of moral and mental philosophy!" The speaker went on to say that in their recent policy the Government had mistaken the clamour of Nonconformists for the voice of the nation, and he denounced the Ministry in terms resembling those used in his celebrated "Bath letter" a few months later: "You have now," said he, "had four years of it. You have despoiled churches. You have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country. You have examined into everybody's affairs. You have criticised every profession and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property, and nobody knows what duties he may have to perform to-morrow. I believe that the people of this country have had enough of the policy of confiscation. From what I can see, the House of Commons elected to carry out that policy are beginning to experience some of the inconvenience of satiety, and, if I am not mistaken, they will give some intimation to the Government to-night that that is their opinion also." In the division the Ministers were beaten by 287 to 284, and consequently tendered their resignations to the Queen.

"Plundering and Blundering."—In October, 1873, Mr. Disraeli addressed a letter to Lord Grey de Wilton, respecting an election then pending at Bath, and in the course of it said: "For nearly five years the present Ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country." It closed by saying that "the country has, I think, made up its mind to close this career of plundering and blundering." The writer had used the same phrase many years before, in his political novel "Coningsby," where he introduces one of his characters thus: "Light as air, and proud as a young peacock, tripped on his toes a young Tory, who had contrived to keep his seat in a Parliament where he had done nothing, but who thought the Under Secretaryship was now secure, particularly as he was the son of a noble lord, who had also, in a public capacity, *plundered and blundered* in the good old time." Mr. Gladstone appears

to have parodied this phrase, in a speech at Greenwich in defence of his Government in January, 1874. Among other topics alluded to, was the accusation by Mr. Disraeli that British interests had been neglected in the Straits of Malacca. Mr. Gladstone retorted that if any neglect had taken place it was under the foreign administration of Lord Derby, in Mr. Disraeli's own Cabinet; and he concluded this part of the subject by declaring, "I will leave the leader of the Opposition for the present *floundering and foundering* in the Straits of Malacca."

Humiliations of a Weak Government.—In giving the House his reasons for declining the Queen's summons to form an Administration, on the 20th of March, 1873, Mr. Disraeli made the following remarks: "I know well, and those who are around me know well, what will occur when a Ministry takes office and attempts to carry on the government with a minority during the session, with the view of ultimately appealing to the people. We should have what is called 'fair play.' That is to say, no vote of want of confidence would be proposed, and chiefly because it would be of no use. There would be no wholesale censure, but retail humiliation. A right honourable gentleman will come down here, he will arrange his thumb-screws and other instruments of torture on this table, we shall never ask for a vote without a lecture, we shall never perform the most ordinary routine office of government without there being annexed to it some pedantic and ignominious condition. ("No, no," and cheers.) I wish to express nothing but what I know from painful personal experience. No expression of the kind I have just encountered could divest me of the painful memory; I wish it could. I wish it was not my duty to take this view of the case. In a certain time we should enter into the paradise of abstract resolutions. One day honourable gentlemen cannot withstand the golden opportunity of asking the House to affirm that the income tax should no longer form one of the features of our Ways and Means. Of course a proposition of that kind would be scouted by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) and all his colleagues; but then they might dine out that day (laughter), and the resolution might be carried, as resolutions of that kind have been. Then another gentleman, distinguished for his knowledge of men and things, would move that the Diplomatic Service be abolished. While honourable gentlemen opposite were laughing in their sleeves at the mover, they would vote for the motion in order to put the Government into a minority. For this reason: 'Why should men,' they would say, 'govern the country who are in a minority?' totally forgetting that we acceded to office in the spirit of the Constitution, quite oblivious of the fountain and origin of the position we occupied. And it would go very hard if on some sultry afternoon some member should not 'rush in where angels fear to tread,' and successfully assimilate the borough and the county franchise (loud cheers). And so things would go on until the bitter end—until at last even the Appropriation Bill has passed, Parliament is dissolved, and we appeal to those millions who perhaps six months before might have looked upon us as the vindicators of intolerable grievances, but who now receive us as a defeated, discredited, and degraded Ministry,

whose services can be neither of value to the Crown nor of credit to the nation."

A Passing Allusion.—Mr. Disraeli's faculty of bringing in an unexpected humorous illustration was perhaps never better displayed than in a speech to the Conservatives of Glasgow (November, 1873). In allusion to the Abyssinian war he said: "I should myself, from my own individual experience, be most careful not to follow the example which one of the most distinguished members of the present Administration pursued with respect to us when we had to encounter the Abyssinian difficulty. When I introduced the necessity of interference in order to escape from difficulties which we had inherited and not made, Mr. Lowe rose in Parliament and violently attacked the Government of the day for the absurdity, the folly, the extreme imprudence of attempting any interference in the affairs of Abyssinia. . . He described the horrors of the country and the terrors of the clime. He said there was no possibility by which any success could be obtained, and the people of England must prepare themselves for the most horrible catastrophe. He described not only the fatal influence of the climate; but I remember he described one pink fly alone which he said would eat up the whole British army. He was as vituperative of the insects of Abyssinia as if they had been British workmen."

Dexterity in a Difficulty.—In his speech on the second reading of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill in 1875, Mr. Disraeli was for a time disconcerted by one of the Irish members interposing, in the loudest tones, ejaculations of "No" and "Hear, hear." At the outset the Prime Minister had remarked of the bill, "This is a measure of necessity, framed in a spirit of conciliation;" a statement which was followed by a stentorian "No!" from his adversary. "If that," said Mr. Disraeli, "is to be taken as a reply, I must observe that, according to the rules of the House, the honourable gentleman is precluded from taking any further part in this debate." This rejoinder, however, excited his opponent the more, and he followed his first interruption by a series of ironical cheers, which scarcely allowed the speaker to proceed. The House seemed somewhat amused at the incident (which occurred after the dinner hour), and Mr. Disraeli for a time failed to regain its ordinary attention; but he presently created a diversion which temporarily restored his usual command over his audience. Replying to a lengthy speech from Mr. Butt on the other side, he remarked: "The honourable gentleman has quoted a passage from a speech of mine [at the Guildhall] not made in this House, which at the time attracted some public notice. I said then, as I say now, that the working classes of England inherit popular and personal privileges which the nobility of other nations do not. That is my opinion, which I am prepared to stand by. Well, a story got out that in consequence of using those words a representation was made to her Majesty's Government, and that I made an apology to the Minister [Prince Bismarck] who believed he was alluded to. Now, I never would have gone out of my way to explain, but as the honourable gentleman the other night talked of her Majesty's Government truckling to Prince Bismarck, I think, after the quotation of

this passage, that the House will allow me to make one other remark. There is not the slightest truth of any kind in the statement that has been made, that any allusion or remonstrance, direct or indirect, public or private, by male or by female—(laughter)—was ever made to me or to any member of her Majesty's Government upon that statement. When the erroneous charge was made that I had alluded to the conduct of Prince Bismarck, of whom I thought as much at the time as I am now thinking of Rory O'More, I thought it was idle to answer the remarks in the newspapers." After this, the speaker was again interrupted as before; but he completely recovered possession of the House by introducing an apparently trivial anecdote. "I am surprised," he said, "to find county members for Ireland rising up in their places and doubting the existence of the Ribbon conspiracy. I say, Sir, that such incredulity is simply astounding. I remember there was once a member of Parliament, one of the greatest ornaments of this House, who sat upon this bench, and who filled the office which I now so unworthily occupy. That member was Mr. Canning, and at the time, besides the discovery of a new world, dry champagne was invented. Mr. Canning, hearing everyone talk of the new wine, wished to taste it. Mr. Ellice got up a little party in order to gratify Mr. Canning's desire, and the dry champagne was introduced, and Mr. Canning, after drinking his wine and thinking for a moment, said, 'The man who says that he likes dry champagne will say anything.' I don't want to enter into any rude controversy with any of my friends who doubt the existence of Ribbonism in Ireland, but I will say that a man who doubts the existence of Ribbonism is a man who ought to drink dry champagne."

Last Appearance in the Commons.—The announcement of Mr. Disraeli's elevation to the House of Lords as Earl of Beaconsfield was made on the 12th of August, 1876, and took the country by surprise. On the previous evening he had addressed the Commons for the last time, none of his hearers suspecting on the occasion that one who had taken such a conspicuous and important part in its affairs during a long period, was now about to quit that stirring arena for the more sedate and quiet scenes of the Upper House. The subject before the House of Commons on the evening was the state of affairs in the East, and among the last remarks made by the Prime Minister were the following: "What our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the Empire of England. Nor will we ever agree to any step, though it may obtain for a moment comparative quiet and a false prosperity, that hazards the existence of that Empire."

Banter.—In the debate in the House of Lords on the policy of the Government respecting affairs in the East, Dec. 10, 1878, the Earl of Beaconsfield replied as follows to Lord Derby, who had resigned his position as Foreign Secretary, when the Ministry contemplated measures of which he did not approve: "The noble earl who spoke last night from the cross benches made a most ingenious speech, marked by all his characteristics. I never was more pleased. I listened for a long time to what seemed a complete vindication of the Government, and, remembering

it came from an old comrade in arms with whom I had worked for a quarter of a century with entire concert, who had left me unfortunately from circumstances over which he had no control—(a laugh)—I thought he was making the *amende* by taking an early opportunity of vindicating the policy of the Government. But before sitting down, all that romantic flutter of the heart which I had experienced entirely ceased, when I found that, notwithstanding his approbation of the Government policy, he was going to vote for the amendment. What surprised me more than anything was the reason he gave for it, and that was because we did not go to war with Russia. The noble lord said, 'If you acted logically and properly you ought to have gone to war with Russia, and therefore I must vote for the amendment.'" (Much laughter.)

An After-Dinner Sketch of Mr. Gladstone.—On the return of Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury from Berlin in 1878, a dinner in their honour was given at Knightsbridge by members of the Conservative party, more than 500 being present. In the course of his speech on this occasion, Lord Beaconsfield thus referred to some criticisms by Mr. Gladstone: "I was astonished to learn that the Convention of Constantinople has been described as 'an insane convention.' That is a strong epithet, but I do not pretend to be as competent a judge of insanity as the right honourable gentleman who used it. I will not say to the right honourable gentleman what I had occasion to say in the House of Lords this year, *Naviget Anticyram;* but I would put this issue to an intelligent English jury—Which do you believe most likely to enter into an insane convention, a body of English gentlemen, honoured by the favour of their Sovereign and the confidence of their fellow subjects, managing your affairs for five years, I hope with prudence and not altogether without success, or a sophistical rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination, that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign his opponents and to glorify himself?"

"Imperium et Libertas."—The Earl of Beaconsfield used this phrase in replying for the Ministry at the Guildhall banquet in 1879. He said: "When one of the greatest of the Romans was asked what his policy was, he replied, 'Imperium et libertas.' That is a short programme, but it would not disgrace a British ministry, and it is one on which the existing Ministry will always act."—The phrase, although not found to the letter, has been traced to a passage in Cicero's fourth Philippic, as well as to one in the "Agricola" of Tacitus, and other sources.

"Home Rule."—In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, at the opening of Parliament in February, 1880, Lord Beaconsfield made the following declaration on this subject: "It is very easy to talk of the House of Commons and of Parliament generally being overladen with business—to a great degree with Irish business—and that it would be very desirable that a great portion of Irish business should be transacted in Ireland. Well, I should like to know what this business is that is to be transacted in Ireland. It is so easy to raise this question; but there is no business which refers to Ireland which would not equally

be an excuse in England. Why should not the people of York transact their business in York? So you would go on until you had no Parliament at all. We should find the noble lord (Granville) in a short time coming to this point. Well, what is the result? The next thing is you are to have a Parliament in St. Stephen's Green. The noble earl must know very well that the party called the Home Rule party—that is, the Repeal of the Union party—have behind their policy an Irish Parliament. The noble lord will allow me, as he has quoted a colleague of mine, to quote a colleague of his; one who, although he displayed great sympathy with the new school, and although he was not prepared to be a member of the Parliament in St. Stephen's Green—not yet prepared—still he did not care how many friends he had who sat upon those benches. I wish to say, whatever may be the result of the election, I do trust that England will understand what is the issue at the present moment on this subject. I wish the country to understand that it means nothing else but the dismemberment of the United Kingdom. I do not care where a man sits in this House, whether opposite me or on my own side:—those who favour such a policy are false to their Sovereign and to their country, and will live, I feel confident, soon to regret the responsibility which by their conduct they are incurring."

The "Conquered Race."—In the course of a debate in 1874, on a motion in favour of Home Rule brought forward by Mr. Butt, Mr. Disraeli (then Prime Minister) made some very happy allusions to the argument sometimes advanced, that the Irish people, without Home Rule, were a conquered race. He said, "There is to me nothing more extraordinary than the determination of the Irish people to proclaim to the world that they are a subjugated people. I have been always surprised that a people gifted with so much genius, so much sentiment, such winning qualities, should be—I am sure they will pardon my saying it; my remark is an abstract, not a personal one—should be so deficient in self-respect. I deny that the Irish people are conquered: they are proud of it—I deny that they have any ground for that pride. England has been subjugated quite as much, but never boasted of it. The Normans conquered Ireland, but it was after they had conquered England. Cromwell conquered Ireland, but it was after he had conquered England." These remarks were received with much applause from all sides of the House. The speaker went on to condemn the motion, declaring, "If we sanction this policy, if we do not cleanse the parliamentary bosom of this perilous stuff, we shall bring about the disintegration of the kingdom and the destruction of the empire." The motion was rejected by 458 to 61.

A Tribute from an Opponent.—In the House of Lords in February, 1877, in a discussion on the Eastern question, the Duke of Argyll—one of the most uncompromising of Lord Beaconsfield's political opponents—made the following complimentary remarks: "My lords, before I sit down I trust that the noble earl opposite will allow me to make a personal appeal to him. He is at the head of one of the most powerful Governments which this country has ever seen, he enjoys the confidence and affection of his party, and he has their entire and devoted

allegiance in a manner and to an extent which few ministers have ever enjoyed. My lords, at one time in the course of this year the noble earl gave public intimation—otherwise I should not feel myself at liberty to notice it—that it was his desire, at no distant day, to retire from the fatigues and cares of his great office. That, my lords, was an intimation which could not but arouse the sympathy and interest of all who know him. In the generous contests of our public life we have no private grudges and no personal enmities. The noble earl enjoys the affection of many around him—of the young men whom he has encouraged on their entering into public life, and the old men whom he has led against all hope to victory and success. But, my lords, the noble earl will not retire, if ever he does retire, with any better wish from any man than the wish to which I now give utterance, and it is this—that when he looks back to this Government, of which he is the distinguished head, he will be able to say that he has wielded the great power of England for the purpose, and with the effect, of procuring some measure of tolerable liberty for the Christian subjects of Turkey, and that in procuring that measure of tolerable liberty he has secured it on such conditions as will guarantee them for the future against the odious barbarism of the Turks, and against the crushing autocracy of the Russian Czars;—for neither do we wish to see them govern the Christian people of Turkey."

LORD GEORGE BENTINCK.

(1802—1848.)

His Early Devotion to the Turf.—Lord George Bentinck (wrote Mr. Disraeli) had sat for eighteen years in Parliament, and before he entered it had been for three years the private secretary of Mr. Canning, who had married the sister of the Duchess of Portland. Such a post would seem a happy commencement of a public career; but whether it were the untimely death of his distinguished relative, or a natural indisposition, Lord George—though he retained the seat for King's Lynn, in which he had succeeded his uncle, the late Governor-General of India—directed his energies to other than parliamentary pursuits. For some time he had followed his profession, which was that of arms, but of late years he had become absorbed in the pastime and fortunes of the turf, in which his whole being seemed engrossed, and which he pursued on a scale that perhaps has never been equalled. Accompanying Lord Stanley, he became in due time a member of the great Conservative opposition, and, as he never did anything by halves, became one of the most earnest, as he certainly was one of the most enlightened, supporters of Sir Robert Peel. His trust in that minister was indeed absolute, and he subsequently stated in conversation that when, towards the end of the session of '45, a member of the Tory party ventured to predict and pronounce the impending defection of the Minister, there was no member of the Conservative party who more violently condemned the unfounded attack, or more readily impugned the motives of the assailant.

A Proud Aristocracy.—In his speech on the opening of Parliament in 1846, Sir Robert Peel had made the remark, "It is no easy task to insure the harmonious and united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed House of Commons." Lord George thus commented upon the Minister's observation a few weeks later, in the peroration of an elaborate harangue (full, as usual with the speaker's addresses, of statistics). Such as it is, it is the best example that can be cited of the oratorical powers of one who at the time promised to be the future leader of his party: "We have heard, in the course of these discussions, a good deal about an ancient monarchy, a reformed House of Commons, and a proud aristocracy. Sir, with regard to our ancient monarchy I have no observation to make; but, if so humble an individual as myself might be permitted to whisper a word in the ear of that illustrious and royal personage who, as he stands nearest, so is he justly dearest to her who sits upon the throne, I would take leave to say that I cannot but think he listened to ill advice when, on the first night of this great discussion,* he allowed himself to be seduced by the First Minister of the Crown to come down to this House to usher in, to give *éclat*, and, as it were, by reflection from the Queen to give the semblance of the personal sanction of her Majesty to a measure which, be it for good or for evil, a great majority, at least of the landed aristocracy of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, imagine fraught with deep injury, if not ruin, to them. . . I come now to the reformed House of Commons; and, as one who was a party to that great measure, I cannot but feel a deep interest in its success, and more especially in that portion of it which extended the franchise to the largest and the most respectable body in the kingdom—I mean the landed tenantry of England; and deeply should I regret did any large proportion of those members who have been sent to Parliament to represent them in this House prove to be the men to bring lasting dishonour upon themselves, their constituencies, and this House by any act of tergiversation so gross as to be altogether unprecedented in the annals of any reformed or unreformed House of Commons. Lastly, I come to the 'proud aristocracy.' We are a proud aristocracy, but if we are proud it is that we are proud in the chastity of our honour. If we assisted in '41 in turning the Whigs out of office because we did not consider a fixed duty of 8*s.* a quarter on foreign corn a sufficient protection, it was with honesty of purpose and in singlemindedness we did so; and, as we were not before the fact, we will not be accomplices after the fact, in the fraud by which the Whig Ministers were expelled from power. If we are a proud aristocracy, we are proud of our honour, inasmuch as we have never been guilty, and never can be guilty, of double dealing with the farmers of England, of swindling our opponents, deceiving our friends, and betraying our constituents."

A Sacrifice.—On the day after the Derby, 1848 (says Mr. Disraeli), the writer met Lord George Bentinck in the library of the House of Commons.

* Prince Albert was in the House when the Minister introduced his Corn Law Repeal Bill.

He was standing before the book-shelves, with a volume in his hand, and his countenance was greatly disturbed. His resolutions in favour of the colonial interest, after all his labours, had been negatived by the committee on the 22nd, and on the 24th his horse Surplice, whom he had parted with among the rest of his stud, solely that he might pursue without distraction his labours on behalf of the great interests of the country, had won that paramount and Olympian stake to gain which had been the object of his life. He had nothing to console him, and nothing to sustain him except his pride. Even that deserted him before a heart which he knew at least could yield him sympathy. He gave a sort of superb groan: "All my life I have been trying for this, and for what have I sacrificed it?" he murmured. It was in vain to offer solace. "You do not know what the Derby is," he moaned out. "Yes, I do; it is the blue ribbon of the turf." "It is the blue ribbon of the turf," he slowly repeated to himself, and, sitting down at the table, he buried himself in a folio of statistics.

Bolting from the Course.—The writer of a "Memoir of the fifth Duke of Richmond" relates the following of Lord George Bentinck: When canvassing at King's Lynn in company with his colleague Lord William Lennox, at a moment when Lord George had offended some of the extreme Radical party by voting for Lord Chandos's motion during the progress of the Reform Bill, he was shown into the lion's den of a somewhat gruff elector, who had only recently enjoyed his privilege as a voter. Lord George was all politeness, and, presenting his electioneering card, asked him for the honour of his support. The independent Liberal put on a smile, and, in the pleasantest manner imaginable, said, "Good morning, my lord; has your lordship been at Newmarket lately?" The candidate smiled. "You 're very fond of a race," continued the other. "Very," responded the scion of the House of Portland. "I wish to ask you a question, my lord—a racing question." The noble turfite gave one of his most willing looks, and replied that he should be very happy to give all the information he could on the subject. "Now, my lord," proceeded the inquirer in a rather dry and solemn tone, "if a horse, however thoroughbred and good he may be in other respects, is given to swerving or bolting from the course, what should you think of him?" "Perfectly useless—not worth training." "You've said it," responded the other with a demoniac laugh. "I quite agree with your lordship. As Nathan said to David, 'Thou art the man.' How came you not to run straight on the Reform Bill?"

His Death.—Lord George Bentinck died suddenly, while walking near the family seat of his father, the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck, on the 21st of September, 1848. Although he had been less than three years before the public as a parliamentary figure, his industry and mastery of commercial detail, as shown in his speeches, had impressed the nation, and, as Mr. Disraeli mentions, on the day of his interment all the British shipping in port had their flags half-mast high. Lord Lytton, in one of his admirable sketches, depicts both Bentinck's career and the national feeling at its close:—

"The lounging member seldom in his place,
And then with thoughts remote upon a race,
Stung into sympathy with others, blends
His life with theirs, and ease for ever ends.
Each task by which industrious toil supplies
What culture lacks or native bent denies,
Conscience itself imposes;—in his creed,
Who shuns one labour is unfit to lead.
Thus, victim of his own remorseless zeal,
Life, overwound, snapt sudden at the wheel,
And the same grief which England gives the brave
Slain at their post, did homage to his grave."

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

(1809.)

His First Return.—Mr. Gladstone was first returned to Parliament in the Tory interest in 1832, for the borough of Newark-on-Trent, then under the influence of the Duke of Newcastle. This nobleman is celebrated as having asked the question, in response to a remonstrance against his eviction of more than a hundred persons who had voted against his wishes, "May I not do what I like with my own?" The duke's eldest son, Lord Lincoln (the future duke, and Minister for War and the Colonies, during the Crimean hostilities), was a schoolfellow of Mr. Gladstone's at Eton, and fellow student with him at Christ Church, Oxford; and upon Lord Lincoln's recommendation, it is presumed, the duke made his acquaintance. Mr. Gladstone had not quite completed his twenty-third year when he stood for the borough. In answer to a question put to him on the hustings, he is reported in a newspaper of the day to have said: "I found my way to Newark because I was invited by a numerous body of men, than whom none are more respectable or intelligent. The Red Club had written to the Duke of Newcastle to know if he could recommend any gentleman as a fit and proper person, and in consequence of that application I was invited by the Red Club. I was unknown to the Red Club as much as though I had been a person of New Zealand or Kamschatka; but my recommendation was such that the Red Club determined to invite me." What followed on Mr. Gladstone's part is somewhat characteristic. An elector: "Are we to understand you, then, as the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle?" Mr. Gladstone: "I will answer that question if you tell me what you mean by *nominee*." The elector: "I consider the man as the nominee of the duke when he is sent by his grace to be crammed down the throats of the electors, whether they will or not." Mr. Gladstone: "Then, according to that definition, I am not the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle." The elector: "What is your definition of a nominee?" Mr. Gladstone: "I am not here to give the definition. I ask what you mean by the word nominee, and according to your own explanation of it I give the answer." Mr. Gladstone was returned at the head of the poll. He continued to represent Newark until 1846.

First Appearances in Parliament.—The Parliament in which Mr. Gladstone first sat was the first after the passing of the Reform Act, and met in January, 1833. The young member did not address the House till the following May, when he rose to repel some accusations respecting the treatment of slaves on his father's estates in Demerara. The abolition of slavery was then under discussion in the House, and was carried during this session. Lord Althorp's bill for the reduction of the Irish Church Establishment also passed in the same year, Mr. Gladstone speaking and voting against it.

Macaulay on Gladstone.—Macaulay's sketch of Mr. Gladstone as a young man shows the impression the future Premier made upon some of his early contemporaries in Parliament. In his review of Mr. Gladstone's work on "The State in its Relations with the Church" (*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1839) the essayist wrote: "The author of this volume is a young man of unblemished character, and of distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories who follow, reluctantly and mutinously, a leader [Sir Robert Peel] whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhor. It would not be at all strange if Mr. Gladstone were one of the most unpopular men in England. But we believe that we do him no more than justice when we say that his abilities and his demeanour have obtained for him the respect and good will of all parties. . . Mr. Gladstone seems to us to be, in many respects, exceedingly well qualified for philosophical investigation. His mind is of large grasp; nor is he deficient in dialectical skill. But he does not give his intellect fair play. There is no want of light, but a great want of what Bacon would have called dry light. Whatever Mr. Gladstone sees is refracted and distorted by a false medium of passion and prejudices. His style bears a remarkable analogy to his mode of thinking, and indeed exercises great influence on his mode of thinking. His rhetoric, though often good of its kind, darkens and perplexes the logic which it should illustrate. Half his acuteness and diligence, with a barren imagination and scanty vocabulary, would have saved him from almost half his mistakes. He has one gift most dangerous to a speculator—a vast command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and uncertain import."

Mr. Gladstone and the "Sliding Scale."—Mr. Gladstone had occupied subordinate offices in the brief Administration of Sir Robert Peel in 1835, and, on the return of that statesman to power in 1841, he was made Master of the Mint as well as Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Miss Williams Wynn, writing at the time from London to Baron Varnhagen von Ense, observed, "They say Mr. Gladstone has been given two offices in order, if possible, to keep him quiet, and, by giving him too much to do, to prevent him from troubling his head about the Church." In presenting himself for re-election at Newark on accepting his new offices, it is interesting to note the future promoter of the Commercial Treaty with France and similar measures declaring protectionist principles. "There are," said he, "two points on which the British farmer

may rely; the first of which is that adequate protection will be given to him; and the second is that protection will be given to him through the means of the sliding scale" (regulating the duties on corn according to the market price per quarter). In the preparation of this "sliding scale," which was introduced in 1842, it was understood that Mr. Gladstone had rendered active assistance to the head of the Government.

A Reply to Lord Palmerston.—In the adjourned debate on the foreign policy of the Government, in June, 1850, Mr. Gladstone made the following remarks in reference to Lord Palmerston's famous declaration, "Civis Romanus sum:"—"He vaunted, amid the cheers of his supporters, that under his administration an Englishman should be, throughout the world, what the citizen of Rome had been. But I ask, what then was a Roman citizen? He was the member of a privileged caste; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all nations bound down by the hand of Imperial power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law; for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed, that were denied to the rest of the world. Is such, then, the view of the noble lord as to the relation that is to subsist between England and other countries? Does he make the claim for us that we are to be uplifted on a platform high above the standing-ground of all other nations? It is, indeed, too clear that too much of this notion is lurking in his mind; that he adopts, in part, that vain conception that we, forsooth, have a mission to be the censors of abuses and imperfections among the other countries of the world; that we are to be the universal schoolmasters, and that all who hesitate to recognise our office should have the war of diplomacy, at least, forthwith declared against them. And certainly, if the business of a Foreign Secretary is merely to carry on diplomatic war, all must admit the perfection of the noble lord in the discharge of his functions. But it is not the duty of a Foreign Minister to be like a knight-errant, ever pricking forth, armed at all points, to challenge all comers, and lay as many adversaries as possible sprawling, or the noble lord would be a master of his art; but to maintain that sound code of international principles which is a monument of human wisdom, and a precious inheritance bequeathed by our fathers for the preservation of the future brotherhood of nations."

An Impulsive Speech.—In the debate on the Budget of the Derby Ministry in December, 1853, Mr. Disraeli (Chancellor of the Exchequer) closed his defence of the measure in a warm and bitter speech, in which he retorted on his antagonists the charge of incompetence which they had made against himself. Sir Charles Wood (a former Chancellor) especially was the object of his animadversion, and was told, "If he has learned his business, he has still to learn that petulance is not sarcasm, and that insolence is not invective." Sir James Graham also, Mr. Disraeli remarked, he looked upon with regard, but not with respect; and he concluded by denouncing the coalition among his adversaries, and declaring, "England does not love coalitions." It had been understood that his speech would close the debate; but the moment he sat down,

amid much cheering and counter-cheering, Mr. Gladstone sprang to his feet. "This speech," said he, "is one which must be answered, and answered at the moment. The character of England, involved in that of her public men, the character of England is at stake. . . The right honourable gentleman must permit me to tell him that he is not entitled to charge with insolence men of as high position and of as high character in this House as himself. And I must tell him that whatever else he may have learnt, he has not learned to keep within those limits, in discussion, of moderation and of forbearance that ought to restrain the conduct and language of every member of this House; the disregard of which, while it is an offence in the meanest amongst us, is an offence of tenfold weight when committed by the leader of the House of Commons." Mr. Gladstone, who had scarcely been heard for the storm of interruption raised by the opposite party, then went on to review the Budget in detail, and denounced it as unsound and delusive. In the division which followed, the Government were defeated by 305 to 286.

Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands.—Mr. Gladstone lent a general support to the second administration of the Earl of Derby, in 1858. Towards the close of that year he undertook, at the request of the Prime Minister, a special mission to the Ionian Islands, then under British protectorate. He declared the object of his mission to the Senate on the 3rd of December, saying he had been sent to "examine in what way Great Britain may most honourably and amply discharge the obligations which, for purposes European and Ionian rather than British, she has contracted." The Legislative Assembly of the Islands passed, in January, 1859, a resolution declaring for union with Greece, and Mr. Gladstone—whose knowledge of the Greek language was of important service in this mission—induced the body to appoint a committee to draw up suitable representations to the protecting Powers. The petition was not then granted, but the Islands were offered a constitution similar to that of the British colonies. After the expulsion of King Otho from the throne of Greece, and the election of Prince George of Denmark to the crown, the Ionian Islands were formally ceded to Greece by the protecting Powers.

A School for Statesmen.—In a speech on Lord Derby's Reform Bill in 1859, Mr. Gladstone asked: "Is it not, under Providence, to be attributed to a succession of distinguished statesmen, introduced at an early age into this House, and once made known in this House securing to themselves the general favour of their countrymen, that we enjoy our present extension of popular liberty, and, above all, the durable form which that liberty has assumed?"

Small Boroughs and Great Men.—In the same debate Mr. Gladstone thus defended the existence of small boroughs: "Allow me to state the case of six men—Mr. Pelham, Lord Chatham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, and Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Pelham entered this house for the borough of Seaford in 1719, at the age of twenty-two; Lord Chatham entered it in 1735, for Old Sarum, at the age of twenty-six; Mr. Fox in 1764, for Midhurst, at the age, I think, of twenty; Mr. Pitt in 1781, for

Appleby, at the age of twenty-one; Mr. Canning in 1793, for Newport, at the age of twenty-two; and Sir Robert Peel in 1809, for the city of Cashel, at the age of twenty-one. Now here are six men, every one of whom was a leader in this House. I take them because the youngest is older than the youngest of those who now sit here, and because the mention of their names can give rise to no personal feeling. Here are six men whom you cannot match out of the history of the British House of Commons for the hundred years which precede our own day. Every one of them was a leader in this House; almost everyone of them was a Prime Minister. All of them entered Parliament for one of those boroughs where influence of different kinds prevailed. Every one of them might, if he had chosen, after giving proof of his powers in this House, have sat for any of the open constituencies of the country, and many of them did so. Mr. Pelham, after sitting for Seaford in one Parliament, represented Sussex for all the rest of his life. Lord Chatham never, I think, represented an open constituency. Mr. Fox, after sitting for Midhurst, became the chosen for Westminster. Mr. Pitt went from Appleby at a very early age to the University of Cambridge. Mr. Canning went from Newport to Liverpool, and Sir Robert Peel from Cashel to the University of Oxford. Now, what was the case of Sir Robert Peel? The University, on account of a conscientious difference of opinion, refused the continuance of his services. They might have been lost to the British Parliament, at that moment at all events. But in Westbury he found an immediate refuge—for so it must be called; and he continued to sit for a small borough for the remainder of his life. Mr. Canning in the same way, not losing but resigning the representation of Liverpool, found it more conducive to the public business that he should become the representative of a small borough for the rest of his days. What does this show? It shows that small boroughs were the nursery-ground in which these men were educated—men who not only were destined to lead this House, to govern the country, to be the strength of England at home and its ornament abroad, but who likewise, when once they had an opportunity of proving their powers in this House, became the chosen of large constituencies, and the favourites of the nation."

A "Gigantic Innovation."—In the debate that took place July 5th, 1860, on the action of the House of Lords * in rejecting the bill for the abolition of the Paper Duties which had been sent up from the Lower House, Mr. Gladstone (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) said: "It appears to me to be the determination of one moiety of this House that there shall be no debate upon the constitutional principles which are involved in this question; and I must say that, considering that gentlemen opposite are upon this occasion the partisans of a gigantic innovation —the most gigantic and the most dangerous that has been attempted in our times—I may compliment them upon the prudence that they show in resolving to be its silent partisans. Now, Sir, I should like to know with what language and in what tones those gentlemen who assume the name

* See p. 233.

of Conservative politicians would argue in support of a great encroachment by one house of the legislature upon the other."

The "Danger Signal."—The following passage occurred in a speech of Mr. Gladstone's in 1864: "We are told that the working classes do not agitate for an extension of the franchise; but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion, agitation by the working classes, upon any political subject whatever, is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any parliamentary movement, but, on the contrary, it is a thing to be deprecated, and, if possible, anticipated and prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them, the classes possessed of leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. It is not with them that every hour of time has a money value; their wives and children are not dependent on the strictly reckoned results of those hours of labour. When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, when he gives up the profitable application of his time, it is then that, in railway language, the danger signal is turned on; for he does it only because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust of the rulers who, as he thinks, have driven him to that necessity."

"Unmuzzled" by Oxford University.—At the general election in July, 1865, Mr. Gladstone lost his seat for Oxford University, the numbers on the 18th, after six days' polling, standing thus: Sir W. Heathcote, 3236; Mr. Gathorne Hardy, 1904; Mr. Gladstone, 1724—minority 180. It having become evident, during the two or three days before the close of the poll, that his seat was in danger, Mr. Gladstone was nominated on the 17th for South Lancashire, and when the result at Oxford was known, he made his appearance at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester to address the electors: "At last, my friends," said he, "I have come amongst you; and I have come, to use an expression which has become very famous, and is not likely to be forgotten—I am come among you 'unmuzzled.' After an anxious struggle of eighteen years, during which the unbounded devotion and indulgence of my friends maintained me in the arduous position of representative of the University of Oxford, I have been driven from my seat. . . I have loved the University of Oxford with a deep and passionate love, and as long as I breathe that attachment will continue. If my affection is of the smallest advantage to that great, that ancient, that noble institution, that advantage, such as it is—and it is most insignificant—Oxford will possess as long as I live. . . . I am aware of no cause for the votes which have given a majority against me in the University of Oxford, except the fact that the strongest conviction the human mind can receive, that an overpowering sense of the public interests, that the practical teachings of experience, to which from my youth Oxford herself taught me to lay open my mind—all these had shown me the folly, and, I will say, the madness of refusing to join in the generous sympathies of my countrymen, by adopting what I must call an obstructive policy."

His Connection with the Liberal Party.—In the course of a debate on Parliamentary Reform in April, 1866, Mr. Gladstone was taunted by Mr. Lowe with promoting Reform measures in his later years, while he had strongly opposed the first Reform Bill, in the Oxford Union Debating Society in 1831. In his reply, addressing the members of the Liberal party, he thus alluded to the change from his earlier convictions which had brought him amongst them: "I came amongst you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from their ranks, I admit, by no arbitrary act, but by the slow and resistless force of conviction. I came among you, to make use of the legal phraseology, *in formâ pauperis*. I had nothing to offer you but faithful and honourable service; you received me as Dido received the shipwrecked Æneas:

'Excepi ejectum littore, egentem.'

And I only trust you may not hereafter, at any time, have to complete the sentence in regard to me:

'Et regni, demens! in parte locavi.'

You received me with kindness, indulgence, generosity, and I may even say with some measure of your confidence. And the relation between us has assumed such a form that you can never be my debtors, but that I must be for ever in your debt."

A Peroration in a Full House.—The close of the same debate was marked by one of the most forcible passages of Mr. Gladstone's oratory. Alluding to the division then about to be taken on the second reading of the Reform Bill of Lord Russell's Government, he said: "This Bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the Government along with it. We stand or fall with it, as has been declared by my noble friend Lord Russell. We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arranged against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not to be the last, but only the first of a series of divisions. At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed. You may drive us from our seats. You may slay, you may bury the measure that we have introduced. But we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment:

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of these debates does not for a moment impede or disturb, those great social forces are against you; they work with us; they are marshalled in our support. And the banner which we now carry in the fight, though perhaps at some moment of the struggle it may droop over our sinking heads, yet will float again in the eye of heaven, and will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not distant victory." The division which followed was in favour of the second reading by a majority of five only—318 against 313. These numbers were amongst the largest

ever assembled on a division, constituting almost the entire House, the remainder of the 658 seats being thus accounted for: Speaker, 1; tellers, 4; pair, 2; vacancies, 11; absent, 9 only.

Irish Church Disestablishment.—The first clear intimation of Mr. Gladstone's policy with respect to the Irish Church took Parliament and the country by surprise. It occurred in a debate on the state of Ireland, introduced by an independent member (Mr. Maguire), March 16th, 1868; Mr. Disraeli's Government then being in office.* After speaking at some length on the various grievances of which Ireland complained, and of the Church Establishment among them, Mr. Gladstone referred to his former speeches on the subject, and said: "I did not use one word, to my knowledge, which was contrary to the opinion I held then and hold now—namely, that in order to the settlement of the question of the Irish Church, that Church, as a State Church, must cease to exist. . . Without the slightest reproach to any of those who bear office in the Irish Church, I am convinced, from a long observation, that that institution is, and by the law of its existence must be, the home and last refuge of the spirit of ascendancy; and as that which, beyond all particular and special measures, we need, is the expulsion of the spirit of ascendancy from Ireland, I take leave to say that, in order to that expulsion, we must now proceed to deal decisively with that question of the Irish Church." He further remarked: "My opinion is that religious equality is a phrase that requires further development, and I will develop it further by saying that, in this religious equality in Ireland, I, for my part, include in its fullest extent the word—a very grave word, I do not deny, and I think we cannot be too careful to estimate its gravity before we come to a final conclusion—the very grave word disestablishment. If we are to do any good at all by meddling with the Church in Ireland, it must, in my judgment, be by putting an end to its existence as a State Church."—With reference to the unexpected character of this announcement, Mr. Disraeli remarked, in the debate upon going into committee upon Mr. Gladstone's resolutions (April 3rd, 1868), that the right honourable gentleman had come forward "all of a sudden, like a thief in the night."

Use of Quotation.—Mr. Gladstone's frequent and skilful use of quotation in debate is well known; but quotation probably never took a wider range in so brief a compass, or was more effective, than in the following passage of his speech on moving his Irish Church resolutions, March 30th, 1868: "There are many who think that to lay hands upon the National Church Establishment of a country is a profane and unhallowed act. I respect that feeling. I sympathise with it. I sympathise with it while I think it my duty to overcome and repress it. But if it be an error, it is an error entitled to respect. There is something in the idea of a National Establishment of religion, of a solemn appropriation of a part of the commonwealth, for conferring upon all who are ready to receive it

* In a speech in the House of Commons in March, 1865, Mr. Gladstone (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) had so far endorsed a resolution antagonistic to the Irish Church, as to admit that the state of that Establishment was "unsatisfactory."

what we know to be an inestimable benefit; of saving that portion of the inheritance from private selfishness, in order to extract from it, if we can, pure and unmixed advantages of the highest order for the population at large—there is something in this so attractive, that it is an image that must always command the homage of the many. It is somewhat like the kingly ghost in *Hamlet*, of which one of the characters of Shakespeare says—

> 'We do it wrong, being so majestical,
> To offer it the show of violence;
> For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
> And our vain blows malicious mockery.'

But, Sir, this is to view a religious Establishment upon one side only, upon what I may call the ethereal side. It has likewise a side of earth; and here I cannot do better than quote some lines written by the present Archbishop of Dublin [Dr. Trench] at a time when his genius was devoted to the Muses. He said, in speaking of mankind—

> 'We, who did our lineage high
> Draw from beyond the starry sky,
> Are yet upon the other side
> To earth and to its dust allied.'

And so the Church Establishment, regarded in its theory and in its aim, is beautiful and attractive. Yet what is it but an appropriation of public property, an appropriation of the fruits of labour and of skill to certain purposes? and unless those purposes be fulfilled, that appropriation cannot be justified. Therefore, Sir, I cannot but feel that we must set aside fears which thrust themselves upon the imagination, and act upon the sober dictates of our judgment. I think it has been shown that the cause for action is strong—not for precipitate action, not for action beyond our powers, but for such action as the opportunities of the times and the condition of Parliament, if there be but a ready will, will amply and easily admit of. If I am asked as to my expectations of the issue of this struggle, I begin by frankly avowing that I, for one, would not have entered into it unless I believed that the final hour was about to sound:

> 'Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum.'"

The Lords "in a Balloon."—This saying was applied freely to the Upper House in 1869, in consequence of an expression made use of by Mr. Gladstone in the discussion of the Lords' amendments to the Irish Church Bill. The following is the passage: "The right honourable gentleman says truly that we ought to approach in a spirit of respect the amendments made by the House of Lords. As I come to discuss them I shall endeavour, and my colleagues will do the same, to conform to that rule. We can hardly expect of the House of Lords that they should appreciate the humble considerations which govern the special relations between each member of Parliament and the portion of the British people that he represents. From the great eminence on which they sit they can no more discuss the minute particulars of our transactions than could a man in a balloon. Had the House of Lords gone through the experience of

such an election as the last, it would be absolutely impossible for them, as honourable politicians, to have consented to the clause [in favour of "concurrent endowment"] which they have put into this bill."

A Generous Compliment.—Mr. Gladstone's readiness to encourage young and promising members of the House of Commons was often displayed. An instance occurred in committee on the Irish Church Bill, April 29th, 1869. Mr. Chaplin, one of the representatives of Lincolnshire, had made an able first speech against the policy of the Government, and the Premier, rising immediately after, thus complimented him: "The honourable member who has just sat down has admonished us, and myself in particular, that the sense of justice is apt to grow dull under the influence of a long parliamentary experience. But there is one sentiment which I can assure him does not grow dull under the influence of a long parliamentary experience, and that is the sense of pleasure when I hear—whether upon these benches or upon those opposite to me—an able, and at the same time frank, ingenuous, and manly statement of opinion, and one of such a character as to show me that the man who makes it is a real addition to the intellectual and moral worth and strength of Parliament. Having said this, I express my thanks to the honourable member for having sharply challenged us; it is right that we should be so challenged, and we do not shrink from it."

Rashness Rebuked.—Mr. Gladstone's comparison of the Irish Church to the upas tree afforded an opportunity to a youthful opponent (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) to twit him in the House of Commons in the following way: "No doubt, if one looked long enough at a star he might persuade himself it was a comet; if he looked long enough at a bush, he might persuade himself it was an upas tree; and if he ruminated on a very small grievance long enough, he might persuade himself it was a very large one." To this the Prime Minister replied: "My noble friend the member for Calne seconded this vote of censure with a modest apology for his own youth and inexperience; but I would say that perhaps that apology was scarcely necessary. We are aware that in other and darker ages it was the custom of the older members of the human family to censure and even to chastise the youth. We live in more enlightened times, and it may be quite proper that that custom should be now reversed; if a new experiment is to be made, I know of no one who will try it with greater satisfaction and confidence in his own mind than my noble friend." (Laughter.)

Imperial Interests First.—In committee on the Education Bill in 1871, the views of Mr. Gladstone's Government were opposed by a large section of his supporters from the Nonconformist body, among them chiefly Mr. Miall. On the third reading of the measure, that gentleman, complaining of the want of consideration which he thought had been exhibited towards his friends, declared that "they could not stand this sort of thing much longer." Whereupon Mr. Gladstone rose and said: "I hope that my honourable friend will not continue his support of the Government one moment longer than he deems it consistent with his sense of duty and right. For God's sake, Sir, let him

withdraw it the moment he thinks it better for the cause he has at heart that he should do so. So long as my honourable friend thinks fit to give us his support, we will co-operate with my honourable friend for every purpose we have in common; but when we think his opinions and demands exacting, when we think he looks too much to the section of the community he adorns, and too little to the interests of the people at large, we must then recollect that we are the Government of the Queen, and that those who have assumed the high responsibility of administering the affairs of this Empire must endeavour to forget the parts in the whole, and must, in the great measures they introduce into the House, propose to themselves no meaner or narrower object than the welfare of the Empire at large."

An Impertinent Question. — Mr. Whalley, long member for Peterborough, and noted in Parliament for his opposition to the annual grant to Maynooth, addressed a letter to Mr. Gladstone in 1871, calling upon him, on behalf of the constituents of Peterborough, to answer the question whether he was a member of the Church of Rome. To this Mr. Gladstone, then staying at Balmoral, replied (quoting the terms of the question addressed to him): "I quite agree with those of your constituents, on whose behalf you address me, in thinking that the question, 'Whether the Prime Minister of this country is a member of the Church of Rome,' and being such not only declines to avow it, but gives through a long life all the external signs of belonging to a different communion, is a 'question of great political importance,' and this not only 'in the present,' but in any possible 'condition of the Liberal' or any other 'party.' For it involves the question whether he is the basest creature in the kingdom which he has a share in ruling; and instant ejectment from his office would be the smallest of the punishments he would deserve. If I have said this much upon the present subject, it has been out of personal respect to you. For I am entirely convinced that, while the question you have put to me is in truth an insulting one, you have put it only from having failed to notice its true character; since I have observed, during an experience of many years, that even when you undertake the most startling duties, you perform them in the gentlest and most considerate manner."

The Abolition of Purchase in the Army.—The Army Regulation Bill of Mr. Gladstone's Government, which abolished the purchase system, passed by only a narrow majority in the House of Commons on the third reading, on the 3rd of July, 1871; an adverse motion by Mr. Graves being defeated by 239 to 231. In the House of Lords, on the 17th of July, the second reading was refused by 155 to 130. On the 20th, Mr. Gladstone, in reply to a question by Sir George Grey, said that legally there was no purchase except under the Queen's Regulations on the subject; and the Government had resolved to recommend the Queen to cancel the Royal warrant under which purchase was allowed. That advice had been accepted by her Majesty, a new warrant had been framed, and from the 1st of November purchase in the army would be abolished. He said the Government had no other object in view but simplicity, despatch,

and the observance of constitutional usage—a statement which was met with loud cries of "Oh!" and counter-cheers. On the 31st of July, on the second reading of the Army Compensation Bill, the following resolution passed the House of Lords by 162 to 82: "That this House, in assenting to the second reading of this bill, desires to express its opinion that the interposition of the Executive during the progress of a measure submitted to Parliament by her Majesty's Government, in order to attain, by the exercise of the prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, the principal object included in that measure, is calculated to depreciate and neutralise the independent action of the Legislature, and is strongly to be condemned; and this House assents to the second reading of this bill only in order to secure the officers of her Majesty's army the compensation to which they are entitled consequent on the abolition of purchase in the army."

Calming the Storm.—One of the most striking scenes in Mr. Gladstone's career occurred when he met an enormous mass of his constituents and others at Blackheath in October, 1871. His Ministry at that time had been waning in popularity, and many of the constituency of Greenwich had been especially angered against him, by reductions made in the dockyard establishments at Woolwich and elsewhere. After a few words from one of his supporters, which were inaudible, Mr. Gladstone came forward bareheaded to address the crowd. A writer in the *Daily News* thus described the scene which ensued: "The first word he spoke was the signal of a fearful tempest of din. From all around the skirts of the crowd rose a something between a groan and a howl. So fierce was it that for a little space it might laugh to scorn the burst of cheering that strove to overmaster it. The battle raged between the two sounds, and looking straight upon the excited crowd stood Mr. Gladstone, calm, resolute, patient. It was fine to note the manly British impulse of fair play that gained him a hearing when the first ebullition had exhausted itself, and the revulsion that followed so quickly and spontaneously, on the realisation of the suggestion that it was mean to hoot a man down without giving him a chance to speak for himself. After that Mr. Gladstone may be said to have had it all his own way. Long before he had finished he had so enthralled his audience, that impatient disgust was expressed at the handful who still continued their abortive efforts at interruption." Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech by a passage which is among the most characteristic of his style: "Gentlemen, I shall go from this meeting, having given you the best account of my position in my feeble power, within the time and under the circumstances of the day—I shall go from this meeting strengthened by the comfort of your kindness and your indulgence to resume my humble share in public labours. No motive will more operate upon me in stimulating me to the discharge of duty than the gratitude with which I look back upon the, I believe, unexampled circumstances under which you made me your representative. But I shall endeavour—I shall make it my hope—to show that gratitude less by words of idle compliment or hollow flattery than by a manful endeavour, according to the measure of my gifts, humble as

they may be, to render service to a Queen who lives in the hearts of the people, and to a nation, with respect to which I will say that through all posterity, whether it be praised or whether it be blamed, whether it be acquitted or whether it be condemned, it will be acquitted or condemned upon this issue, of having made a good or a bad use of the most splendid opportunities; of having turned to proper account, or failed to turn to account, the powers, the energies, the faculties which rank the people of this little island among the few great nations that have stamped their name and secured their fame among the greatest nations of the world."

Political Quacks. — It was in his address to the Greenwich electors at Blackheath, in 1871, that Mr. Gladstone observed: "Let the Government labour to its utmost; let the Legislature labour days and nights in your service; but, after the very best has been attained and achieved, the question whether the English father is to be the father of a happy family and the centre of a united home is a question which must depend mainly upon himself. And those who propose to you, whoever they may be, schemes like those seven points of which I have spoken; those who promise to the dwellers in towns that every one of them shall have a house and garden in free air, with ample space; those who tell you that there shall be markets for selling at wholesale prices retail quantities—I won't say are impostors, because I have no doubt they are sincere; but I will say they are quacks."

A Minister's Duty.—"It is the duty of a Minister to stand like a wall of adamant between the people and the Sovereign."—*Speech at Garston, Nov. 14th,* 1868.

Tyranny of Minorities.—In a debate on the second reading of the Irish Land Bill in 1870, Mr. Gladstone (then Prime Minister) dropped a remark in reference to the conduct of some of his opponents, which was destined to receive forcible illustration in the House a few years later. "The oppression of a majority," said he, "is detestable and odious. The oppression of a minority is only by one degree less detestable and odious."

Home Rule and Disintegration. — On the occasion of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Aberdeen, during his premiership in 1871, to have the freedom of the city conferred upon him, he made some remarks on the subject of Home Rule, and said that, if it were established in Ireland, people would be equally entitled to it in Scotland. He added: "Moreover, I protest on behalf of Wales, in which I have lived a good deal, and where there are 800,000 people, who to this day, such is their sentiment of nationality, speak hardly anything but their own Celtic tongue—a larger number than speak the Celtic tongue, I apprehend, in Scotland, and a larger number than speak it, I apprehend, in Ireland—I protest on behalf of Wales that they are entitled to Home Rule there. Can any sensible man, can any rational man suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for

bestowing benefits through legislation on the country to which we belong?"

Minority Representation.—Agamemnon's Tomb.—In a speech to the Nottingham Liberal Union, in September, 1877, Mr. Gladstone said: "There has been a great deal said in late years in Parliament by gentlemen who think it is very desirable that there should be a representation of minorities, and various methods have been proposed for securing that representation; but there is one method which appears to me by far the best, and that was the one adopted for the last election for Nottingham. You had got two places to fill, and you tried to put four men into them. I do not know if any of you will be surprised at my introducing the subject, but you will soon see the purpose of it: A friend of mine named Dr. Schliemann has been in Greece, and has dug up some extraordinary tombs, and has found skeletons and remains of human bodies in those tombs. He says the tombs are those of Agamemnon and his companions, and he found amongst others the bones of an extraordinarily tall man; but how long do you think the tomb is?—five feet two. So Dr. Schliemann says it is a most extraordinary thing that, having this enormously tall man to bury, they should have put him in a tomb only five feet two inches in length. That conveys to my mind something like the proposition adopted at Nottingham. You have got five feet two inches of parliamentary space allotted to you, and you attempt to put in that which requires ten feet space. Well, gentlemen, when you have to deal with political affairs, recollect, I beseech you, Dr. Schliemann and his tombs, and do not endeavour to put into places made for two men the bodies of four men, for if you do, you will never get them into it, and while you are debating and bothering about how to do it, somebody else will come up with two men and put them in. . . I entreat you to think of these matters, and, if I may use the expression, to throw your opinions as Liberals into one common stock. Do not let us dwell exclusively or over much upon a particular thing that we ourselves may deem to be the most important. Remember the wise saying of Mr. Bright. Mr. Bright has said a great many wise things, and one of them was that the policy of Liberalism, as a whole, ought to have regard, and must have regard, to the average opinion of the party. If you think that the average opinion does not go far enough, why then it is your individual duty to poke it from behind and make it go forward. But do not meantime quarrel about it, for if you do, you will repeat what I call the story of Dr. Schliemann and the tomb of Agamemnon."

The House of Commons a School of Discipline.—At a dinner of the Institution of Civil Engineers, in 1878, Mr. Gladstone responded to the toast of the House of Commons, and in the course of his remarks said: "I may speak of the House as a school of discipline for those who enter it. In my opinion it is a school of extraordinary power and efficacy, and I am qualified to say so from having sat there, I believe, longer, as a man actively engaged in a political career and in official life, than any one who has ever sat within those walls, with the single exception of Lord Palmerston. It is a great and noble school for the creation of all the

qualities of force, suppleness, and versatility of intellect. And it is also, permit me to say, a great moral school. It is a school of temper; for if in Parliament any one unhappily goes astray in point of temper, rely upon it he will not be five minutes older before he has found out his mistake. (Laughter.) If any of you are so unfortunate as to know a member of the House of Commons who has taken a leading part in its business whose temper is not good, depend upon it if he had not been in the House of Commons it would have been a great deal worse. (Laughter.) It is also a school of patience. A man who is disposed to learn patience there will find plenty of opportunities when, having been smitten on one cheek, he may turn the other cheek to the smiter if he is so disposed. It is a school of honour; for it is a place in which many small, mean, shabby advantages may be taken from the circumstances of the moment, though, perhaps, to be afterwards regretted. And it is a school of justice; for no one can be engaged in the constant exercise of political controversy without being exposed to the constant temptation to abate somewhat of the sanctifying integrity and homage which is due from us all to truth, and, with more or less wilfulness, more or less unconsciousness, to deviate from justice in stating his own argument and in dealing with that of his opponent. The House of Commons has stood hitherto at a very high level, and I trust the level will be maintained. I speak not now of its power, which I look upon as placed beyond all question, dispute, or doubt. Its power never can be brought, except by its own fault, into a situation of peril or uncertainty."

An Agitator.—On the occasion of the formation of a Liberal Palmerston Club by some of the undergraduates at Oxford, in 1878, Mr. Gladstone declared that it was then Lord Beaconsfield's will that took effect in the policy of the Government, and from time to time succeeded in bringing the country into danger. He added that, "to his own great pain, and with infinite reluctance, but under the full and strong conviction, he might say, of political old age, for the past eighteen months he might be said to have played the part of an agitator. His purpose had been to the best of his power, day and night, week by week, month by month, to counter-work what he believed to be the purposes of Lord Beaconsfield."

The Responsibilities of British Rule.—In his first address to the electors of Midlothian, at Edinburgh in November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone thus spoke of the responsibilities resting upon the Government and the people of Great Britain: "This empire is an empire the daily calls of whose immense responsibilities task and overtask the energies of the ablest of her statesmen. There is not a country in the history of the world that has undertaken what we have undertaken; and when I say what we have undertaken, I do not mean what the present Government have undertaken—that I will come to by-and-by—but what England in its traditional established policy and position has undertaken. There is no precedent in human history for a formation like the British Government. A small island at one extremity of the globe peoples the whole earth with its colonies; but it is not satisfied with that. It goes among the ancient

races of Asia, and it subjects 240,000,000 to its rule there. Along with all this it disseminates over the world a commerce such as no imagination ever conceived in former times, and such as no poet ever painted. And all this it has to do with a strength that lies within the narrow limits of these shores; not a strength that I disparage; on the contrary, I wish to dissipate if I can the idle dreams of those who are always telling you that the strength of England depends—sometimes they say, upon its prestige; sometimes they say, upon its extending its empire and upon what it possesses beyond these shores. Rely upon it, the strength of Great Britain and Ireland is within the United Kingdom. Whatever is to be done in defending and governing those vast colonies with their teeming millions, in protecting that unmeasured commerce, in relation to the enormous responsibilities of India—whatever is to be done must be done by the force derived from you and from your children; derived from you and your fellow-electors in the land; from you and the citizens and people of this country. And what are they? They are some three-and-thirty millions of persons; they are a population less than the population of France, less than the population of Austria, less than the population of Germany, less than the population of Russia. But the populations of France, Austria, Germany, and Russia find it quite hard enough to settle their own matters within their own limits. We have undertaken to settle the affairs of a fourth, or nearly a fourth, of the entire human race scattered over the world. . . Why does this not satisfy the ambition of the members of the present Government? I affirm, strive and labour as you will—I speak after the experience of a lifetime, of which a fair portion has been spent in office—strive and labour as you will, in Parliament and in office, human strength and human thought are not equal to the discharge of the duties appertaining to Government in this great, wonderful, and world-wide empire."

"Resignation."—Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian "campaign," as he himself termed it, and his subsequent recall to power as Premier in 1880, lent additional interest to the terms in which, some years before, he expressed his own inclination for retirement. In March, 1874, after the election of a new Parliament and the unexpected return of a Conservative majority, entailing the resignation of Mr. Gladstone's Government, Mr. Gladstone thus wrote to Earl Granville, who had filled the office of Foreign Secretary in his Administration: "For a variety of reasons personal to myself, I could not contemplate any unlimited extension of active political service; and I am anxious that it should be clearly understood by those friends with whom I have acted in the direction of affairs, that at my age I must reserve my entire freedom to divest myself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time. The need of rest will prevent me from giving more than occasional attendance in the House of Commons during the present session. I should be desirous, shortly before the commencement of the session of 1875, to consider whether there would be advantage in my placing my services for a time at the disposal of the Liberal party, or whether I should then claim exemption from the duties I have hitherto discharged. If, however, there should be

reasonable grounds for believing that, instead of the course which I have sketched, it would be preferable, in the view of the party generally, for me to assume at once the place of an independent member, I should willingly adopt the latter alternative." Again in January, 1875, he wrote (also to Earl Granville): "I see no public advantage in my continuing to act as the leader of the Liberal party; and at the age of sixty-five, and after forty-two years of a laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire on the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated to me by my personal views as to the best method of spending the closing years of my life. I need hardly say that my conduct in Parliament will continue to be governed by the principles on which I have heretofore acted, and, whatever arrangements may be made for the treatment of general business, and for the advantage or convenience of the Liberal party, they will have my cordial support." In consequence of Mr. Gladstone's wish, thus strongly expressed, the members of the Liberal party, after several conferences, determined to invite the Marquis of Hartington to assume the leadership of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

"Hands Off."—In April, 1880, the special correspondent of a German newspaper gave an account of an interview with Mr. Gladstone during that gentleman's contest in Midlothian, and represented him as having made the following, among other remarks: "I detest everything that reminds us of interference with nationalities that have to be freed from thraldom. The liberated Slavic races should have the opportunity to build up a future for themselves, and their territory must not be annexed by others. Whosoever understands the meaning of the English phrase 'Hands off' will be able to understand my line of policy. What I stated in respect to the Eastern Question, and the policy followed by Austria [alluding to a speech strongly condemning that policy], I was in duty bound to state. I am the watchful dog that barks. A good watch-dog is bound to do his duty.* I do not permit dust to be thrown up—matters may take another turn, that is possible—but I repeat, I am the watchful dog that barks! I greatly admire the patriotism of the Austrian people, and esteem the progress-loving Government of Austria; but, I say again, hands off from other people's territory."

Mr. Gladstone as a Chancellor of the Exchequer.—The following was Mr. Cobden's criticism, delivered in the last speech he made, at Rochdale in 1864: "Mr. Gladstone is the best Chancellor of the Exchequer England ever had—and I say that, knowing that he has had among his predecessors William Pitt. But I am going to say that Mr. Gladstone has been the most extravagant Chancellor of the Exchequer we have ever had. He has been a master in the adjustment of the burdens of the country; that is, he found the weight placed upon the animal in such a way as rendered it the most difficult to carry his burden. It was tied round his knees, it was fastened to his tail, it was hung over his eyes, it blinded him, and impeded him, and lamed him at every step. Now, Mr. Gladstone took the burdens off these limbs, and he placed them most

* Compare "Tear-'em," p. 350.

ingeniously over the softest possible pad upon the animal's shoulders. But the beast is carrying the burden still, and carrying a great deal more than it did before all this beautiful process was commenced."

RICHARD COBDEN.

(1804—1865.)

"Unadorned Eloquence."—The compliment which was paid to Mr. Cobden by Sir Robert Peel, on the passing of the bills repealing the Corn Laws, is thus recorded by "Hansard:"—"The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with the success of those measures, is the name of one who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, made appeals to our reason, and has enforced those appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned: the name which ought to be chiefly associated with the success of those measures is the name of Richard Cobden."

The Minister's Responsibility.—During a discussion on the Corn Laws in 1843, Mr. Cobden, after having urged that the agricultural population suffered as much from these laws as the manufacturing classes, and that the new law (maintaining but regulating the duties on corn by a "sliding scale") was as baneful as the old one, thus directly addressed Sir Robert Peel: "What is the remedy you propose? What are the proceedings by which you propose to give relief to the country? You have acted on your own judgment, and you are responsible for the consequences of your act. You passed your law; you refused to listen to the manufacturers, and I throw upon you all the responsibility of your own measure. . . The right honourable baronet says it is his duty to judge independently, and act without reference to any pressure; and I must tell the right honourable baronet that it is the duty of every honest and independent member to hold him individually responsible for the present position of the country. I tell him that the whole responsibility of the lamentable and dangerous state of the country rests with him."—M. Guizot writes in his "Memoirs of Peel" that on hearing this charge of responsibility, and personal responsibility, so often and so vehemently repeated, Sir Robert rose with visible emotion. "The honourable gentleman," he said, "has stated here, very emphatically, what he has more than once stated at the conferences of the Anti-Corn-Law League, that he holds me individually—individually—responsible for the distress and suffering of the country; that he holds me personally responsible. But, be the consequences of these insinuations what they may, never will I be influenced by menaces, either in this House or out of this House, to adopt a course which I consider——" He was unable to complete his sentence. Whether friends or opponents, many members asked themselves what he meant, and why he was so much affected. It was perceived that the shade of Mr. Drummond [Sir Robert's secretary, who was assassinated January 21st, 1843] haunted his mind, and that the responsibility for the public distress, charged upon him with so much vehemence, struck him as a provocation to assassination. Mr. Cobden at once explained, protesting

earnestly against so unjust a suspicion. Sir Robert accepted his explanation, but coldly, and still maintained an air of reserved distrust.

Abstraction.—At an election meeting in London in 1843, Mr. Cobden spoke in support of the Free Trade candidate, and against his Protectionist rival, Mr. Thomas Baring. In the course of his address he remarked: "Our chairman has said that Mr. Baring admits our principles to be true in the abstract—that is, that his own principles are untrue in the abstract. Did you ever hear of a father teaching his children to obey the Ten Commandments—in the abstract? Did you ever know the plea to go down at the Old Bailey, after a verdict of guilty had been returned, of 'Oh, I did steal the pocket-handkerchief—but only in the abstract?' Is monopoly an abstraction? If it be, I have done with Mr. Baring and this election; but the abstraction presents itself in bodily form under the shape of certain monopolists, who diminish by one half your supply of sugar, and cut off large slices from your loaves."

The "Three Ways."—Mr. Cobden opened an argument on the subject of Free Trade, in June, 1845, in the following fashion: "As Sir Robert Peel would say, 'there are three ways of dealing with this question.' Firstly, you may acknowledge the justice of the principles of total repeal, and you may defer it until it suits your party, or until circumstances compel you to abolish the Corn Laws totally and immediately. Secondly, you may abolish them gradually by a vanishing duty, putting an 8*s.* tax, and sliding off 1*s.* a year till it comes to nothing; that may be done by an Act of Parliament, and would involve the principle of a total repeal. Or, thirdly, you may adopt our principle of total and immediate repeal." He then went on to discuss each of these courses *seriatim*.

The "People who will Govern this Country."—In a debate on the state of Ireland, April 24, 1846, Mr. Smith O'Brien had asked Lord George Bentinck whether his party would consent to a temporary suspension of the Corn Laws. Mr. Cobden thus commented on the question: "I beg to tell the honourable member for Limerick (Mr. O'Brien) and the noble lord the member for Lynn, and the 240 members who sit behind him, and who cheered the speech he has made to-night, that there are other parties to be consulted with regard to such a proposition—that there are the people of England—I don't mean the country party, but the people living in the towns, and who will govern this country. I tell him that the English people and the Scotch, and the Welsh, and I believe the Irish too, are, from what I have heard, determined not to be content with a suspension, but to have a total abolition of the Corn Laws. I think, therefore, the matter is taken out of the hands of this House altogether; and I must say I rejoice that this question of the Corn Laws can no longer be made matter for manœuvring and compacts within the walls of this House. It is disposed of, settled, out of doors; and, although your artifices here may delay this measure, and cause anxiety out of doors, still they can only delay it." Sir Robert Peel was accused by Mr. Disraeli of having cheered Mr. Cobden's expression, but this Sir Robert denied, saying, "I don't recognise, on the part of the people of towns, any sort of right to dictate to the people of this country." Mr. Cobden then ex-

plained himself as follows: "The honourable member for Shrewsbury states, and the right honourable baronet repeats, that I said the inhabitants of towns would dictate to the country. Now, that was not my expression. I said that the majority of the people would always do so; and I think I am correct in saying that the majority of the people of this country live in towns. I do not wish or desire that one section should dictate to another; but the majority will govern in all constitutional States, and the majority now will be found in towns."

"Crumbling" Russia.—At a meeting in London in 1849, called to express sympathy with the people of Hungary, after the Russian intervention on behalf of Austria, Mr. Cobden thus spoke: "The peace party throughout the world will raise a crusade against the credit of every government that attempts to carry on an unholy war. Henceforth let no one talk of Russian resources and Russian money. . . People talk sometimes as though England and Englishmen were afraid of Russia. I wish to disabuse all minds as to my views on that subject. I do not oppose Russia's advances into Hungary in the belief that, in any possible combination of events, or any accession of territory, Russia can be in the least degree dangerous to England. Should Russia make an attack upon this country, or another great maritime power, like the United States, it would fall upon her like a thunderbolt, and crumble that empire into its own dreary fastnesses in six months, by the aid of its shipping."—*Speeches in* 1849, *revised by himself.* Mr. Henry Drummond added something to the "crumbling" phrase of Mr. Cobden's, in the debate, in 1855, on the condition of the army before Sebastopol: "Whatever the honourable member for the West Riding may say, his talk about 'crumpling up' Russia like a sheet of paper ran through the country, and people thought that Russia was a little, foolish, second-rate power, which you had the means of crumpling up whenever you liked."

Non-Interference.—The doctrine of non-interference in the affairs of other nations was one which Mr. Cobden repeatedly urged. The following passage from a speech at Manchester in 1849 may be taken as an example of his method of dealing with this subject: "Another position which has an important bearing on the reduction of our armaments is, we must let other people manage their own affairs. The Spaniards, who have very wise maxims, say, 'A fool knows more of what is going on in his own house than a wise man does in that of his neighbour.' Now, if we will apply that to nations, mind our own business, and give foreigners the credit of being able to manage their own concerns better than we can do for them, or they with our interference, it will save us a great deal of money, and they will have their affairs settled better and sooner than if we intermeddled with them. But what are we doing? There cannot be a petty squabble in any country in Europe or the globe, but we must have a great fleet of line-of-battle ships sent from England to take part in it. We have just interfered between Naples and Sicily—what is the consequence? We are detested by both parties. In all Italy it is the same. They speak of Englishmen with contempt and execration; not because they undervalue our qualities as men—no, they pay as high a tribute to

the qualities of Englishmen as we could desire—but, as a nation, as a Government, interfering with their politics, from one end of the Peninsula to the other, the Italians cordially hate and detest us. So with regard to Spain—we have spent hundreds of millions on Spain, and what is the present state of feeling there? I travelled from one end of Spain to the other, and I never heard the name of the Duke of Wellington mentioned, although he fought their battles, as we persuade ourselves—I never saw his portrait or bust through all my travels, but I saw Napoleon's and his marshals' everywhere. At this very moment, Napoleon and France are more popular in Spain than England and Englishmen. It is the same in Greece—the same in Portugal. The English people are hated, because we interfere with their politics. Is not that a very undignified attitude for a great nation like this to occupy?"

Influence of the Treasury Bench.—"Black and Curly."—In a speech on the Russian war, in the House of Commons in 1855, Mr. Cobden replied to some remarks made by his former associate Sir William Molesworth, then a Cabinet Minister. He said: "Never in this world was there a speech delivered by any honourable gentleman so utterly at variance with all previous declarations of opinion, as that delivered by the right honourable gentleman last night. Does the right honourable gentleman remember a *jeu-d'esprit* of the poet Moore, when dealing, in 1833, with the Whig occupants of those benches, shortly after they had emerged from a long penance in the dreary wilderness of Opposition, and when the Whigs showed themselves to be Tories when in office? Does he remember the *jeu-d'esprit?*—why, I think he and I have laughed over it, when we have been talking over the sudden conversions of right honourable gentlemen. The poet illustrated the matter by a story of an Irishman who went over to the West Indies, and, before landing, heard some of the blacks speaking tolerably bad English, whereupon, mistaking them for his own countrymen, he exclaimed, 'What! black and curly already?' Now, we have all seen metamorphoses upon those benches—how colours have changed, and features become deformed, when men came under the influence of the Treasury atmosphere; but I must say that never, to my knowledge, have I seen a change in which there has been so deep a black and so stiff a curl."

Proffered Office by Lord Palmerston.—The letter in which Lord Palmerston offered Mr. Cobden a seat in the Cabinet, in 1859, was equally creditable to the writer and the recipient, and ran chiefly in the following terms: "I have been commissioned by the Queen to form an administration, and I have endeavoured so to form it that it should contain representatives of all sections of the Liberal party, convinced as I am that no Government constructed upon any other basis could have sufficient prospect of duration, or would be sufficiently satisfactory to the country. Mr. Milner Gibson has most handsomely consented to waive all former differences, and to become a member of the new Cabinet. I am most exceedingly anxious that you should consent to adopt the same line; and I have kept open for you the office of President of the Board of Trade, which appeared to me to be the one best suited to your views, and

to the distinguished part which you have taken in public life." Mr. Cobden gave his reasons for declining the offer, in a speech at Rochdale after his return from America, in August, 1859. He said: "I will not affect any modesty in this matter: I will say that if I was fit for any office in the Cabinet, I should be fit for the office of President of the Board of Trade. I think, probably, if other circumstances had not intervened, my being in that place would have been really putting a square peg in a square hole. . . The honour I did not consider a matter of indifference; it was probably peculiarly inviting to me, if I had been one of an ambitious character, because, taking it for all in all, it would have been the first instance of a man springing immediately from amongst you—literally a man of business—being offered a seat in the Cabinet at all." He then went on to say that, on being made acquainted with the offer on his landing at Liverpool, he had gone as soon as possible to Lord Palmerston, and stated his case thus: "I have been for ten or fifteen years the systematic assailant of what I believe to be your foreign policy; . . it is quite possible that I may have been mistaken in all this; but I put it to Lord Palmerston, and now I put it to you, whether, having regard to those opinions, it was fit and becoming in me to step from an American steamer into his Cabinet, and there and then, for the first time, after having received at his hands a post of high honour and great emolument, to discover that I had undergone a change in my opinions; and whether I should not be open to great misconstruction by the public at large if I took such a course; and I candidly confess that it was inconsistent with my own self-respect. . . I had no personal feeling whatever in the course I took with regard to Lord Palmerston's offer. If I had had any feeling of personal hostility, which I never had, towards him—for he is of that happy nature which cannot create a personal enemy—his kind and manly offer would have instantly disarmed me."

Parliamentary Candidates and Election Petitions.—In a speech at Rochdale in 1859, Mr. Cobden thus commented on this subject. Petitions were at the time inquired into and adjudicated upon by committees of the House of Commons: "What is the meaning of an election petition? Why, in the first place, when the petitioner has been unduly deprived of his seat by the improper and corrupt proceedings of his opponent, he has to appeal to a tribunal for justice—to a tribunal which is the most inaccessible and the most costly in the civilised world. For I will venture to say that a man who presents an election petition to the House of Commons, goes before a tribunal the expense of which makes the equity which is administered at the Court of Chancery dirt cheap indeed. In fact, the principal obstacle to a petition at all is that the party paying for the redress of this grievance—I mean the grievance of having been deprived of a fair chance of being elected by the free and unbought suffrages of his fellow-countrymen—that the petition is so costly that no man can tell him beforehand how much it may cost. The election petition may cost a man 500*l.*, or it may cost him 5000*l.*; and no parliamentary lawyer who had one shred of conscience would ever venture to say that he could guarantee him against the larger amount. The cou-

sequence is, that very few men have the courage to present a petition, and to undergo the risk and expense of following it out before a Committee of the House of Commons. But supposing he does so—and this is my great grievance and charge against the proceedings of the House of Commons—what does it end in? He proves corrupt proceedings on the part of his opponent, he proves corruption on the part of the constituency, and the result may be that his opponent is declared unseated. But that does not give him the seat; it merely says that there shall be another election in the same borough, that he may go again, and, if he likes, incur the same expense with the same prospect of an election petition, and that those very men who have been shown to have sold their votes before, may have the privilege of selling them again; another election in such a case being nothing more nor less than a fresh harvest to those corrupt voters who make merchandise of their privileges as free citizens. Such being the case, what wonder is it that not one-half of those who lose their elections venture to petition for a redress of grievances? A friend of mine lost his contest for a very large borough in one of the Eastern counties, and he told me that he had a clear case against his opponent for bribery, but he did not intend to petition, and for this reason—he petitioned once before, and his expenses cost him 500*l.* a day, and if he went into a Committee again, he had no guarantee that it would not cost him as much, and therefore he abstained from prosecuting his petition at all."

Voices of the Dead.—On the death of Mr. Cobden, in April, 1865, Mr. Disraeli passed a high eulogium on his character as a politician, and in the course of it remarked: "There is something mournful in the history of this Parliament, when we remember how many of our most eminent and valued public men have passed from among us. I cannot refer to the history of any other Parliament which will bear to posterity so fatal a record. But there is this consolation when we remember these unequalled and irreparable visitations—that these great men are not altogether lost to us; that their opinions will be often quoted in this House, their authority appealed to, their judgments attested; even their very words will form part of our discussions and debates. There are some members of Parliament who, though not present in the body, are still members of this House, independent of dissolutions, of the caprice of constituencies, even of the course of time. I think, sir, Mr. Cobden was one of these men."

Power of "Cobden and Bright."—Mr. Kinglake thus sums up the power exercised by these two men, whose names for a long period were invariably associated in the politics of the day: "These two orators had shown with what a strength, with what a masterly skill, with what patience, with what a high courage they could carry a scientific truth through the storms of politics. They had shown that they could arouse and govern the assenting thousands who listened to them with delight—that they could bend the House of Commons—that they could press their creed upon a Prime Minister, and put upon his mind so hard a stress, that after a while he felt it to be a torture and a violence to his reason to have to make a stand against them. Nay, more. Each of these

gifted men had proved that he could go bravely into the midst of angry opponents, could show them their fallacies one by one, destroy their favourite theories before their very faces, and triumphantly argue them down."

JOHN BRIGHT.

(1811.)

The Cave of Adullam.—On the meeting of Parliament in 1866, a Reform Bill was introduced by Earl Russell's Administration. Several members usually found in the ranks of the Liberal party either opposed or withheld their support from the measure. Among them Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman were most conspicuous. In a debate on the bill, on the 13th of March, the following observations by Mr. Bright excited great merriment, and gave the name of "Adullamites" to this section of politicians: "The right honourable gentleman below me (Mr. Horsman) said a little against the Government and a little against the bill, but had last night a field-night for an attack upon so humble an individual as I am. The right honourable gentleman is the first of the new party who has expressed his great grief, who has retired into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him every one that was in distress and every one that was discontented.* The right honourable gentleman has been anxious to form a party in this House. There is scarcely any one on this side of the House who is able to address the House with effect, or to take much part in our debates, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party or cabal; and at last the right honourable gentleman has succeeded in hooking the right honourable gentleman the member for Calne (Mr. Lowe). I know there was an opinion expressed many years ago by a member of the Treasury bench and of the Cabinet, that two men would make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable, so discreet as the two right honourable gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious, and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two reminds me of the Scotch terrier, which was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail of it."

An Appeal against War.—Mr. Bright's speech against the continuance of the Crimean war (Feb. 23, 1855) was perhaps the best example of the honourable gentleman's higher flights of oratory. It contained the following passage: "I do not suppose that your troops are to be beaten in actual conflict with the foe, or that they will be driven into the sea; but I am certain that many homes in England in which there now exists a fond hope that the distant one may return—many such homes may be rendered desolate when the next mail shall arrive. The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings. There is no one, as when the firstborn were slain of old, to

* 1 Samuel, xxii. 1, 2.

sprinkle with blood the lintel and the two sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on. He takes his victims from the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, and the cottage of the poor and the lowly; and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal. . . I would ask, I would entreat the noble lord (Palmerston) to take a course which, when he looks back upon his whole political career—whatever he may therein find to be pleased with, whatever to regret—cannot but be a source of gratification to him. By adopting that course he would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, having obtained the object of his laudable ambition—having become the foremost subject of the Crown, the director of, it may be, the destinies of his country, and the presiding genius of her councils—he had achieved a still higher and nobler ambition: that he had returned the sword to its scabbard—that at his words torrents of blood had ceased to flow—that he had restored tranquillity to Europe, and saved this country from the indescribable calamities of war."*

A Modern Sindbad.—In the debate on the Queen's Message announcing the declaration of war with Russia, March, 1854, Mr. Bright condemned the policy of a war on behalf of Turkey, and in the course of his remarks said, "The property-tax is the lever, or the weapon, with which the proprietors of land and houses in this kingdom will have to support the 'integrity and independence' of the Ottoman Empire. Gentlemen, I congratulate you that every man of you has a Turk upon his shoulders."

The Ass between Two Burdens.—In a speech at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in 1866, Mr. Bright used this illustration. He said: "When I look at the great middle class of this country, and see all that it has done, and see the political position in which it has been to some extent content to rest, I cannot help saying that it reminds me very much of the language which the ancient Hebrew patriarch addressed to one of his sons. He said, 'Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens.' On the one side there is the burden of seven and a half millions per annum, raised by way of tax, to keep from starvation more than 1,200,000 paupers within the United Kingdom—and on the other hand, and higher up in the scale, there is mismanagement the most gross, there is extravagance the most reckless, and there is waste the most appalling and disgraceful which has ever been seen in the government of any country. And this is the grand result of a system which systematically shuts out the millions, and which cajoles the middle class by the hocus-pocus of a Parliamentary Government."

The "Intense Glare at the Doors of Parliament."—Mr. Bright used this expression in a speech at Birmingham in 1865. Alluding to the fear which the Tories and many of the Whigs entertained of a

* The critical sense of the House of Commons is always keenly alive. This peroration was listened to in a silence which was itself impressive, and the "beating of the wings" might have been audible, could it have occurred; but a member who was present remarked, "If he had said *flapping* we should have laughed at once."

Reform Bill, he said, "What is this apparition which alarms them? They are afraid of the five or six millions of Englishmen, grown-up men, who are allowed to marry, to keep house, to rear children, who are expected to earn their living, who pay taxes, who must obey the law, who must be citizens in all honourable conduct—they are afraid of the five or six millions who by the present system of representation are shut out, and insultingly shut out, from the commonest rights of citizenship. It may happen, as it happened thirty years ago, that the eyes of the five millions all through the United Kingdom may be fixed with an intense glare upon the doors of Parliament; it was so in the years 1831-32. . . If the five millions should once unitedly fix their eyes with an intense look upon the doors of that House where my honourable friend and I expect so soon to enter, I would ask, Who shall say them nay? Not the mace upon the table of the House; not the four hundred easy gentlemen of the House of Lords, who lounge in and out of that decorated chamber; not the dozen gentlemen who call themselves statesmen, and who meet in Downing-street; perhaps not even those more appalling and more menacing personages who have their lodgment higher up Whitehall. I say there is no power in the country, as opinion now stands, and as combination is now possible—there is no power in this country that can say 'Nay' for one single week to the five millions, if they are intent upon making their way within the doors of Parliament."

Parliamentary Corruption preventing a Dissolution.—In a speech at Glasgow in October, 1866, Mr. Bright said: "With regard to a general election, some of you have read, and many of you know something of the cost and corruption of a general election. I will give you one instance and one proof of it. It has been my opinion all along that it was the duty of the Government of Lord Russell, after the defeat of their Reform Bill during the last session, to have dissolved the Parliament. I have no reason to disbelieve what is asserted, that Lord Russell himself was of that opinion. But a general election was a burden which the members of Parliament did not wish to bear. I was speaking to a member of the Government on this question, about the time when the resignation of the late Government was just about to be submitted to the Queen, and I was telling him that I thought the true policy, the constitutional policy, of the Government was to dissolve the Parliament. A portion of his answer was this: A member who sits on our side of the House had spoken to him about it. He said, 'My election has already cost me 9000*l.*;' and he added, 'I have, besides, 3000*l.* more to pay.' He said further, what was very reasonable, that this was a heavy burden, that it was grievous to be borne, that it put him to exceeding inconvenience, and, if the Parliament were dissolved, he could not afford to fight his county or his borough, as the case might be, but would be obliged to retire from the field, and leave the contest, if there should be a contest, to some one else. You will believe, then, that the Government were greatly pressed by this consideration; and this consideration, added, it may be, to others, induced them to resign office rather than to dissolve Parliament. Thus you have a proof that whereas general corruption and putridity are the destruction

of most bodies which they affect, the corruption of the present Parliament was, and is, the cause of its present existence."

A Parliament from Temple Bar.—In a speech at Glasgow, in 1866, Mr. Bright made this supposition: "If the Clerk of the House of Commons were placed at Temple Bar, and if he had orders to tap upon the shoulder every well-dressed and apparently cleanly-washed man who passed through that ancient bar, until he had numbered 658; and if the Crown summoned these 658 to be the Parliament of the United Kingdom, my honest conviction is that you would have a better Parliament than now exists. This assertion will stagger some timid and some good men; but let me explain myself to you. It would be a Parliament every member of which would have no direct constituency, but it would be a Parliament that would act as a jury, that would take some heed of the facts and arguments laid before it. It would be free, at any rate, from the class prejudices which weigh upon the present House of Commons. It would be free from the overshadowing presence of what are called noble families. It would owe no allegiance to great landowners, and I hope it would have fewer men amongst it seeking their own gains by entering Parliament."

The Derby Minstrels.—Speaking on Reform at Birmingham in 1866, Mr. Bright made the following allusion: "The Government of Lord Derby in the House of Commons, sitting all in a row, reminds me very much of a number of amusing and ingenious gentlemen whom I dare say some of you have seen and listened to; I mean the Christy Minstrels. The Christy Minstrels, if I am not misinformed, are, when they are clean washed, white men; but they come before the audience as black as the blackest negroes, and by this transformation it is expected that their jokes and songs will be more amusing. The Derby Minstrels pretend to be Liberal and white; but the fact is, if you come nearer and examine them closely, you will find them to be just as black and curly as the Tories have ever been. I do not know, and I do not pretend to say, which of them it is that plays the banjo and which the bones."

Inadequate Remedies.—In March, 1868, the Earl of Mayo, as Chief Secretary for Ireland in Mr. Disraeli's Administration, brought before the House of Commons the measures intended to deal with Irish questions, and among them a scheme for a new Roman Catholic University. In the course of the discussion Mr. Bright ridiculed these measures as inadequate to the requirements of the occasion, and said: "I recollect that Addison, a good while ago, writing about the curious things that happened in his time, said there was a man in his county—I do not know whether it was in Buckinghamshire or not—he was not a Cabinet Minister, he was only a mountebank—but this man set up a stall, and to the country people he offered to sell pills that were very good against the earthquake." (Great laughter.)

A "Free Breakfast Table."—In addressing the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, of which he had been made an honorary member, in 1868, Mr. Bright urged his hearers to agitate for this object. By the term he included the repeal of all remaining duties on tea, coffee, and sugar.

A Defence of the Queen.—During the Reform agitation in 1866, a meeting of the London trades was held in St. James's Hall, Mr. Bright and Mr. Ayrton delivering addresses. The latter, alluding to a popular demonstration at St. James's Park on the previous day, censured the Queen for not making an appearance and recognising the people. Mr. Bright thereupon disclaimed any participation in such a feeling. "I am not," he said, "accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns. But I could not sit and hear that observation without a sensation of wonder and pain. I think there has been, by many persons, a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman, be she Queen of a great realm or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you."

The Shunammite Woman.—On the formation of Mr. Gladstone's Government in December, 1868, Mr. Bright was offered and accepted the post of President of the Board of Trade, with a seat in the Cabinet. Addressing his constituents at Birmingham on his re-election, he said that when the Prime Minister asked him to take office, "I have reason to know that he made that proposition with the cordial and gracious acquiescence of her Majesty the Queen. . . . I should have preferred much to have remained in the common rank of the simple citizenship in which heretofore I have lived. There is a charming story contained in a single verse of the Old Testament, which has often struck me as one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet, in journeying to and fro, was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible a Shunammite woman. In return for the hospitality of his entertainment he wished to make her some amends, and he called her and asked her what there was that he should do for her. 'Shall I speak for thee to the King or to the Captain of the Host?'—and it has always appeared to me to be a great answer that the Shunammite woman returned. She said, 'I dwell among mine own people.' When the question was put to me whether I would step into the position in which I now find myself, the answer from my heart was the same—I wish to dwell among mine own people. Happily, the time may have come—I trust it has come—when in this country an honest man may enter the service of the Crown, and at the same time not feel it in any degree necessary to dissociate himself from his own people."

The "Residuum."—Mr. Bright having, in 1873, been made the subject of some very free remarks by a provincial clergyman, for applying the term "residuum" to the working classes, he wrote a letter warmly repudiating the construction put upon his words, and remarked: "If I had applied the word 'residuum' to the 'working men of England'—if I had deemed or called them 'the dregs of the population'—should I have given much time and labour, and many years of my life, to procure for them the right to live by the free exchange of their industry, and the right to vote that they might share in the government of their country?

I do not remember the time when, or the speech in which, I used the word 'residuum,' or I would refer you to the passage. You would at once see how utterly unjust and false is the construction put upon it." The speech in which the term was employed is not to be found in the authorised editions of the honourable gentleman's speeches, but it was delivered on the 26th of March, 1867, during the debate on Lord Derby's Reform Bill. Mr. Bright, in arguing that household suffrage should have its restrictions, was then reported by the *Times* to have said: "At this moment, in all, or nearly all, our boroughs, as many of us know, sometimes to our sorrow, there is a small class which it would be much better for themselves if they were not enfranchised, because they have no independence whatsoever, and it would be much better for the Constitution also that they should be excluded; and there is no class so much interested in having that small class excluded as the intelligent and honest working men. I call this class the *residuum*, which there is in every constituency of almost hopeless poverty and dependence." In addressing his constituency at Birmingham in 1876 Mr. Bright thus returned to the subject: "You recollect that I have been sometimes criticised for using a Latin word to describe an unpleasant fact—the 'residuum.' During the 10*l.* franchise there was a residuum in every borough very hard to manage. It was ignorant, unprincipled, sometimes drunken, often corrupt. Now, with the wide suffrage of household, there is also a residuum, and the wider the suffrage, the wider the class to which I refer; and in the counties, if you give the franchise to the labourers, there will also be a residuum. That is a fact we cannot get rid of. Why, there is a residuum in the House of Lords. There are lords who are out of elbows, bankrupt in purse, and bankrupt in character; but it does not follow from that that the House of Lords as a body does not consist of men of great wealth and of very high character too. And there is a residuum amongst the Church. No one would more admit than I should the high character, and the great services, and the devotion, and the disinterestedness of the great body of the clergy of the Church of England, for example; but there are some very odd specimens amongst them. So that there would be a residuum if you extend the franchise to age population, but it will every day be growing less, we hope."

Always a "Weak Brother" in the House.—During the debate on the Lords' amendments to the Reform Bill in 1867, Mr. Bright spoke against the representation of minorities, and remarked: "I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Mr. Disraeli] said it was a scheme to introduce into the House all sorts of crotchety people. I have no objection to crotchety people. I believe there must be all sorts of people in this House. I have never been in any Parliament in which there has not been at least one member generally believed by the rest of the members to be not quite strong, and excuses were made for his eccentric conduct because he was not as responsible as others. That, probably, will always be the case in the House of Commons."

Women and the Franchise.—On the 26th of April, 1876, the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, introduced by Mr. Forsyth, was

brought up for second reading, and Mr. Bright addressed the House against it. He alluded to his having, in 1867, supported a motion by Mr. Stuart Mill in favour of giving the franchise to women, and explained his reasons for now adopting a contrary course, stating that, although he had then voted with Mr. Mill, he had done so with extreme doubt, and his doubts had been confirmed by further consideration. In the course of his speech he made the following remarks: "We in this House have one peculiar knowledge, that is of the penalties which we pay for our constitutional freedom. There are many men in this House who cannot look back upon their electioneering experience without feelings of regret, and I am afraid there are some who must look back with feelings of humiliation. Now, I should like to ask the House whether it is desirable to introduce our mothers, and wives, and sisters, and daughters into the excitement, and the turmoil, and it may be into the very humiliation which seems in every country so far to attend a system of Parliamentary representation —whether it be in the United States, where so many systems are tried, or in this country; and in France, of which we recently had an example, we see how much there is that candidates can scarcely avoid, yet must greatly deplore; and we are asked to introduce the women of England into a system like this, from which we can hardly extract ourselves without taint of pollution, which we look back upon even with shame and disgust. I won't say that women would be more likely to be more tainted in this manner than we are, but I believe there have been some experiences even since the Municipal Act gave them votes. I know one place in my own neighbourhood where scenes of the most shocking character took place; and in another borough not far from where I live, whose member or members vote for this Bill, at a recent municipal contest women were served with what certainly was not wholesome or good for them, during the morning and forenoon, until they had been polled. I know at another borough in Lancashire at the last general election there were women by hundreds, I am told, but at any rate in great numbers, drunk and disgraced under the temptations that were offered in the fierceness and unscrupulousness of a political contest. . . My sympathies have always been in favour of a wide suffrage. They are so at this moment, and I grieve very much that a measure should be submitted in favour of the extension of the suffrage to which I cannot give my support. But I confess I am unwilling for the sake of women themselves to introduce them into the contest of our Parliamentary system, to bring them under the necessity of canvassing themselves or being canvassed by others. I think they would lose much of that, or some of that, which is best that they now possess, and that they would gain nothing from being mingled or mixed with the contest and the polling-booth. I should vote for this measure if I were voting solely in the interests of the men. I shall vote against it, I believe with perfect honesty, believing in doing so that I am serving the interests of women themselves." The second reading of the bill was negatived by 239 votes against 152.

ROBERT LOWE (LORD SHERBROOKE).

(1811.)

"Tampering" with the House of Commons.—Mr. Lowe attained first rank as a debater by his speeches against Reform in Parliament between 1865 and 1867. The following characteristic passage occurred in a speech delivered in March, 1866: "In the course of a long and illustrious career, this House of Commons has gathered into its hands a very large proportion of the political power of the country. It has outlived the influence of the Crown; it has shaken off the dictation of the aristocracy; in finance and taxation it is supreme; it has a very large share in legislation; it can control and unmake, and sometimes nearly make, the executive Government. Probably, when the time shall arrive that the history of this nation shall be written as the history of that which has passed away, it may be thought that too much power and too much influence were concentrated and condensed in this great assembly, and that England put too much to hazard on the personal qualifications of those who sit within these walls. But, Sir, in proportion as the powers of the House of Commons are great and paramount, so does the exploit of endeavouring to amend its constitution become one of the highest and noblest efforts of statesmanship. To tamper with it lightly, to deal with it with unskilled hands, is one of the most signal acts of presumption or folly." It was in the same speech that, alluding to the influence of the constituencies on the House, Mr. Lowe remarked, "As the polypus takes its colour from the rock to which it affixes itself, so do the members of this House take their character from the constituencies. If you lower the character of the constituencies, you lower that of the representatives, and you lower the character of this House."

The "Shuttlecock" of Reform.—Political Bedfellows.—Mr. Lowe was at times severely facetious on the abortive attempts made by successive Governments to settle the question of Parliamentary Reform. On one occasion he remarked: "The way in which the two parties have tossed this question from one to the other, reminds me of nothing so much as a young lady and young gentleman playing at battledore and shuttlecock. After tossing the shuttlecock from one to the other a few times, they let it drop and begin to flirt." In a speech in May, 1866, on the Reform Bill of Earl Russell's Administration, he thus noticed the objection raised by the Government to a postponement of the measure, that their honour would not permit them to take that course: "I think we have heard too much about the honour of the Government. The honour of the Government obliged them to bring in a Reform Bill in 1860. It was withdrawn under circumstances which I need not allude to, and, as soon as it was withdrawn, the honour of the Government went to sleep. It slept for five years. Session after session it never so much as winked. So long as Lord Palmerston lived, honour slept soundly; but when Lord Palmerston died, and Lord Russell succeeded by seniority to his place, the 'sleeping beauty' woke up. . . I think there was no great accession of honour gained last

Monday in the division, when the House really by their vote took the management of the committee out of the hands of the Executive. All these things do not matter much to ordinary mortals, but to people of a Castilian turn of mind they are very serious. Sir, I have come to the conclusion that there must be two kinds of honour, and the only consolation I can administer to the Government is in the words of Hudibras—

'If he that's in the battle slain
Be on the bed of honour lain,
Then he that's beaten may be said
To lie on honour's truckle-bed.' "

To this Mr. Gladstone retorted, "All that portion of the right honourable gentleman's speech was one gross and continued error both of taste and judgment. Because, Sir, in these matters we must look, not only at the merits of the sermon, but at the individuality of the preacher; and I want to know what charge is to be made against the Government on this score, which cannot be made at the very least as easily against my right honourable friend? In that 'truckle-bed' there may be a bed-fellow."

Household Suffrage and Education. — "Our Future Masters."—On the third reading of the Reform Bill in 1867, Mr. Lowe again denounced the extension that had been made in the franchise, and thus referred to Mr. Bright: "The honourable member for Birmingham had been agitating the country for household suffrage—not meaning, as we see by his conduct this session, to get household suffrage. He has got it now, and I ask, is he of opinion that it is easy to stop when you like in the path of concession? The honourable member is something like Don Giovanni—which, by the way, is Italian for John. The Don asked the Commendatore to supper because he thought he could not come; but the Commendatore did come. He said, 'Don Giovanni, you have invited me, and I am here!' That is very much the position of the honourable member for Birmingham. He invited household suffrage and it has come; you can never stop when once you set the ball rolling." Mr. Lowe went on to say: "I believe it will be absolutely necessary to compel our future masters to learn their letters. It will not be unworthy of a Conservative Government, at any rate, to do what can be done in that direction. I was opposed to centralisation—I am ready to accept centralisation. I was opposed to an education rate—I am now ready to accept it. This question is no longer a religious question; it is a political one. From the moment that you entrust the masses with power, their education becomes an absolute necessity; and I believe that the existing system is one which is much superior to the much-vaunted continental system. But we shall have to destroy it; it is not quality but quantity we shall require."

The Supreme Power in the State.—"Tremendous Simplicity."—In March, 1879, a motion in favour of the extension of the principle of household suffrage to counties was made in the House of Commons, and opposed by Mr. Lowe. In the course of his remarks he said: "Most of us have been brought up in the doctrines of De Lolme and Blackstone. We have been told that the English Constitution is one

above all that have existed, that it is nicely and carefully balanced, that it is made up of different bodies, each of which has proper functions assigned to it, to which it confines itself, and that by the proper discharge of its duty it controls and prevents excess in any of the others. We have Blackstone's theory that the King represents power, the Lords represent wisdom, and the House of Commons represent good intentions (laughter), and that each of them discharges its functions without in the slightest degree trenching upon the functions of the other. We have indulged in these dreams long enough; let us awake from them and see what is the reality. No doubt the time was when the King had predominant power in England; but who can say that is the case now? Without going into details, it is sufficient to say that the regal power is of such a nature now that it really affords no strong or sufficient check or balance at all in our Constitution. I am old enough to remember when the House of Lords measured itself with the House of Commons and challenged or overthrew its decisions. Who can say it is so now? That check also has departed. The fact is the whole power of executive administration is vested in the Government of the day, and that depends for its existence upon the House of Commons; and the whole power of this country—all that we have read of as divided among the different estates of the realm—has really now entirely centred itself in the House of Commons, and everything turns upon its will. . . Our Constitution has been reduced to a state of what I can only call tremendous simplicity. We have simply an elective Assembly, and in that elective Assembly all the powers of the State are really gathered up, and in it they are centred. If that be so, and if that elective Assembly misconduct itself, the only remedy is to go back to the constituencies from which it is elected and to refer the matter to them, and from their decision there is no appeal, however momentous it may be. Having a body to which we have given the whole power over the State in this country, which really has the single supreme power, which everything bows before, we should take care that it is fit for the discharge of that duty. That is the point of view from which I would suggest that honourable gentlemen should look at this question, and they should consider whether, in the circumstances which must necessarily arise, if we enter upon this downward course we are invited to follow, we can answer for the safety of our institutions."

"A Practical Man."—In 1880 Mr. Lowe abandoned his former position with regard to the extension of the franchise, and thus gave his reasons, in a speech on his re-election for London University: "You took me as your representative at a time when you knew that I differed from the mass of the Liberal party on the subject of the franchise. That was a kindness I shall never forget. What has happened with regard to that question of the franchise? Why, this. One half of the subject has been settled by those with whom I acted at that time, the Tories themselves. You see that Sir Stafford Northcote has been complaining of the masses of people who have sprung up everywhere, as if they were the dragon's teeth. But who sowed the dragon's teeth? This has to be said, to the credit or discredit of the Tory Government—that this greater number of

people have the franchise because the Tory Government, out-trumping the Whigs, gave it to them. Well, gentlemen, now comes the question of the county franchise. I am a practical man. You know that I fought as long as there was a possibility of success; but I am now in this dilemma—if I go on any further I must unite with the Tories, who have already deceived and betrayed me (laughter and cheers), or else I must confess myself, as I humbly do, utterly beaten in this matter. I must confess that public opinion is entirely against me, and give up all opposition whatever. Gentlemen, I prefer the latter course. (Cheers.) Politics are a practical science, and, as I have said from the first, what I desired was that the subject should be fairly brought before the country, and that we should have its decision upon the question. Well, it has been brought before the country in this election, and the decision of the Liberal party has been, so far as I know, absolutely unanimous. I, therefore, have nothing to do but to bow to that decision, and to hope that it may turn out better than I, for some time certainly, was in the habit of apprehending."

"Ex Luce Lucellum."—Presenting Public Petitions.—On the 24th of April, 1871, a large procession of match-makers resident in the East-end of London was dispersed by the police while on its way to Westminster Hall. The object of the assemblage was to present a petition to the House of Commons against the tax of one halfpenny upon each box of lucifer matches, proposed by Mr. Lowe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in submitting his budget for the year. Several questions were, in consequence, put to the Home Secretary (Mr. Bruce) by various members on the 28th, relative to the grounds on which the purpose of the petitioners had been interfered with and prevented by the police authorities. The Home Secretary, in reply, stated "that such a procession was contrary to law—the law being that no large bodies of persons should go either to the Sovereign or to Parliament for the purpose of presenting a petition. The number permitted by law does not exceed ten persons. The Act of George III., known as the One Mile Act, applies to meetings, and provides that such meetings as that of Monday last shall not be held within one mile of Westminster." The tax referred to was to have been collected by means of a stamp affixed to each box of matches. *Ex luce lucellum*—"out of light a little profit"—was the motto devised by Mr. Lowe for the labels connected with this new impost. The Committee, however, refused its sanction to that mode of increasing the revenue. The Chancellor had imported the idea from the United States, where a similar tax produces a considerable amount annually.

Introduction of the Sovereign's Name in Debate.—An Apology.—An important discussion arose in the House of Commons on the 2nd of May, 1876. Mr. Lowe, at a Liberal banquet at East Retford, had spoken against the Royal Titles Bill, enabling the Queen to assume the title of Empress of India, and said: "I strongly suspect that this is not now brought forward for the first time. I violate no confidence, because I have received none; but I am under a conviction that at least two previous Ministers have entirely refused to have anything to do with such a change. More pliant persons have now been found, and I have no

doubt the thing will be done." Mr. C. E. Lewis brought the subject before the House of Commons, moving for a copy of the oath taken by Privy Councillors, and said that, if Mr. Lowe's statement were true, two Prime Ministers must have broken their oath "to keep secret the Queen's counsel." Mr. Lowe in reply denied the right of any member to call him to account for anything said at a meeting in the country, unless the privileges of the House were infringed, or a personal attack were made on an individual member. Thereupon Mr. Disraeli, as the head of the Government, said Mr. Lowe had attempted to hold up to public infamy the chief Minister by asserting that, after the Sovereign had been balked and baffled in her appeals to previous Ministers, she had found a pliant and a servile instrument who was now ready to do her will. If the statement as to the proposals to previous Ministers were true, it ought not to have been made by a Privy Councillor, and one who had been a Cabinet Minister; but was it true? Mr. Gladstone had immediately denied it, so far as he was concerned, in a letter to the press; and Mr. Disraeli said he had lived on such terms of political confidence with Lord Derby, especially at the time when the Queen assumed the government of India, that he was able to say that no such proposal had ever been made to him. As to Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli went on to say he was authorised by her Majesty to make a statement to the House. Some objections were urged on the Opposition side to this statement being received; but the Speaker ruled that, as the name of the Sovereign was not to be introduced to influence the opinion of the House, the communication Mr. Disraeli proposed to make was not out of order. The Prime Minister then said there was not the slightest foundation for Mr. Lowe's story, and that the Queen had authorised him to state that at no time had any proposal to introduce such a measure been made to any Minister. The story, therefore, was a piece of calumnious gossip of the kind which would always be circulated, but which no one would expect from the mouth of a Privy Councillor and an ex-Cabinet Minister.—Mr. Lewis's motion was carried by 91 to 37, and two nights afterwards Mr. Lowe asked permission of the House to make a personal statement. He said he had employed the interval in considering the matter, and, although he had believed the statement made at Retford to be true at the time, he must acknowledge he ought not to have made it. "It was wrong," said he, "because no one has a right to drag the name of the Sovereign, even indirectly, into our disputes in this House. (Cheers.) I sincerely regret that I did not remember the fact that in the whole of the Queen's dominions her Majesty is, by reason of her sovereign dignity, the only person upon whom is imposed the disability of not being able to say anything in personal defence. That alone, if there was no other reason, ought to have closed my mouth, and I hope the House will consider my acknowledgment both full and ample. (Cheers.) But, Sir, that is not all. After the communication which her Majesty has been pleased to make, I cannot doubt for a moment that I was entirely mistaken in what I asserted; and nothing remains for me except to express my most sincere and extreme regret, as one who is wholly and heartily a dutiful and loyal

subject of her Majesty, that I have caused her Majesty to have been put to what she will have felt the disagreeable necessity of making a communication on such a subject to the House—a necessity that ought never to have been imposed upon her. I retract everything that I said, and, if such a thing be proper from a subject to his Sovereign, I humbly offer my most sincere apologies to her Majesty for the error that I have committed." (Loud cheers.)

The Golden Age of a Government.—In the course of a speech returning thanks for his re-election by the University of London, in April, 1880, Mr. Lowe said: "What I want to point out to you is what I think it extremely important should be always remembered by Governments, I having now had the honour of serving in a good many. The first moments of a Government are golden. Napoleon said that people grow old quickly on fields of battle; but Governments grow old more quickly still in the battle-fields of Parliament. The first year of a Government is golden, the second silvern, and it soon arrives at the iron age. Wisdom lies in seizing as far as possible upon these golden moments. Things may be done and questions may be settled between this time and next August, which if delayed it might afterwards be impossible to do or settle for ten years. There is every stimulus to activity and boldness. Now is the time when we can really strike with effect, whereas nobody can tell what to-morrow may bring forth. The very strength of a Government is sure to engender combats and weakness within, and gradually to eat into its power and essence. Therefore I hope no time will be lost in bringing forward measures of secondary importance, but that the opportunity will be used to deal with matters of the first and greatest importance, simply for the reason that these things may be done now, and that next year it may be impossible to effect them."

JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK.

(1801—1879.)

"Tear 'em."—In a speech delivered at the Cutlers' Feast, Sheffield, September 2nd, 1858, Mr. Roebuck referred to the visit he had just paid to Cherbourg with other members of the House of Commons. After expressing, in strong language, his opinion of the character of the French ruler, he proceeded: "It may be said that those who stand in my position ought not to say anything that excites national animosity; and I respond to that sentiment. But, Sir, the farmer who goes to sleep, having placed the watch-dog 'Tear 'em' over his rick-yard, hears that watch-dog bark. He, in the anger of a half somnolence, says, 'I wish Tear 'em would be quiet;' and bawls out of the window, 'Down, Tear 'em.' 'Tear 'em' does go down; the farmer goes to sleep, and he is awoke by the flashing in at his windows of the light of his ricks on fire. I am 'Tear 'em.' I tell you to beware. What is the meaning of Cherbourg? It is a standing menace to England."

An Unaccustomed Character.—Mr. Roebuck, in one of the debates in 1855 on the condition of the Crimean army and the conduct of

Ministers, spoke of the Duke of Newcastle as "a scapegoat that had been sent into the wilderness with the sins of the Administration on his head." He was replied to by some of the duke's colleagues with great severity; whereupon he said, "Sir, I take shame to myself for once in my life. I have indulged in panegyric, but, like almost all other men who attempt a character to which they are not accustomed, I have failed in representing it, and have failed also most completely in making myself understood. I did object to making the Duke of Newcastle a scapegoat. I gave that noble duke credit for industry and good intentions, and I said that he had done his duty according to his ability. Then I am turned round upon because I am said to have eulogised the noble duke."

Official Restraint v. Political Morality.—In a speech at Sheffield in 1868, Mr. Roebuck alluded to one he had made there during the American civil war, and to a conversation afterwards on the subject with Lord Palmerston. "The moment I got into his room—he was standing writing at his desk, as he always did—he turned round and put out his hands, and said, 'Roebuck, Roebuck, what a devilish good speech you made in Sheffield!' I said, 'My lord, I am greatly obliged to you, and flattered for the kind phrase you have used about my speech'—though it was rather a hard one, you know; 'I am very much flattered.' 'Flattered?' he said. 'Why, I am entirely of your opinion, but I dare not officially say so.' Now that struck me, according to the old woman's phrase, all of a heap,—that a man in power should say to me openly and without disguise that he was entirely of my opinion, and lead the people of England directly the opposite way. That, said I, is modern political morality. I did my work with the gay and pleasant old lord, and bowed my way out of his room."

Reading from a Newspaper.—Mr. Roebuck was making a speech in 1855 on the resignation of Lord John Russell, after his return from the conference at Vienna on the war between Russia and the allies, when an incident occurred which is thus referred to in "Hansard:" "The honourable and learned gentleman was beginning to read a passage in Lord John Russell's speech from a newspaper, when he was interrupted by calls to 'order;' whereupon he tore a piece out of the newspaper and was proceeding with his quotation, when Mr. Speaker said the rules of the House did not allow the honourable and learned member to quote from a newspaper a speech which had been delivered during the session, and he did not think the honourable and learned member could cure the irregularity by tearing a piece out. Mr. Roebuck: 'Then I will give the effect of the noble lord's statement from my own memory; and if I am incorrect, the fault is not with me, but with the rule of the House which obliges me to rely upon that faulty instrument when I have a correct report at hand.'"*

An Independent Member.—Mr. Roebuck on several occasions received from his constituents at Sheffield acknowledgment of his parliamentary services, in the form of testimonials including purses of from one

* See Miscellaneous section, "Reading from Newspapers."

to three thousand pounds. On one of these presentations he said: "I ask myself what it is that has given me the present occasion of returning you my thanks. It is not talent; it is not name; it is not rank; it is not wealth. What is it, then? It is steadfastness to the path which I marked out for myself in the beginning. I am proud to say that in the year 1832 I published a programme of the opinions I then held. I had prepared myself for a public life. I had then formed my opinions; I consigned them to paper; I printed them; and to them I now adhere. That which I said in 1832 I now say, and it is my thorough and steadfast adherence to the opinions which I then expressed that has won for me the approbation of my countrymen. Going into Parliament unknown, unsupported, only recommended by that tried friend of the people, the late Joseph Hume, I determined not to ally myself with either of the great parties which then divided the House of Commons and the kingdom. I was neither Whig nor Tory, and I went into the House of Commons determined to advocate that which I believed to be for the interests of the people without regard to party considerations. To that rule I have adhered through life."

RALPH BERNAL OSBORNE.

(1814.)

The "Stormy Petrel of Debate."—The nature of Mr. Bernal Osborne's appearances in parliamentary strife caused this name to be applied to him by Dr. Giffard, long editor of the *Standard* newspaper. One of the most effective passages in Mr. Osborne's peculiar vein occurred in the great debate on the conduct of the Government with respect to Denmark, in July, 1864. The speaker thus alluded to Lord Palmerston and his Cabinet: "The noble lord and the gentlemen on the Treasury Bench are men of great capacity, but a little past their time, and they bungle a little; but if they wish to put the country in a proper position with foreign powers, and restore the just influence of England, it might be easily done by their imitating that custom which is obligatory on unsuccessful officials in Japan. If, Sir, they would enact, in a modified form, that 'happy despatch' which we have learnt from the Asiatics, I am sure this country would at once regain its proper position. . . There sits the noble lord. *Sedet, æternumque sedebit.* I was about to add, but it would not be true—*infelix.* I wish to speak of him with every respect, because I believe that a more active or a more able man never existed in this country. (General cheers.) It is said of him that

'Panting time toils after him in vain.'

He is certainly *facile princeps,* the liveliest, if not the youngest, on the Treasury bench. The noble lord deserves great credit for his admirable management through so long a time of the affairs of this House. He has acted with all sorts of men, and agreed with all sorts of opinions. These are great feats, but what is his policy? Sir, his domestic policy, not to go beyond the line of debate, is paternal but stationary; his foreign policy up to this day has been pugnacious but progressive. . . I have

not been unfair to the noble lord; but now let us go into his Cabinet. His Cabinet is a museum of curiosities. There, Sir, are to be found some birds of rare and noble plumage, both alive and stuffed. (Great laughter.) But, unfortunately, there is a difficulty in keeping up the breed. For those Whig birds have been very barren, and they were obliged to take a cross with the famous Peelite breed. Certainly it cannot be said, either by their enemies or friends, that they have been prolific of measures since they have taken office. Even my right honourable friend (Mr. M. Gibson) —who is not connected with them by family, and somehow got into the Cabinet, but, like the fly in amber, 'one wonders how the devil he got there'—has not been fertile. I must say that his honourable friends the members for Rochdale (Mr. Miall) and Birmingham (Mr. Bright) are, I think, disappointed in this 'young man from the country.' When he married into the family we expected some liberal measures, but the right honourable gentleman has become indolent, and almost quarrelsome, under the guidance of the noble lord. Well, Sir, what is to be done? We know by the traditions of the great Whig party that they will cling to the vessel, if not like shipwrecked sailors, like those testaceous marine animals which somehow adhere to the bottom, thereby clogging the engines and impeding the progress. Sir, should a vote of this House displace that administration, what are the Liberal party to do? Well, my advice to them is that they may feel perfectly happy as to the issue of this great duel which is being fought. They are somewhat in the situation of Iago in the play, and may say like him, 'Whether Cassio kills Roderigo, or Roderigo kills Cassio, or each kills the other,' they must gain."

EARL GRANVILLE.

(1815.)

First Foreign Secretaryship.—Earl Granville was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs for the first time on the death of the Earl of Clarendon in June, 1870. Entering upon his duties at the Foreign Office on the 5th of July, he was informed by the permanent Under Secretary of State (Mr. Hammond) that "in all his experience he had never known so great a lull in foreign affairs." Two days after, the Spanish Government announced its intention to propose Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern as a candidate for the crown; and in ten days, war between France and Germany had become inevitable.

Family Connections.—Earl Granville's introduction to office, as a connection of the "great Whig families" which long regarded Ministerial arrangements as their peculiar right, was thus alluded to by the writer of a sparkling series of "Political Portraits," published in 1873: "It was from the royal household that Lord Granville entered upon the career in which he has since achieved all but the highest place, with probably the succession to the highest place, in the Liberal party. For the first two years of Lord John Russell's first Administration he held the office of Master of the Buckhounds. He had been Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs for a few months before the break-up of the Melbourne Govern-

ment, having previously served an apprenticeship to diplomacy as attaché in Paris during his father's embassy there; and had sat for ten years in the House of Commons before his succession to the peerage in 1846. But his political career really began with his transfer by Lord John Russell, in 1848, from the charge of her Majesty's Buckhounds to the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade. Great was the clamour which this appointment raised below the gangway. 'Is thy servant a dog?' said Manchester, indignant at being handed over to the Master of the Buckhounds. Mr. Bright, we believe, made himself the mouthpiece of its anger in the House of Commons, and spoke his mind with that frank disregard of persons which has always characterised him. The appointment was denounced as a piece of nepotism on Lord John Russell's part. Very much to his credit, Mr. Bright not long afterwards admitted that Lord Granville's conduct at the Board of Trade had justified Lord John Russell's selection, and had not justified his own assault. Lord John Russell, with pardonable perversity, was more deeply aggrieved by the retractation than by the original charge. The word nepotism, naturally odious to a Russell, rankled in his mind; and he ridiculed the idea that family affection for a descendant of his grandmother could influence his political appointments. Lord Russell's grandmother does, indeed, carry the mind back to a period of history apparently too remote to affect Ministerial combinations. For a time, however, the unfilial allusion of her grandson, and his ostentatious indifference to her posterity outside the house of Bedford, gave the old lady an historical resurrection; and Lord Russell's grandmother, as the Mother Eve of an entire Whig Cabinet, became a subject of genealogical interest. It was on this or on some similar occasion that Mr. Bernal Osborne accounted on physiological principles for the ricketiness of their legislative offspring, on the ground that all the members of the Government were nearly related to each other."

Making a Clean Breast.—Lord Granville on one occasion humorously alluded to his family connections in the House of Lords. Defending, in 1855, the constitution of Lord Palmerston's Ministry, in which he was Lord President of the Council, Lord Granville said: "My lords, I had better make a clean breast of it at once; and I am obliged to admit that some of those who went before me had such quivers full of daughters who did not die old maids, that I have relations on this side of the house, relations upon the cross-benches, relations upon the opposite side of the house, and I actually had the unparalleled misfortune to have no fewer than three in the Protectionist Administration of my noble friend opposite" (the Earl of Derby).

Declining the Premiership.—On the resignation of the Earl of Derby in 1859, Earl Granville was sent for by the Queen to form a Cabinet. That this should have been the case, in the lifetime both of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, who had in turn occupied the principal offices of the State and held the reins of government, was the subject of much comment; but the matter was thus explained in a "communication" which the *Times* published on the 13th of June in that year:—"Her Majesty, after listening to all the objections which Lord

Granville had to offer, commanded him to attempt to form an administration which should at once be strong in ability and parliamentary influence, and should at the same time comprehend within itself a full and fair representation of all the sections into which the Liberal party has notoriously been divided. Feeling, probably, that it might be urged as an objection to this course that Lord Granville, who has never yet held the office of Prime Minister, would thus be placed in a position paramount to that occupied by Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, each of whom had served her long and faithfully in many high offices of state, and had each filled the office of First Minister of the Crown, her Majesty was pleased to observe that she had in the first instance turned her thoughts towards Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Her Majesty felt, however, that to make so marked a distinction as is implied in the choice of one or other of two statesmen so full of years and honours, and possessing so just a claim on the consideration of the Queen, would be a very invidious and unwelcome task. Her Majesty also observed that Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston appeared to represent different sections of the Liberal party; Lord Palmerston the more Conservative, and Lord John Russell the more popular section. Impressed with these difficulties, her Majesty cast her eyes on Lord Granville, the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party in the House of Lords, in whom both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston had been in the habit of placing confidence, and who might have greater facilities for uniting the whole Liberal party under one administration than could be enjoyed by either of the sectional leaders." The publication of this statement gave rise to remark in the House of Lords, to which Earl Granville replied that he had asked and obtained from her Majesty permission to state to his political friends the result of what had occurred, but it was never intended that it should be communicated to any newspaper. At the same time, he could not see that any injury had resulted from the publication, seeing that her Majesty appeared therein, as ever, desirous of walking in the spirit of the Constitution.—Lord Palmerston became Premier for the second time on this occasion. In 1880 Lord Granville was again invited to form a Ministry, but declined in favour of Mr. Gladstone.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

(1830.)

His Ministerial Career.—The Marquis of Salisbury, before his call to the House of Lords on the death of his father in 1867, was well known in the House of Commons as Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards as Lord Cranborne. He resigned the office of Secretary for India in 1867, when the Earl of Derby's Cabinet determined on a large measure of parliamentary reform; General Peel and the Earl of Carnarvon also retiring from the Government at the same time. He returned to the Indian Secretaryship in 1874, under Mr. Disraeli's leadership, and became Foreign Secretary on the resignation of the Earl of Derby in 1878. The Marquis of Salisbury attended the conference at Constantinople in 1876

as special ambassador, and was associated with Lord Beaconsfield in the representation of England at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

The Theory of Government.—A "Policy of Legerdemain."—Lord Cranborne, on his retirement from the Earl of Derby's Government in 1867 on account of its policy with respect to Reform, severely attacked the ministerial bill, and on its final passage made the following remarks: "I have heard it said that this bill is a Conservative triumph. If it be a Conservative triumph to have adopted the principles of your most determined adversary, the honourable member for Birmingham [Mr. Bright]; if it be a Conservative triumph to have introduced a bill guarded with precautions and securities, and to have abandoned every one of those precautions and securities at the bidding of your opponents, then in the whole course of your annals I will venture to say the Conservative party has won no triumph so signal. After all, our theory of government is not that a certain number of statesmen should place themselves in office and do whatever the House of Commons bids them. Our theory of government is that on each side of the House there should be men supporting definite opinions, and that what they have supported in opposition they should adhere to in office, and that everyone should know, from the fact of their being in office, that those particular opinions will be supported. If you reverse that, and declare that, no matter what a man has supported in opposition, the moment he gets into office it shall be open to him to reverse and repudiate it all, you practically destroy the whole basis on which our form of government rests, and you make the House of Commons a mere scrambling-place for office. You practically banish all honourable men from the political arena, and you will find in the long run that the time will come when your statesmen will be nothing but political adventurers, and that professions of opinion will be looked upon only as so many political manœuvres for the purpose of attaining office. . . I entreat honourable gentlemen opposite not to believe that my feelings on this subject are dictated simply by my hostility to this measure, though I object to it most strongly, as the House is aware. But even if I took a contrary view, if I deemed it to be most advantageous, I should still deeply regret that the position of the executive should have been so degraded as it has been in the present session. I should deeply regret to find that the House of Commons has applauded a policy of legerdemain. And I should above all things regret that this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased by a political betrayal which has no parallel in our parliamentary annals, which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained."

Ministerial Heroism.—At a Conservative banquet at Hertford in October, 1873, the Marquis of Salisbury attacked Mr. Gladstone's Administration in his most characteristic style, as "a Ministry of heroic measures." He said: "Far be it from me to accuse them of heroism. They keep their heroism to the Home Office; they don't let it transgress the threshold of the Foreign Office. They offer to us a remarkable

instance of Christian meekness and humility; but I am afraid it is that kind of Christian meekness which turns the left cheek to Russia and America, and demands the uttermost farthing of Ashantee. This, however, is to be said for their heroism, that as regards these islands there is no doubt it has been heroism approaching to sternness towards every interest that happened to belong to the minority defeated at the poll."

"A Great Master."—The House of Commons having amended the Public Worship Regulation Bill, as passed by the House of Lords in 1874, Lord Salisbury spoke of the "bluster" of the lower Assembly, and alluded to the majority there as a "bugbear." This caused Mr. Disraeli (then Prime Minister) to make the following remarks in the House of Commons respecting the language of the Indian Secretary: "As to Lord Salisbury's language, let us not for a moment be diverted from the course which we think, as wise and grave men, we ought to follow, by any allusions to the spirit of any speech which may have been made in the course of the debates in the other House of Parliament. My noble friend was long a member of this House, and is well known to many of the members even of this Parliament. He is not a man who measures his phrases. He is one who is a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers; but I don't suppose there is anyone who is prejudiced against a member of Parliament on account of such qualifications. My noble friend knows the House of Commons well, and he is not perhaps superior to the consideration that by making a speech of that kind, and taunting respectable men like ourselves as being a 'blustering majority,' he probably might stimulate the *amour propre* of some individuals to take the course which he wants, and to defeat the bill. Now, I hope we shall not fall into that trap. I hope we shall show my noble friend that we remember some of his manœuvres when he was a simple member of this House, and that we are not to be taunted into taking a very indiscreet step, a step ruinous to all our own wishes and expectations, merely to show that we resent the contemptuous phrases of one of my colleagues."

Free Discussion.—In 1868, the Marquis of Salisbury, responding to the toast of the House of Lords at a banquet given by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, said, "Although the Upper House was not yet one of the subjects of the day, he expected it would become one, and he looked forward to that contingency without apprehension. Everybody was the better for being looked after, and he would abide by the principle that any institution which could not hold its own ground on the free and fair discussion of its merits should cease to exist."

EARL CAIRNS.

(1819.)

An Exceptional Compliment.—Hugh McCalmont Cairns was returned to the House of Commons for Belfast in 1852, and continued to represent that borough until 1866. In 1858 he was appointed Solicitor-General under Lord Derby's second Administration. His eloquence was

marked at this time, and drew from the late Lord Lytton a tribute of praise, exceptional in the case of a living orator :—

"Still when Cairns rises, tho' at dawn of day,
The sleepers wake, and feel rejoiced to stay,
As his clear reasonings in light strength arise,
Like Doric shafts admitting lucent skies."

Sir Hugh Cairns was made Attorney-General in 1866, when Lord Derby again formed a Government; but shortly after, a Lord Justiceship of Appeal becoming vacant, he was promoted to the bench, and created a peer in 1867. It February, 1868, Lord Cairns became Lord High Chancellor in Mr. Disraeli's first Administration, and was reseated on the woolsack when the last-named statesman returned to power, in 1874. He was raised a step in the peerage, as Earl Cairns, in 1878.

The Law of Primogeniture.—An example of the clear statement of a case which distinguished the speaking of Sir Hugh Cairns in the House of Commons may be taken from the debate on Mr. Locke King's proposal, in 1859, to alter the law of succession to real estate in cases of intestacy. Sir Hugh Cairns, then Solicitor-General, opposed the honourable member's bill, and in the course of his speech observed: "Honourable members opposite said that the present law as to descent was a wretched remnant of feudal policy; that it had its origin in feudal times, and that before the feudal times it was unknown in this country. His answer to that was, that he did not care what was its origin. . . Looking at it as a question of policy, what were the results which flowed from this law? In the first place, it harmonised with an hereditary monarchy and an hereditary peerage. In the next place, speaking of the principle of the law, not merely as it affected the disposition of the estates of intestates, but as manifested in the habits of the country with regard to entails and settlements, it tended to maintain a class in this country distinct from the aristocracy of mere wealth and the aristocracy produced —and rightly produced—by successful commercial enterprise. The law and the custom together, acting one upon the other, kept a class distinct, in consequence of their connection with the land, from those other classes who were of course in themselves as important elements as the aristocracy of the country. In the next place, this law and custom were favourable to the agriculture of the country. The tendency of this country, with regard both to agriculture and manufactures, had been to undertake production on a large scale; and honourable members opposite would not disagree with the doctrine of Mill, that wherever a people had once undertaken production on a large scale in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures, they would not willingly relinquish its advantages. Again, the law was most important in a social point of view. It kept families together by preserving the headship of families. The certain effect of a division of property such as that recommended was in the second generation to dwarf a family down to the rank of petty squires, and in the next generation to dwarf it into the condition of mere peasants. In the next place, while it preserved to them their social station and position, the law excited younger brothers to ambition and emulation in a manner that no other

system in any country was ever known to do before. And, lastly, the benefit of it did not flow merely to the children of a family, but it stimulated the parent of the family also to make provision, by frugality, economy, and industry, for his younger branches, at the same time that it gave him the certainty of the importance of the family being preserved by the headship of his eldest son. These, then, were the conclusions at which he had arrived." The speaker went on to support these conclusions by reference to sundry authorities.—The bill was defeated, on a division, by 271 to 76.

The "Tender Passion" in Reform.—In March, 1859, the Government of the Earl of Derby introduced into the House of Commons a Reform Bill, the second reading of which was opposed by Lord John Russell with an amendment, avowedly intended to lead to the rejection of the measure. At the close of his speech moving this amendment the noble lord said: "I shall take this course, careless of any imputation which may be cast upon me. With regard to this great question of Reform, I may conclude by saying that I defended it when I was young, and I will not desert it now that I am old." Sir Hugh Cairns, in reply, thus alluded to the noble lord, and the temporary agreement between himself and the more extreme section of the Liberal party. "I want to know what is the extent of the agreement between the noble lord and the honourable member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright). I think, as a House of Commons, we are also entitled to ask this question—What probability is there of support to the noble lord and the honourable member for Birmingham from the followers who sit around him? The noble lord may depend upon it that these questions will not be asked merely in this House, but they will also be asked in the country. The noble lord appeals as a proof of his sincerity in his amendment to his long-known and long-tried attachment to the cause of reform. We all know and admit the noble lord's attachment to this great national and political question. But we also know that there is a form of the tender passion which sometimes developes itself in jealousy of any attention to the object of its affection from any other quarter. I think the noble lord exposes himself to some misconstruction on this point. We have heard it said—

> 'Strong were his hopes his rival to remove;
> With blandishments to gain the public love;
> To head the faction while their zeal was hot,
> And popularly prosecute the plot.'

Whether this is so or not I know not, but of this I am sure, that the country will ask—the country have asked already—what are the real intentions of the noble lord, and what are the specific objects which he proposes to himself in meeting a bill of this kind, not openly, not broadly, but by an ambiguous and almost irregular amendment, which commits nobody and which means nothing that is precise. The people of this country have differed, and always will differ, about Reform Bills, about theories of representation, about social and domestic legislation of every kind. But there is one subject upon which the people of this country are entirely agreed. They do not like anything which bears the least appearance of

approaching to artifice, or—I must use a homely phrase—a dodge. They do not like it in business, they do not like it in politics; but least of all will they admire it in a man who, at a time when the best interests of our country at home and our most peaceful hopes abroad demand all the patriotism, all the candour, and all the forbearance of a statesman, approaches the consideration of a great national question like this, not fairly to criticise, not boldly to reject, but to contrive a crafty and catching device, to confuse and, if it may be, to dislocate parties, and in that confusion and dislocation to secure his own political aggrandisement and private advantage." After a debate adjourned over several nights, the amendment was carried by 330 to 291. The Government appealed to the country; but on the assembling of the new Parliament, an amendment to the address, declaring want of confidence in the Ministry, was moved by the Marquis of Hartington, and carried by a majority of 13 in a house of 637.

LORD SELBORNE.

(1812.)

Lord Chancellorship Deferred.—Mr. Roundell Palmer (in later years Lord Selborne) was first returned to Parliament in 1847, for Plymouth, but afterwards represented Richmond (Yorkshire). He was Solicitor-General in the Administration of Lord Palmerston in 1861, and Attorney-General in 1863. When Mr. Gladstone took office in 1868, to carry out the disestablishment of the Irish Church, it was understood that Sir Roundell Palmer would have been offered the Lord Chancellorship, but for his known disapproval of the measures of disendowment which were also contemplated. In 1872 he was chosen to lay before the international tribunal at Geneva the case for Great Britain in the Alabama dispute; and a few months later, Lord Hatherley resigning the great seal, Sir Roundell Palmer was made Lord Chancellor. He returned to the woolsack on the reconstruction of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1880.

A Mild Rebuke.—On the abolition of the purchase system by Royal warrant in 1871 (see page 325), the views of Sir R. Palmer, privately expressed, were commented upon in the House of Commons, in opposition to the course taken by the Government. Sir Roundell thereupon wrote as follows to Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary for War: "I have always thought and said that the issuing of such a warrant was within the undoubted power of the Crown; though to do so without having a sufficient assurance that Parliament would provide the necessary compensation for the officers, who would otherwise suffer by such an exercise of Royal power, would not be just, and therefore would not be consistent with the spirit of the Constitution, which vests all such powers in the Crown, in the confidence, and for the purpose, that right, not wrong, shall be done. I should have been glad if it had been generally and clearly understood from the beginning that, subject to the sense of Parliament being ascertained with reference to the point of compensation, the form of procedure would be that which was eventually adopted; because it is certainly an evil that the

adoption of one constitutional mode of procedure, rather than another, should appear to arise from an adverse vote of the House of Lords."

"Her Majesty's Ministers."—At a Trinity House banquet in 1880, this toast was proposed by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, and coupled, in very complimentary terms, with the name of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne. Responding to this, his lordship said: "I interpret the favour with which the toast of her Majesty's Ministry has been now received, and is often received on such occasions as the present, with reference solely to the position which they fill as the servants and representatives of the power and authority of the Crown. It signifies the constant adherence, under all divergences of opinion that prevail, of the leaders of English society to the great principle of permanence in the government of the country under the authority of the Crown. Whatever differences may prevail in the stormy atmosphere of the House of Commons or in the serener atmosphere of the House of Lords—whatever varieties of opinion may exist among the leading minds of the country as to questions of policy, every Ministry, during the time while it is in office, has entrusted to its care the great, the constant, and the permanent interests of the nation, and all right-minded men must desire, so far as those interests are concerned, to strengthen the hands of the depositaries of so great a trust. I do not think the permanent character of those duties can be better symbolised than by the three departments of the Government which are especially represented here to-day. I speak of the law, represented by the Chief Justice of England, and of the two great forces, military and naval, on which the peace of the country and the maintenance of the national power depends. These are permanent, immutable interests, and amidst all our differences, and notwithstanding all the occasional heat of our discussions, I hope it will be believed of us all, as I shall always be ready to believe of others with whom I do not politically agree when they are charged with the same duties, that it will be our endeavour, loyally and patriotically, so to perform them that these great interests of the commonwealth may suffer no detriment at our hands."

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE.

(1818.)

"My Right Honourable Friend."—Sir Stafford Northcote is a descendant of the Sir John Northcote whose "Note-book" respecting the Long Parliament is occasionally referred to in these pages. His first experiences of public life were gained as private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, when that Minister was President of the Board of Trade in Sir Robert Peel's Government (1843—1845). To this early connection may be owing the terms of mutual courtesy in which Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford, although leading opposite parties in the House of Commons, and alternately Chancellors of the Exchequer, frequently refer to each other as "my right honourable friend." Sir Stafford entered the House as member for Dudley in 1855, but has represented North Devon since 1861. Under the Administrations of the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli, he

successively held the offices of Financial Secretary to the Treasury, President of the Board of Trade, Secretary for India, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1871 he was appointed by Mr. Gladstone's Government one of the special commissioners to the United States, to arrange the Alabama treaty.

The Confidence of the House.—The following is a picture of Sir Stafford Northcote, by the author of "Men and Manners in Parliament" (1874): "There is a wonderfully wise and statesmanlike air about Sir Stafford Northcote as he sits, spectacled and bearded, on the Treasury bench, which of itself would go a long way towards acquiring the confidence and the submission of the House. But the right honourable baronet is not dependent on his personal aspect alone for his claim to supremacy. He is not a good speaker, but he is a ready one, sees a long way through a question, and can, if need be, cleverly fence with it. He has a good deal of tact, is fair-minded, honourable, frank, and at very long intervals displays little flashes of humorous perception which are as precious as solitary stars twinkling in an apparently hopelessly murky sky. He is always listened to with that respect the House of Commons intuitively feels and liberally awards to any man who has succeeded in convincing it that he is an honest and clear thinker, and thus he personally enjoys the confidence of both sides of the House." A corroboration of this remark occurred soon after the meeting of the new Parliament in 1880. A temporary difficulty having arisen, and the leaders of Mr. Gladstone's new Government being absent, a member suggested the guidance of "the right honourable member for North Devon, in whom we all have confidence," and the remark was received with general cheers.

Parliamentary Obstruction.—In a speech at Exeter in September, 1879, Sir Stafford Northcote (then leader of the House of Commons) commented as follows on this subject: "I trust that Parliament, still more the country, will assist us in setting our face against any conduct calculated to bring party government into disrepute, or to interfere with the proper conduct of business. But do not be led away altogether by what you hear; do not suppose that obstruction comes from only a few Irish members; the difficulty is far deeper than that. There are men who sit for important English constituencies who secretly, and sometimes more than secretly, favour obstruction which bears the name of certain Irish members. These things have to be considered, because if there is that spirit in the House of Commons, if there is not a hearty desire to put down obstruction, our difficulties will be very great indeed. Depend upon it, if the whole body of the House was determined to put down the obstruction of the half-dozen or dozen members of whom you hear, they would do it in a quarter of an hour. . . Remember what are the difficulties if you were to deal with the obstruction by altering regulations and making new rules. You do one of two things which you do not wish to do; you either give a great triumph to Irish members, and that is exactly what you do not want to do, or in some future time you deprive yourselves of that valuable protection which minorities ought to have against the encroachments of majorities. Do not let us, in order to get rid of a temporary

evil, sacrifice an important permanent interest. What we want is a resolute determination on the part of the great bulk of the House that they will stand no more obstruction. If there is that feeling absent on the part of any considerable number of the members of the House, then we want the feeling to be manifested by the constituencies of the country, by their demanding that their representative shall take a firm stand against that which may otherwise be the ruin of Parliamentary government. But I do not think there is any danger of the House of Commons or of Parliament losing its character. I myself believe that these are but temporary difficulties, which will pass away as other temporary difficulties have passed away."—The Marquis of Hartington shortly after this complained that Sir Stafford Northcote had treated the matter as one of trivial importance. "Parliamentary obstruction," he observed, "will be dealt with and put down by a Government which presents to Parliament well-considered measures in which it takes an interest itself, and in which the country takes an interest; and when at the same time it manifests determination to set aside any business, however important, however much desired by Parliament and by the country, for the first and paramount object of assuring its own independence and authority."

THE MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

(1833.)

A Leader of the Liberal Party.—The Marquis of Hartington, eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire, was attached to the embassy of Earl Granville to Russia, on the coronation of the Emperor Alexander II. in 1857. He was returned to the House of Commons for North Lancashire in the same year. In March, 1863, he was made a Lord of the Admiralty, but soon removed to the Under-Secretaryship for War, and he became Secretary for War in Lord Russell's Administration of 1866. He filled the office of Postmaster-General from 1868 to 1870, and of Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1870 to 1874. When Mr. Gladstone retired, from the leadership of the Opposition in 1875, the Marquis of Hartington was selected by the Liberal party to take his place, and he was consulted by the Queen as to the formation of a Cabinet on the return of the Liberals to power in 1880.

Home Rule and Imperial Rule.—Mr. Butt having brought forward a motion in favour of Home Rule in June, 1874, "That this House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the Parliamentary relations between Great Britain and Ireland," the Marquis of Hartington said: "In his judgment the Government [of Mr. Disraeli] had taken a wise line, and the House would do well to support them, in preferring to meet the resolution by a direct negative, rather than by the adoption of the suggested amendment [by Mr. R. Smyth], which, though eminently satisfactory as emanating from an Irish member, did not cover the whole ground. In honour and in honesty, the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain were bound to tell the Irish people that, whatever arguments might be used in reference to this question as it applied

to Ireland, while giving every consideration to the just claims of Ireland, they could only look at it from an Imperial point of view; and that they were convinced that, whatever might be the effect of the proposal upon the internal affairs of that country, they could never give their assent to the proposal of the honourable and learned member for Limerick. It might be said that this was a strong declaration, but at the same time a very safe one on his part, seeing that the party to which he belonged were at present in a hopeless minority in that House, and that they had therefore nothing either to hope or to fear from the support of the Irish members. But he could say for himself—and he thought he might say the same on behalf of those who sat round him—that no motive of personal ambition, no consideration of party advantage, could ever induce them to purchase the support of honourable members representing Irish constituencies by any sacrifice which, in their opinion, would endanger the union between the two countries. He knew it might be said that protestations of this kind were of little avail, and that, when the exigency of the moment demanded it, they might be easily evaded and set aside; and therefore it was of more importance that he should express his firm conviction, that if any honourable members sitting on that side of the House were so reckless as to show a symptom on their part of a disposition to coquet with this question, there would instantly be such a disruption and disorganisation of parties, that they would find that they had lost more support from England and Scotland than they could ever hope to obtain from Ireland." The motion of Mr. Butt was rejected by 458 to 61.

Unrecognised Agents of Government.—The Marquis of Hartington, in addressing the University of Edinburgh on his installation as Lord Rector in 1879, said: "Much governed as we are, centrally and locally, public administration would, in my opinion, utterly break down were it not for the unrecognised forms of government which have grown up among us, created by no legislation nor even inherited from our ancestors. In these days civilised nations are led rather than governed. They are led by their reason, by their feelings, by their passions; but they are led by their necessities and their desires, by their fears, and by their hopes; and the men who lead them, and thus have a share in and render possible the task of government, are the authors and journalists, the members of learned professions, the employers and organisers of labour, and their innumerable subordinates, by whom in regular gradations the armies of industry and of commerce are marshalled. These are amongst the most powerful, if not the most conspicuous, agents of government at the present time. And if the influence of these unrecognised rulers is necessary and powerful at home for the proper working of our social arrangements, how much more necessary are they for the maintenance of that complex system, without precedent in history, which is called the British Empire."

MINOR CELEBRITIES AND ODD CHARACTERS.

Price of a City Member.—Sir John Barnard took his seat for the City of London in 1722. The writer of his memoirs remarks that to Walpole's frequent observation, "Every man has his price," it was once triumphantly objected, "What, then, is Sir John Barnard's?" "Popularity," was the minister's reply. But Walpole once paid Sir J. Barnard a great compliment. Riding out on the same day in two parties, they happened to come where only a narrow close prevented their view of each other. Sir J. Barnard, talking with his company, was overheard. A gentleman of the other party said, "Whose voice is that?" Sir Robert replied, "Do not you know? It is one I shall never forget; I have often felt its power."

"Single-Speech Hamilton."—Lord Halifax was the first Lord-Lieutenant of George III. His secretary was William Gerard Hamilton, known by the name of "Single-Speech Hamilton," having made one splendid speech, which he left unequalled ever after. His first measure was a proposal to raise six regiments of Irish Roman Catholics, amounting to three thousand men, to be officered by Catholics, and to be taken into the pay of an ally (Portugal). He proposed this in a long and excellent speech; but the measure met with so much opposition from the Protestant party that it was ultimately given up by the Government.—*Grattan's Life and Times.* Hamilton's famous speech was delivered in 1755. "He broke out," said Walpole, "like the Irish rebellion, three-score thousand strong, when nobody was aware or in the least suspected it." Other of his speeches were printed in his posthumous work entitled "Parliamentary Logic." Edmund Burke obtained his initiation into public life under Hamilton, whom he accompanied to Ireland in 1761.

An Irish Celebrity.—Sir Boyle Roche, who was a member of the Irish Parliament in the period preceding the Union, achieved renown by the remark that he could not be, "like a bird, in two places at once." Some other sayings imputed to him are scarcely less celebrated. "I would gladly, Mr. Speaker, sacrifice not only a part of the constitution, but the whole of it, to preserve the remainder." And again, speaking of what might be expected if the leaders of the rebellion gained sway, "Our heads will be thrown upon that table to stare us in the face!" To him also is ascribed that example of mixed metaphor, "I smell a rat, Mr. Speaker; I see him floating in the air; but I will yet nip him in the bud." But on one occasion Sir Boyle gained the victory over Curran in a contest in the Irish House. "Do not speak of my honour," said Curran; "I am the guardian of my own honour." "Faith," replied Sir Boyle Roche, "I knew that at some time or other you would accept a sinecure."

A Seat for Eighteenpence.—John Elwes, the miser, was returned for Berkshire in 1774, by the interest of Lord Craven. His

paternal name was Meggot, but he inherited a large fortune and his later name from a penurious uncle, Sir Harvey Elwes, whom he had assiduously courted. He was a great gambler in his earlier years, although miserly in trifles. He stipulated that he should be at no expense in standing for Berkshire, and is said to have obtained his seat for eighteenpence, laid out in the ordinary at Abingdon. He sat for Berkshire for about twelve years, in three successive Parliaments.

Unwigging a Member.—Elwes, writes Harford, "wore a wig; it looked as if it might have been picked off a hedge or a scare-crow. At that time we used to wear dress swords occasionally at the House; for instance, if going to the opera. One day, Bankes, whose carriage is stiff and lofty, had on his sword, and was seated next to Elwes, who leant his head forward just as Bankes was rising up to leave his place, when the hilt of his sword came in contact with Elwes' wig, which it whisked off and bore away. The House was instantly in a roar of laughter. I never shall forget the scene. There was old Elwes, without his wig, darting forward to reclaim it; and Bankes marching on quite unconscious of the sword-knot which he wore, and wondering what the laugh was about."

Not Heartless.—Lord Brougham in one of his letters (1813) made the following reference to Mr. Ward, at that time a person of some note in the House of Commons, and afterwards Lord Dudley: "I heard a joke of Lord Byron's annoyed him t'other day, though it was a baddish sort of pun. Ward was talking of being 'rewhigged,' and Lord Byron said he fancied he wanted to be 'rewarded.' They have fired an epigram at him:

> 'W——d has no heart, they say, but I deny it;
> He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it.'"

A Suggestive Speaker.—Dr. Laurence had (says Brougham) "the very worst delivery ever witnessed—a delivery calculated to alienate the mind of the hearer, to beguile him of his attention, but by stealing it away from the speaker, and almost to prevent him from comprehending what was so uncouthly spoken. It was in reference to this unvarying effect of Dr. Laurence's delivery that Mr. Fox once said, a man should attend, if possible, to a speech of his, and then speak it over again himself: it must, he conceived, succeed infallibly, for it was sure to be admirable in itself, and as certain of being new to the audience. But in this saying there was considerably more wit than truth. The doctor's speech was sure to contain materials not for one, but for half-a-dozen speeches; and a person might with great advantage listen to it, in order to use those materials, in part, afterwards; as indeed many did, both in Parliament and at the Bar where he practised, make an effort to attend to him, how difficult soever, in order to hear all that could be said upon every part of the question." Lord Brougham adds that he had repeatedly tried at the Bar the experiment mentioned by Fox, to a certain extent, and with success.

"Once Bit, Twice Shy."—Dr. Laurence's outward aspect was unwieldy, and almost grotesque. His mouth especially excited observation; and being fancied to resemble a shark's, the House of Commons

jest ran that Alderman Brook Watson, who had lost his leg by that animal's bite, avoided the side where the doctor sat or lay. Alderman Watson and his accident are thus alluded to in "The Rolliad:"—

> "'One moment's time might I presume to beg,'
> Cries modest Watson, on his wooden leg;
> That leg in which such wondrous art is shown,
> It almost seems to serve him as his own.
> Oh! had the monster who for breakfast ate
> That luckless limb, his nobler noddle met,
> The best of workmen and the best of wood
> Had scarce supplied him with a head so good."

A Lucid Interval.—Sir Charles Wetherell made a strong speech against the Catholic Relief Bill, brought in by the Government in which he was Attorney-General, and in consequence had to resign. Mr. Greville thus writes respecting him and his speech (March, 1829): "The anti-Catholic papers and men lavish the most extravagant encomiums on Wetherell's speech, and call it 'the finest oration ever delivered in the House of Commons,' 'the best since the second Philippic.' He was drunk, they say. The Speaker said 'the only lucid interval he had was that between his waistcoat and his breeches.' When he speaks he unbuttons his braces, and in his vehement action his breeches fall down and his waistcoat runs up, so that there is a great interregnum."

"Chicken Taylor."—Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, who for several years brought forward a motion in the House of Commons against Lord Eldon, was known (says Lord Campbell) by the *sobriquet* of "Chicken Taylor." On some points of law which arose in the House, Taylor had answered the great lawyer, Bearcroft, but not without an apology, "that he himself, who was but a young practitioner, and, as he might phrase it, *a chicken in the law*, should venture on a fight with the cock of Westminster Hall." He then acquired, and he never lost, the above nick-name.

"Orator Hunt."—Henry Hunt was the accepted leader of the discontented in the pre-Reform era, and his orations were circulated all over the country. He was the Radical of his age. The white hat he wore was regarded as almost as significant as the republican *bonnet rouge* in the Reign of Terror.—*Life of Duncombe.* Hunt having been brought before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough to receive sentence upon a conviction for holding a seditious meeting, he began his address in mitigation of punishment by complaining of certain persons who had accused him of "stirring up the people by *dangerous eloquence.*" Lord Ellenborough (in a very mild tone): "My impartiality as a judge calls upon me to say, sir, that in accusing you of that they do you great injustice."—*Campbell's Life of Ellenborough.* While addressing the House of Commons in support of the Reform Bill in 1831, Hunt said, "Now, when the honourable member for Calne (Mr. Macaulay) was talking so much of the rabble, he looked very hard at me (laughter). I understand that laugh. But I am only sorry that the honourable member for Calne has not remained in his place, that I might now have looked in the same way at him."—On the passing of the Reform Bill, Hunt lost his seat for Preston.

An ex-Prizefighter in Parliament.—John Gully, who had been a prize-fighter and "champion of England," and who afterwards took to the turf and made much money by betting and racing, was returned to the House of Commons for Pontefract on the passing of the Reform Bill, in opposition to Lord Mexborough. He was also elected to the ensuing Parliament. He eventually resigned his seat on account of ill-health, and gave his entire attention to the turf, twice winning the Derby as well as other of the most important races. On his first election an epigram of the day ran as follows:

"If anyone ask why should Pontefract sully
Its name by returning to Parliament Gully,
The etymological cause, I suppose, is,
He's broken the bridges of so many noses."

"Small-Journal Wynn."—Sir Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, who died in 1850, sat in the House of Commons as representative of Montgomeryshire for fifty-one years, and at his death was "father" of the House. He held office for a time under Earl Grey as Secretary for War, but resigned on account of his disapproval of the Reform Bill. His knowledge of Parliamentary rule and precedent was highly esteemed, and obtained for him the above nickname. He has before been alluded to in connection with a saying of Brougham's (p. 231); and, in the Autobiography of his lordship, Charles Wynn is also mentioned under the name of "Squeak." The reason for this appellation is thus explained: Charles Wynn was brother to Sir Watkin, and from a peculiarity in the utterance of the latter, and the shrillness of Charles's voice, they had a joint nickname as "Bubble and Squeak."

Quizzing a Bill out of the House.—Sir Andrew Agnew was identified in the House of Commons with the question of Sabbath observance. He brought in a measure so extreme in its nature that his friends appealed to his judgment in private against such a scheme. Professor Pryme tells us, "He said, 'I quite agree with you as to the absurdity of some of the enactments, but it is the bill of the Society for the Better Observance of the Sabbath, and I cannot help it.' It was lost, of course, because it went too far, but the discussion produced great good throughout the kingdom, in leading people of all classes to attend to the subject, and improve the observance of the Lord's Day. The last time that Sir A. Agnew brought forward his bill, Mr. Hawes, M.P. for Lambeth, and two or three other members, succeeded in, I may say, quizzing it out of the House. We were in committee of the whole House, and I was in the chair. When we came to that clause which enacted that it should be unlawful for any cab or public carriage to be let out on a Sunday, Hawes moved as an amendment, 'or for any private carriage to be used.' Before putting it to the vote, Sir A. Agnew appealed to me not to do so. I answered that, as it had been moved and seconded gravely, I had no option. The clause was carried by a majority, and no more was heard of the bill."

Attack on a Royal Speech.—Colonel Sibthorp, who for many years represented Lincoln, wore a very long beard, which was never dese-

crated by touch of steel. He is referred to on a previous page as one of the subjects of O'Connell's wit (p. 258). His speeches were usually brief but extremely forcible; and he never failed to amuse the House, undesignedly, both by his matter and his manner. The following is an example of his peculiar style. On the evening of the explanations which ensued in 1851 upon the dismissal of Lord Palmerston by his chief, the colonel followed Lord John Russell's grave and deliberate speech by a sudden onslaught on the effects of the Great Exhibition. "There was," he said, "but one opinion, and it was universal, as to the gross insult which had been offered to the merchants and tradesmen of this country by the wholesale introduction of foreigners and their wares which had taken place in consequence of the Exhibition; and, for his own part, he would not for a thousand guineas enter the walls or approach within smell of the unwieldy, ill-devised, and unwholesome Castle of Glass. The speech which the ministers had put into her Majesty's lips was a mass of trickery, trash, and trumpery. It was they who were responsible for the sentiments it contained, and he sincerely hoped that the Queen would speedily escape from their fangs."

"THE ROLLIAD."

This celebrated collection of Parliamentary squibs, which is several times quoted in this volume, was written by some of the most eminent of the adherents of Mr. Fox, and published occasionally in the form of small pamphlets. The writers gave their witticisms the shape of criticism on an imaginary poem, the title of which indicates the coming burlesque, and their effusions appeared in 1785. A full list of the authors, with their various contributions, is given by Lord Braybrooke in the first series of *Notes and Queries*. Earl Russell says: "While Mr. Fox, wearied with strife, was inclined to recruit his strength in the delightful shades of St. Ann's, the followers of the mighty warrior covered his retreat with the sharp missiles of wit and fun. A cloud of arrows flying around made the supporters of the Minister (Pitt) smart with pain, at once triumphant and ridiculous. 'The Rolliad,' or 'Criticisms on the Rolliad,' as it is more properly called, is the quiver of this squadron of wits." The origin of the title is thus explained by Moore in his "Life of Sheridan:"—"Mr. Rolle (M.P. for Devonshire), the hero of 'The Rolliad,' was one of those unlucky persons whose destiny it is to be immortalised by ridicule, and to whom the world owes the same sort of gratitude for the wit of which they were the butts, as the merchants did in Sindbad's story, to those pieces of meat to which diamonds adhered. The chief offence, besides his political obnoxiousness, by which he provoked this satirical warfare (whose plan of attack was all arranged at a club held at Becket's), was the lead which he took in a sort of conspiracy, formed on the ministerial benches, to interrupt, by coughing, hawking, and other unseemly noises, the speeches of Mr. Burke. The chief writers of these lively productions

were Tickell, General Fitzpatrick, Lord John Townshend, Richardson, George Ellis, and Dr. Laurence."

The interruptions referred to by Moore are thus alluded to:—

"Great Rollo's heir, whose cough, whose laugh, whose groan,
Th' Antæus Edmund has so oft o'erthrown;
Whose cry of 'Question' silenced Charles's sense—
That cry, more powerful than Pitt's eloquence."

Pitt and his principal supporters, with their parliamentary characteristics, are portrayed in sarcastic lines. Thus "the Heaven-born Minister"—

"Above the rest, majestically great,
Behold the infant Atlas of the State;
The matchless miracle of modern days,
In whom Britannia to the world displays
A sight to make surrounding nations stare:
A kingdom trusted to a school-boy's care."

He is thus further characterised:—

"Pert without fire, without experience sage;
Young, with more art than Shelburne glean'd from age;
Too proud from pilfer'd greatness to descend,
Too humble not to call Dundas his friend;
In solemn dignity and sullen state
This new Octavius rises to debate."

His eloquence, which caused it to be said that "on the tip of his nose he suspended the House of Commons," is alluded to in similar terms:—

"Crown the froth'd porter, slay the fatted ox,
And give the British meal to British Fox.
But, for an Indian Minister more fit,
Ten cups of purest padrae pour for Pitt,
Pure as himself; add sugar, too, and cream,
Sweet as his temper, bland as flows the stream
Of his smooth eloquence; then crisply nice
The muffin toast, or bread and butter slice,
Thin as his arguments, that mock the mind,
Gone ere you taste—no relish left behind."

The Speaker of the House is feelingly commiserated:—

"There Cornwall sits, and oh! unhappy fate,
Must sit for ever through the long debate.
Painful pre-eminence! he hears, 'tis true,
Fox, North, and Burke, but hears Sir Joseph* too."

Among the small people of the Parliament, one of the best of the touches is that bestowed upon

"Drake, whose cold rhetoric freezes in its course."

"How happy," continue the criticisms, "is the allusion to Mr. Drake's well-known speech, which, in the metaphor of our poet, we may style a beautiful icicle of the most transparent eloquence: 'Behold, sir, another

* Sir Joseph Mawbey.

feature of the procrastinating system. Not so the Athenian patriots—Sir, the Romans—Sir, I have lost the clue of my argument—Sir, I will sit down.'"

Another honourable gentleman is made the subject of some sparkling lines, with the explanation that they refer to "an active young member, who has upon all occasions been pointedly severe upon the noble lord in the blue ribbon (North), and who is remarkable for never having delivered his sentiments upon any subject, whether relating to the East Indies, the Reform of Parliament, or the Westminster Election, without a copious dissertation upon the principles, causes, and conduct of the American War":—

"Lo! Beaufoy rises, friend to soft repose,
Whose gentle accents prompt the House to dose.
His cadence just a general sleep provokes,
Almost as quickly as Sir Richard's* jokes.
Thy slumbers, North, he strives in vain to break;
When all are sleeping, thou wouldst scarce awake,
Though from his lips severe invectives fell,
Sharp as the acids he delights to sell."

In allusion to the last line, the reader is informed of Mr. Beaufoy that, "although the elegance of his diction and smoothness of his manner partake of the properties of oil, he is, in his commercial capacity, a dealer in vinegar."

The patrician Pittite is equally the subject of sarcasm with the trader of the same party. The Marquis of Graham had said in debate, "If the honourable gentleman calls my honourable friend goose, I suppose he will call me gosling." The remark was received with significant cheers. The marquis shortly after was elected Chancellor of Glasgow University, and he is thus referred to:—

"If right the bard, whose numbers sweetly flow,
That all our knowledge is ourselves to know,
A sage like Graham can the world produce,
Who in full senate called himself a goose?
Th' admiring Commons from the high-born youth
With wonder heard this undisputed truth;
Exulting Glasgow claim'd him for her own,
And placed the prodigy on Learning's throne."

* Sir Richard Hill.

PART III.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ELECTIONS.

Universal Suffrage.—Selden says: "There was a time when all men had their voice in choosing knights (of the shire). About Henry the Sixth's time they found the inconvenience, so one Parliament made a law, that only he that had forty shillings per annum should give his voice; they under should be excluded. They made the law who had the voice of all, as well under forty shillings as above; and thus it continues at this day. All consent civilly to a Parliament; women are involved in the men, children in those of perfect age, those that are under forty shillings a year in those that have forty shillings a year, those of forty shillings in the knights."

Early Election Disturbances.—In the eighth and tenth years of the reign of Henry VI. (1430—1432), laws were enacted limiting the electors to such as were possessed of forty shillings a year in land, free from all burdens, within the county. The preamble of one statute is remarkable: "Whereas the elections of knights have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrages and excessive numbers of people, many of them of small substance and value, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires; whereby manslaughters, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf," &c. We may learn (says Hume) from these expressions what an important matter the election of a member of Parliament was now become in England.

A Sheriff Assaulted for Delaying a Writ.—Richard Calle writes to John Paston about 1450: "I recommend me unto your good mastership; like you to weet (know) that on Childermas Day there were much people at Norwich at the shire (county court), because it was noised in the shire that the under-sheriff had a writ to make a new election, wherefore the people was grieved because they had laboured so often, saying to the sheriff that he had the writ, and plainly he should not away unto the time the writ were read. The sheriff answered and said

that he had no writ, nor wist who had it; hereupon the people peaced and stilled unto the time the shire was done, and after that done, the people called upon him, 'Kill him! head him!' and so John Damme, with help of others, got him out of the shire-house, and with much labour brought him into Spurrier Row, and there the people met against him, and so they avoided him into an house, and kept fast the door unto the time the mayor was sent for, and the sheriff, to strengthen him and to convey him away, or else he had been slain. Wherefore divers of the thrifty men came to me, desiring that I should write unto your mastership to let you have understanding of the guiding of the people, for they be full sorry of this trouble; and that it please you to send them your advice how they shall be guided and ruled, for they were purposed to have gathered an hundred or two hundred of the thriftiest men, and to have come up to the King to let the King have understanding of their mocking."

Influence of Peers on Elections.—The following letter, written about the middle of the 15th century, and included in the Paston series, shows the influence then exercised by peers in elections for the Lower House, and the estimation in which members of that House were at that time held: "The Duchess of Norfolk to our right trusty and well-beloved John Paston, Esq. We greet you heartily well, and forasmuch as it is thought right necessary for divers causes that my lord have at this time in the Parliament such persons as belong unto him, and be of his menial servants—wherein we conceive your goodwill and diligence shall be right expedient—we heartily desire and pray you that, at the contemplation of these our letters, as our special trust is in you, ye will give and apply your voice unto our right well-beloved cousin and servants, John Howard and Sir Roger Chamberlayn, to be knights of the shire; exhorting all such others as by your wisdom shall now be behoveful, to the good exploit and conclusion of the same. And in your faithful attendance and true devoir in this part ye shall do unto my lord and us a singular pleasure, and cause us hereafter to thank you therefore, as ye shall hold you right well content and agreed with the grace of God, who have you ever in his keeping."

Court Dictation.—The writs issued to summon a Parliament in 1553 were accompanied by a letter in the name of the King (Edward VI.) to each sheriff, which concluded as follows: "Our pleasure is that where our Privy Council, or any of them, shall recommend men of learning and wisdom, in such case their directions be regarded and followed, to have this assembly to be of the most chiefest men in our realm for advice and good counsel."

The "Prince Elector."—Evelyn writes: *March* 5, 1685 [a few days after the accession of James II.]—A Parliament was now summon'd, and greate industry us'd to obtaine elections which might promote the Court interest, most of the corporations being now by their new charters impower'd to make what returnes of members they pleased. *May* 22.—Mr. Seymour made a bold speech against many elections, and would have had those members who (he pretended) were obnoxious to withdraw, till they had clear'd the matter of their being legally return'd; but no one seconded him. The truth is, there were many of the new members

whose elections and returns were universally censur'd, many of them being persons of no condition or interest in the nation, or places for which they serv'd, especially in Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, &c., said to have been recommended by the Court, and from the effect of the new charters changing the electors. It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him into Cornwall no fewer than fifteen charters, so that some call'd him the Prince Elector.

A Court Candidate in the Seventeenth Century.—Sir John Reresby, Governor of the city of York in the reign of James II., gives in his "Memoirs" the following account of the mode in which the Court manipulated the constituencies for the purpose of securing the return of its own nominees: "I sent notice to the mayor and others of York that I intended to stand for one of their representatives at the ensuing election, and found the magistracy would be for the most part against me, though I had good encouragement from the other citizens. The truth is I was at some loss how to act in this matter; I was not desirous to be of this Parliament, not only because I was grown infirm and unfit to attend the duty of the House, but also because I was afraid the King would expect more from me than my conscience would extend to; for, as I was determined not to violate this on the one side, so I could hardly resolve to offend so good a master on the other. In these straits I went to the King at Windsor, and showed him the letters I had sent to York, and the answers I had received thereto; desiring his Majesty to indulge me with replies to three queries I had to make. (1.) Whether, seeing the contest was like to be both chargeable and difficult, and the success extremely doubtful, it was his pleasure I should stand? He replied positively, I should. (2.) Whether, as the opposition was very strong against me, he would impute it to my remissness if I miscarried? He promised he would not. (3.) Whether he would assist me all he could to prevent my being baffled, and particularly by such means as I should propose to him? His answer was, Yes; and he gave immediate orders to the Lords for purging of Corporations, to make whatever change I desired in the city of York, and to put in or out (which the King, it seems, had reserved to himself by the last charter) just as I pleased. Then, taking leave of the King, and presenting him with some Roman medals, which he took very kindly, he again charged me to do what I could to be chosen." The worthy knight proceeds to narrate the steps he took to carry out the King's wishes; but in the meantime the Prince of Orange landed—an event by which these and many more important schemes were rendered futile.

Electioneering Strategy in 1685.—The Whig candidate for Buckinghamshire, Thomas Wharton, eldest son of Philip Lord Wharton, was a man distinguished alike by dexterity and by audacity, and destined to play a conspicuous, though not always a respectable part, in the politics of several reigns. He had been one of those members of the House of Commons who had carried up the Exclusion Bill to the bar of the Lords. The Court was therefore bent on throwing him out by fair or foul means. The Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys himself came down into Buckingham-

shire, for the purpose of assisting a gentleman named Hacket, who stood on the high Tory interest. A stratagem was devised which, it was thought, could not fail of success. It was given out that the polling would take place at Ailesbury; and Wharton, whose skill in all the arts of electioneering was unrivalled, made his arrangements on that supposition. At a moment's warning the sheriff adjourned the poll to Newport Pagnell. Wharton and his friends hurried thither, and found that Hacket, who was in the secret, had already secured every inn and lodging. The Whig freeholders were compelled to tie their horses to the hedges, and to sleep under the open sky in the meadows which surround the little town. It was with the greatest difficulty that refreshments could be procured at such short notice for so large a number of men and beasts, though Wharton, who was utterly regardless of money when his ambition and party spirit were roused, disbursed fifteen hundred pounds in one day—an immense outlay for those times. Injustice seems, however, to have animated the courage of the stout-hearted yeomen of Bucks, the sons of the constituents of John Hampden. Not only was Wharton at the head of the poll, but he was able to spare his second votes to a man of moderate opinions, and to throw out the Chief Justice's candidate.—*Macaulay's "History."*

Tricked by the Sheriff.—John Evelyn writes: "*April* 8, 1685.—This day my brother of Wotton and Mr. Onslow were candidates for Surrey against Sir Adam Brown and my cousin Sir Edward Evelyn, and were circumvented in their election by a trick of the sheriff's—taking advantage of my brother's party going out of the small village of Leatherhead to seek shelter and lodging, the afternoone being tempestuous—proceeding to the election when they were gone, they, expecting the next morning; whereas before and then they exceeded the other party by many hundreds, as I am assured. The Duke of Norfolk led Sir Edw. Evelyn's and Sir Adam Brown's party. For this Parliament, very meane and slight persons (some of them gentlemen's servants, clearkes, and persons neither of reputation nor interest) were set up, but the country would choose my brother whether he would or no, and he missed it by the trick above mentioned."

An Election for Norfolk Two Hundred Years Ago.—Sir Thomas Browne, the learned physician of Norwich, writing to his son Edward, then a member of the College of Physicians and residing in London, gives the following account of the election of representatives for the shire of Norfolk: "Norwich, May 7th, 1679.—Our election was the last Monday. The competitors were the former elected Sir Christopher Calthorp and Sir Neuille Catelyn, and Sir John Hobart and Mr. Windham. I neuer obserued so great a number of people who came to giue their voyces; but all was ciuilly carried at the hill, and I do not heare of any rude or vnhandsome caryadge, the competitors hauing the weeke before sett downe rules and agreed upon articles for their regular and quiet proceeding. They came not down from the hill vntill eleven o'clocke at night. Sir John Hobart and Sir Neuille Catelyn caryed it, and were caryed on chayres about the market-place after eleuen o'clocke, with

trumpets and torches, candles being lighted at windowes, and the markett-place full of people. I could not butt obserue the great number of horses which were in the towne, and conceive there might haue been fiue or six thousand which in time of need might serue for dragoone horses; besides a great number of coach horses, and very good sadle horses of the better sort. Wine wee had none butt sack and Rhenish, except some made prouision thereof before hand; butt there was a strange consumption of beere and bread and cakes. Abundance of people slept in the markett-place, and laye like flockes of sheep in and about the crosse."

Letting Loose the Tap.—Roger North, in his "Life of Lord Keeper Guilford," relates that "Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, succeeded Sir Francis North in the burgess-ship of Lynn (1685), but not so easy and cheap; for his managers did not keep in due bounds, but let loose the tap all over that large town, and made an account of 7000*l.* or more resting due to the town, besides what had been paid for the expenses."

A Call for Reform.—John Evelyn thus writes, in 1696, to Lord Godolphin, First Commissioner of the Treasury: "Truly, my lord, I cannot but wonder and even stand amaz'd that Parliaments should have sate from time to time, so many hundred yeares, and value their constitution to that degree as the most sovraine remedy for the redresse of publiq grievances, whilst the greatest still remaine unreform'd and untaken away. Witnesse the confus'd, debauch'd, and riotous manner of electing members qualified to become the representatives of a nation, with legislative power to dispose of the fate of kingdomes; which should and would be compos'd of worthy persons, of known integritie and ability in their respective countries, and still would serve them generously, and as their ancestors have don, but are not able to fling away a son or daughter's portion to bribe the votes of a drunken multitude, more resembling a pagan bacchanalia than an assembly of Christians and sober men met upon the most solemn occasion that can concerne a people, and stand in competition with some rich scrivener, brewer, banker, or one in some gainfull office whose face or name, perhaps, they never saw or knew before. How, my lord, must this sound abroad! With what dishonour and shame at home!"

A Simple Ceremony.—Formerly, says Waller (1673), "the neighbourhood desired a candidate to serve; there was a dinner, and so an end; but now it is a kind of an empire. Some hundred years ago, some boroughs sent not; they could get none to serve; but now it is in fashion, and a fine thing they are revived."

A Dinner to Voters.—The following appears in the *Annual Register*, 1761, as an exact account of the articles consumed at dinner only, by the voters of a small borough, on the day of electing their members; independently of veal, mutton, poultry, pastry, &c., and a preparatory breakfast, which last alone cost 750*l.* Consumption at dinner:—980 stone of beef; 315 dozen of wine; 72 pipes of ale; and 365 gallons of spirits converted into punch.

The Fat and the Lean Voters.—Frederick Douglas, Lady Glenbervie's son, sat in Parliament for the family borough of Banbury, and amused us one day (says Harford in his "Recollections of Wilber-

force "), by telling what had formerly occurred to some recreant electors, who had ventured, though vainly, to oppose Lord North's nomination of the mayor, shortly before the annual dinner, to which his lordship was in the habit of sending venison. The old steward, while carving it, sent plenty of fat to the obedient voters, but made the rebels feelingly sensible of his displeasure, by exclaiming, as he dispatched their respective plates, "Those who didn't vote for my lord's Mayor sha'n't have none of my lord's fat!"

Origin of Conveyance of Electors and Splitting Freeholds for Votes.—In January, 1679, the Parliament, which had been in existence ever since the beginning of the year 1661, was dissolved, and writs were issued for a general election. During some weeks (writes Macaulay) "the contention over the whole country was fierce and obstinate beyond example. Unprecedented sums were expended. New tactics were employed. It was remarked by the pamphleteers of that time as something extraordinary that horses were hired at a great charge for the conveyance of electors. The practice of splitting freeholds, for the purpose of multiplying votes, dates from this memorable struggle."

Wholesale Multiplication of Freeholds. — Oldfield relates that a committee was appointed to try the petition of John Arbuthnot, Esq., on the 10th February, 1804, against the return of certain candidates for Weymouth. In consequence of the decision of this committee, two hundred freeholds were at once split into two thousand. Freeholders of Weymouth were to be found in London, and in almost all the towns and villages to the Land's End in Cornwall, and in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, whence many hundreds were afterwards brought at an enormous expense to vote at every election for this borough. Some even voted for the thirteen-hundredth part of a sixpenny freehold.

Fagot Votes in 1877.—At Exeter Registration Court, in October, 1877, thirty-two claims were made by Conservatives in respect of rent charges on one house. The property was bought two years before from the trustees of the Earl of Devon, who sold under an order of the Court of Chancery. Mr. Henry Drew, brother of Lord Devon's steward, was the purchaser, and he admitted having bought for the express purpose of creating votes. He said he gave 1350*l.*, but had made 1600*l.* of the rent charges, while he valued the residence at over 200*l.*; it was a speculation, and had paid him well. He was not aware that the tenant had previously offered 1600*l.* for the property. The Earl of Devon knew nothing of the intention to manufacture these votes, but a good many claimants were tenants of his lordship.—On behalf of the Liberals it was contended that the deed conveying the property to Mr. Drew was void. The Revising Barrister allowed Mr. Drew's claim, but intimated that he should require personal attendance of every one of the other claimants.

The Fagot Vote in Midlothian.—In bringing forward a motion in favour of household suffrage in counties, in 1879, Mr. Trevelyan commented upon the recent creation of a large number of fagot votes by members of the Conservative party in Midlothian, in anticipation of the next contest for the representation of that county, in which Mr. Gladstone

had announced his intention to take part. Lord Claud Hamilton replied, defending the votes recently made, and he referred to the tactics of Mr. Cobden. Speaking in London, November 26, 1849, that gentleman said: "In that great division (the West Riding of Yorkshire), at present containing 37,000 voters, Lord Morpeth was, as you are aware, defeated on the question of free trade, and two protectionists were returned. I went into the West Riding with this 40*s.* freehold plan. I stated in every borough and district that we must have 5000 qualifications made in two years. They were made. The silly people who opposed us raised the cry that the Anti-Corn Law League had bought the qualifications. Such a cry was ridiculous. We followed the same plan in South Lancashire, and with a similar result. Our friends walked over the course at the next election, though at the previous one we had not a chance."

Potwalloping.—This qualification for the suffrage, extinct since the passing of the first Reform Bill, consisted in having "boiled a pot" in a parliamentary borough for a certain time—usually six months—prior to an election. It was, in fact, residential qualification expressed in a popular term, which is said to have been partly derived from the Saxon *weallan*, to boil.

Scot and Lot.—Scot or shot (says Richardson) is so much cast or thrown down as a share of the whole sum to be paid; and lot means allotment or portion assigned. To pay scot and lot, therefore, was for a person to pay the ordinary tributes, and also the personal tax allotted to him. A curiously elastic provision in reference to this qualification is recorded in "Determinations of the House of Commons concerning Elections" (1753): "11th January, 1699.—Resolved, that the mayor, aldermen, and all the inhabitants within the borough of Newark-upon-Trent, who pay, *or ought to pay*, scot and lot within the said borough, have a right to vote at the election of members to serve in Parliament for the said borough."

Household Suffrage.—This principle, which excited so much controversy during the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867, and was eventually adopted subject to the payment of poor rate, existed in simplicity in the case of many boroughs in former times. "Potwalloping" was another name for it, but in occasional instances we find it expressly laid down. The "Determinations concerning Elections," just quoted, include, for instance, a decision of the House, Jan. 28, 1695: "Resolved, that the right of election of burgesses to serve in Parliament for the borough of Aylisbury, in the county of Bucks, is in all the householders of the said borough, not receiving alms." The same principle governed the elections at Northampton. In most cases, however, the payment of scot and lot, without admission of default as in the Newark instance, was an essential condition.

Honorary Freemen.—In the East Retford case, decided in the Court of King's Bench in 1802 (reports Oldfield), "it appeared to have been the custom for two hundred and twenty years for the sheriffs and aldermen to make whom they pleased freemen, for the purpose of creating voters, till they became so confident of their possessing such a power that

they proceeded to create forty-two honorary freemen at one time. This caused an information in the nature of a *quo warranto* to be filed within six years, as the statute limits such information to that period after they obtain the freedom of any corporation. Upon hearing the same, the bailiffs and aldermen pleaded a custom of two hundred and twenty years. Upon which it was observed that it had been also customary to rob upon the highway for so many years, but that it was always the custom to hang the offender when he was detected. Judgment of *ouster* was issued against the whole forty-two honorary freemen."

The "Christians" of Shoreham.—In 1771, the House of Commons discussed a proposal for the disfranchisement of New Shoreham. It had been discovered that corruption of the most flagrant character existed in the borough, chiefly under the auspices of a body called "The Christian Club," which, professedly formed for the promotion of religion and charity, exercised its functions in negotiating the sale of the seat for the borough to the highest bidder. This was done by the agency of a secret committee, which concluded a transaction with the most liberal candidate, received the money, and divided the spoil among the club generally. As the members of this committee abstained from voting themselves, on the ground of conscientious scruples, they escaped the imputation of bribery, until a disagreement with the returning officer, who was in their confidence, led him to reveal all their plans. It appeared that at this particular election there were five candidates, only two of whom came near the mark with their offers. General Smith offered 3000*l.* down, and to benefit the place by building shipping. Mr. Rumbold bid 35*l.* a vote to all the freemen, and was consequently chosen by the committee. The returning officer, however, preferred the General, and the disagreement led to an open quarrel. The Opposition of the day wished to disfranchise the borough, but were outvoted, the House resolving instead that eighty-one of the freemen should forfeit the franchise for ever, and that the boundary of the borough for the future should be extended to the Rape of Bramber.

Sale of Boroughs.—Professor Pryme says: "I have seen an advertisement, before Grampound was disfranchised, offering a borough for sale (Westbury), as not only to be sold, but to be sold by order of the Court of Chancery. A short time before the Reform Bill, Lord Monson paid 100,000*l.* for Gatton, which contained about twenty-five houses, and rather more than one hundred inhabitants. Mr. Aubrey, fellow-commoner of Trinity College, and nephew of Sir J. Aubrey, told me that his uncle, whose heir he was, thought that he could not spend 1000*l.* a-year more pleasantly than in buying a borough and sitting in Parliament. He sat for Aldborough, in Yorkshire, by arrangement with its proprietor, Mr. De Crespigny, and on the understanding that he was to vote as he pleased. He did not pay 1000*l.* annually for the privilege, but calculated that it cost him that. 5000*l.* was the sum usually paid for a seat."

Proprietary Rights.—Earl Russell relates in his "Recollections:" "One noble lord used to go out hunting followed by a tail of six or seven members of Parliament of his own making. Another, being asked

who should be returned for one of his boroughs, named a waiter at White's Club; but as he did not know the man's Christian name, the election was declared void, and a fresh election was held, when, the name having been ascertained, the waiter was duly elected. . . A seat for the whole duration of a Parliament was sold for £5000. But as Parliaments were subject to sudden death, prudent men made a bargain to pay £1000 a year so long as they sate in the House of Commons. Mr. Ricardo and many others were members of the House of Commons in virtue of such payment. Sir Francis Burdett entered Parliament by purchase of a seat from the trustees of the Duke of Newcastle—a minor."

An "Elegant Contingency."—Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist, was member of a political club called "The Society for Constitutional Information," and in 1794 was prosecuted for high treason, with other members of that body. He drew up a paper in his own defence, in which he gave the following as an instance of the corrupt state of the parliamentary representation: "The borough of Gatton, within these two years, was publicly advertised for sale by auction: not sold for a single parliament, but the fee simple of the borough, with the power of nominating the two representatives for ever. On the day of sale, the celebrated auctioneer scarcely noticed the value of the estate. The rental, the mansion, the views, the woods and waters, were unworthy regard, compared to what he called an *elegant contingency*. Yes, the right of nominating two members to Parliament, without the embarrassment of voters, was an elegant contingency! 'Need I tell you, gentlemen,' said he, glancing round the room with ineffable self-satisfaction, and exulting in what he called the jewel, the unique, which was under his hammer, 'Need I tell you, gentlemen, that this elegant contingency is the only infallible source of fortune, titles, and honours in this happy country? That it leads to the highest situations in the State? And that, meandering through the tempting sinuosities of ambition, the purchaser will find the margin strewed with roses, and his head quickly crowned with those precious garlands that flourish in full vigour round the fountain of honour? On this halcyon sea, if any gentleman who has made his fortune in either of the Indies chooses once more to embark, he may repose in perfect quiet. No hurricanes to dread; no tempestuous passions to allay; no tormenting claims of insolent electors to evade; no tinkers' wives to kiss; no impossible promises to make; none of the toilsome and not very clean paths of canvassing to drudge through; but, his mind at ease and his conscience clear, with this elegant contingency in his pocket, the honours of the State await his plucking, and with its emoluments his purse will overflow.'"

Administrations and Rotten Boroughs.—Lord Palmerston wrote as follows in his Journal, respecting the manipulation of constituencies by the Grenville Administration in 1806: "The method adopted by Ministers with regard to their borough seats was very politic and ingenious. They purchased seats from their friends at a low price, making up the deficiency probably by appointments and promotions. These seats they afterwards sold out at the average market price to men who promised them support; and with the difference they carried on

their contested elections. The sum raised in this manner was stated, by a person who was in the secret, to be inconceivably great, and accounts for an assertion afterwards made by Lord Grenville in the Lords', that 'not one guinea of the public money had been spent in elections.'" This observation by Lord Palmerston (as his biographer, Lord Dalling, remarks) seems to imply that the spending public money for party elections would not have been deemed, on the part of any Government, an extraordinary occurrence.

Dear Seats.—Sir Samuel Romilly wrote as follows in his diary, in 1807: "I shall procure myself a seat in the new Parliament, and Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late Administration, assures me he can hear of no seats to be disposed of. After a Parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney tells me that he has offered 10,000*l.* for the two seats at Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors, and had met with a refusal. 6000*l.* and 5500*l.* have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the King's death, or by any change of Administration."

Depreciated Value.—After the dissolution of 1831, the price of rotten boroughs was greatly diminished by the anticipation of the eventual passage of a Bill sweeping them away. Mr. Torrens relates that Lord Yarborough, as guardian of the daughter of Sir L. Holmes, sold to the Government for 4000*l.* the next presentation to the *eight* political stalls in St. Stephen's appurtenant to her property in the Isle of Wight. The eight incumbents duly prayed for sudden death, and had the rare privilege of performing the part of chief mourners at their own funerals.

Boroughmongering after the Reform Bill.—Mr. Greville writes, Dec. 4, 1835: "Lord Segrave has got the Gloucestershire Lieutenancy, and this appointment, disgraceful in itself, exhibits all the most objectionable features of the old boroughmongering system, which was supposed to be swept away. He was in London as soon as the breath was out of the Duke of Beaufort's body, went to Melbourne, and claimed the appointment on the score of having three members, which was more than any other man in England now returned. 'My brothers,' he said, 'the electors do not know by sight; it is my influence which returns them.' The appeal was irresistible, and 'We are three' was as imperative with Melbourne as 'We are seven' was with the Duke of Newcastle. The scarcity of the commodity enhances its value, and now that nominations are swept away, the few who are still fortunate enough to possess some remnants are great men; and Segrave's three brothers, thrown (as they would without scruple have been) into the opposite scale, would have nearly turned it."

The First Conviction for Bribery.—In the session of 1571, a fine was imposed on the borough of Westbury, for receiving a bribe of four pounds from Thomas Long, "being a very simple man and of small

capacity to serve in that place;" and the mayor was ordered to repay the money. Long, however, does not seem to have been expelled. This is the earliest precedent on record for the punishment of bribery in elections. —*Hallam's "Constitutional History."*

Magisterial Delinquents.—In 1767 (writes Oldfield), Philip Ward, Esq., Mayor of Oxford, in conjunction with several other magistrates of the city, wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Stapylton and the Hon. Robert Lee, their members, offering to elect them again at the next general election for a stated sum of money. The letter was produced in the House; whereupon the writers were ordered to be arrested and committed to Newgate. After a confinement of some time, they were discharged, upon petitioning the House, having first been reprimanded on their knees by the Speaker.

Imprisonment for Bribery.—The *Annual Register* for 1804 records: Alexander Davidson, Esq., the opulent banker and contractor; John White Parsons, and Thomas Hopping, gents., have been sentenced by the Court of King's Bench, for gross bribery and corruption at the late Ilchester election, to twelve months' confinement in the Marshalsea prison.

A Heavy Punishment for Bribery.—On March 18th, 1819, Sir Manasseh Lopes, Bart., was tried and convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, and to be imprisoned in Exeter Gaol for two years, for bribing several of the electors of the borough of Grampound. With reference to this case, Lord John Russell moved in the House of Commons (July 11th, 1820) that the House should address the Throne to remit part of the punishment. The motion, after some discussion, was withdrawn.

A Constituency Heavily Fined.—In recent times we have an instance of a somewhat heavy penalty falling upon a constituency for corrupt practices at an election, as the following statement from the *Times* of 6th March, 1871, will show: "The Bridgewater Town Council were on Friday informed that they would have to pay 3146*l.* as the cost of their election commission. It was stated that the payment would necessitate a rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound." In the end it amounted to 3*s.*

Price of Votes.—Previously to the Reform Bill of 1832, pecuniary influence had operated upon the electors of many boroughs to an extent scarcely now to be imagined. At Hull and Beverley, and probably at many other places, it was customary after the election to give four guineas for a single vote, or two for a divided one. At Hedon, a small borough and sea-port on the Humber, now disfranchised, it was usual to give twenty guineas for a single vote, and ten for a divided one. Before an election there was no actual promise made, but the voter would say on being canvassed, "You will do what is usual after the election, sir, I suppose?" and the candidate would reply in the affirmative. Many of the *poor* electors did not wait for an election, but borrowed of the member sums of money, for which they gave a promissory note. When an election came, ten or twenty guineas was receipted upon the note, the residue of which still gave the candidate a hold upon the elector for a future occasion. This was told to me (says Pryme) by Mr. Chaytor, of

Spennithorne, in Wensleydale, who long represented the borough. To show the extent to which corruption prevailed, I may mention that when the Reform Bill was spoken of to some electors in Stafford, they expressed their pleasure at it, and hoped that there would be introduced into it some plan for the better payment of poor voters! St. Alban's was on the Great North Road, which gave the town prosperity by its posting; and it was said of its inhabitants, when the great inn was given up, that they remarked, "We have nothing now left to sell but our votes."—*Pryme's "Recollections."* Oldfield, in his "Representative History," states that the freemen of the borough of Grampound had been known to boast of receiving three hundred guineas a man for their votes at one election. Respecting the general election of 1826, the *Times* of June 20th of that year has the following: "During the election at Sudbury, four cabbages sold for £10, and a plate of gooseberries fetched £25; the sellers where these articles were so dear being voters. At Great Marlow, on the contrary, things were cheap, and an elector during the election bought a sow and nine young pigs for a penny."

A Visitor from the Moon.—When the borough of Wendover was in the possession of Earl Verney, the electors in general lived rent free on condition of giving their votes to his lordship's nominee. A remarkable circumstance happened in 1768, in connection with this mutual arrangement, which Oldfield describes. In the year named, a Mr. Atkins had undertaken, by a *coup-de-main*, to carry the election against his lordship's interest; and quite unexpectedly, on the day of the election, Sir Robert Darling was proposed and returned by a considerable majority. The voters were punished for their treachery to their superior by being instantly ejected from their houses, and were obliged to take refuge in huts and tents for six months, when, upon a proper acknowledgment of their contrition, they were allowed to repossess their former dwellings. In 1784, his lordship being in straits, the voters retaliated upon him by engaging with two candidates against his lordship's interest and influence, for a sum of 6,000*l.* This being settled, a gentleman was employed to go down, when he was met, according to previous appointment, by the electors at a mile from the town. The electors asked the stranger where he came from. He replied, "From the moon." They then asked, "What news from the moon?" He answered that he had brought from thence 6,000*l.* to be distributed among them. The electors, being thus satisfied with the golden news from the moon, chose the candidates and received their reward.

The "Dancing Punch."—The *Annual Register* for 1775 says:—In the course of the evidence given before the select committee appointed to try and determine the Hindon election, the following circumstances came out. On a day previous to the election, a man, disguised in a fantastic female habit, went about the town to canvass for two of the candidates. This figure, which was called the Dancing Punch, called at the door of almost every elector, and gave each five or ten guineas; and sent for such as had not been canvassed at their own houses, to an inn in the town, and there distributed its favours in the same manner. Some others

in the opposite interest attended in an outer apartment of the house where their friends sat in an inner room, and there obliged the electors to sign an acknowledgment for a certain sum of money, which being done, a paper containing ten or fifteen guineas was handed out to every elector through a hole in the door. Upon that and other evidence the committee resolved, That Richard Smith and Thomas Brand Hollis, Esqs., had been returned by notorious bribery; That the House be moved for leave to bring in a bill to disfranchise the borough of Hindon, in Wilts. These resolutions were confirmed by the House on the 24th of February, when it was also decided that no writ should be issued for one month. It appears, however, from Oldfield's "Representative History," that the disfranchising bill was not passed, and a new writ was ordered to be issued on the 8th May, 1776.

"Mister Most."—Lord Dundonald relates in his "Autobiography," that while canvassing the electors of Honiton one of these independents said to him, "You need not ask me, my lord, who I votes for; I always votes for Mr. Most."

An Election Ruse.—Lord Dundonald also tells that when he first stood for Honiton (while Lord Cochrane) he refused to give bribes, and the seat was secured by his opponent, who paid five pounds a head. On this, Cochrane determined that the next time there was a vacancy in the borough the seat should be his *without bribery*; and he sent the bellman round the town to proclaim that all persons who had voted for him might repair to his agent and receive ten guineas. At the next election no questions were asked, and he was triumphantly returned. This effected (he says in his "Autobiography"), "it was then plainly asked what *ex post facto* consideration was to be expected by those who had supported me in so delicate a manner. 'Not one farthing!' was the reply. 'But, my lord, you gave ten guineas a-head to the minority at the last election, and the majority have been calculating on something handsome on the present occasion.' 'No doubt. The former gift was for their disinterested conduct in not taking the bribe of five pounds from the agents of my opponent. For me now to pay them would be a violation of my own previously expressed principles!'"

Parliamentary Agents and Bribery.—On the second reading of the St. Alban's Disfranchisement Bill, in March, 1852, Mr. Jacob Bell, who had been returned for the borough, rose in its defence, and in the course of his speech thus commented on the general corruption which he maintained rendered St. Alban's no worse than other places: "There were certain expenses which were illegal, but which, nevertheless, must be paid—not the purest election in the world could be conducted without them—and yet, in the strict letter of the law, they endangered the seat. Consequently, it was necessary to employ various agents. The genus 'Parliamentary agent' comprised several species. Those who performed what was called the 'awkward business' must be cunning, ingenious, and energetic, and must have a contrivance at hand to meet every case. They must be indefatigable, fear nothing but defeat, care for nothing but victory. These agents, while performing the most slippery business

behind the candidate's back, must convince him when in his presence that they were the purest persons in the world, and that, if a shilling improperly spent could save his election, they would not expend it. They perpetrated the most unblushing wrong in the most daring manner. They had many methods of accomplishing their purpose, of which an example or two might be instructive. A Parliamentary agent of this kind had a room in some part of the town called a committee-room, but which the candidate never heard of. When an elector came he was ushered into the presence of the agent, who would say, 'Well, Mr. Smith, how do you do to-day?' at the same time holding up three fingers, to signify he was to have three sovereigns. The elector would perhaps say, if he were dissatisfied with the amount, 'I am not very well to-day.' The agent then, holding up five fingers, would say, 'I am sorry you are not well to-day, Mr. Smith.' The elector would then say, 'Oh, I am not very ill. It is all right.' He would then go and look out of the window, and while he was doing so the agent would put five sovereigns upon the table. The agent would then go and look out of the window in his turn, and the elector would walk to the table, and when the agent turned round the elector was gone, and the sovereigns had vanished. The elector did not see the agent put down the money, and the agent did not see the elector take it up. When a Parliamentary Committee was appointed, the agent swore he never gave any money, and the elector swore no one gave him any. When the five honourable gentlemen who sat upon the committee heard this, they said, 'There has been some clever management here, but there is no evidence.' . . This was only one method in which bribery was carried on. He had heard of fifteen or twenty guineas being given for a canary bird. There was another method which was much more easy to practice without risk of detection—that of employing people for various purposes, and paying them. There were usually a great number of agents, spies, secretaries, and messengers, all retained for five or six weeks preparatory to an election, and paid so much a week. These were put down as legal charges, though if thoroughly sifted it would be found that almost the only service these people performed was at the hustings or polling-booth. . . He claimed indulgence for his borough. It was in the mud, and he was in the mud with it, but he would never shrink from performing his duty towards it." Mr. Bell's arguments were ineffectual. The bill passed, and St. Alban's no more afforded practice for parliamentary agents.

A "Good and Safe Man" Wanted.—At the general election in 1852, some curious circumstances occurred at Derby. A leading member of the Liberal committee, accompanied by two or three policemen, obtained access to a committee-room of the Ministerial candidate, where they found seated at the table a man named Morgan, who had a pile of money before him, and a book in which were entered the names of several of the electors, with marks affixed. He was arrested, and on examination before a magistrate admitted that the book contained the names of persons who had received money for their votes. Upon him was found a letter running as follows: "A good and safe man, with judgment and quickness, wanted immediately

at Derby. I suppose that you cannot leave your own place; if not, send some one in whom you can trust in your place. Let him go to Derby on receiving this, and find the County Tavern in the centre of the town, and send his card to Cox, Brothers, and Company, leadworks, as coming from Chester. That will be enough.—W. B., Monday." This letter was addressed to Mr. Frail, of Shrewsbury, a well-known electioneering agent; and an inquiry into the Derby election being held by a select committee of the House of Commons, they reported that an organised system of bribery prevailed in the borough, and that the letter was written by the Right Hon. William Beresford, Secretary-at-War. They did not, however, think there was sufficient evidence of his complicity in illegal transactions, but they considered the letter "exhibited a reckless indifference and regard to consequences which they cannot too highly censure."

"The Man in the Moon." — An election commission pursuing its inquiries into bribery at Wakefield, in 1859, came across several references to an individual called "the Man in the Moon," who appeared to have been actively concerned as an agent in electoral corruption. At length a witness said he had engaged the man in question.—Mr. Serjeant Pigott: Who is he?—Witness: Well, I'd rather not disclose his name yet; but I can produce him if necessary. The secret has been so well kept that it would be a pity to disclose it before it is necessary.—Serjeant Pigott: Can you produce him to-day?—Witness: Oh yes; he is hard by. I can bring him in at once.—Serjeant Pigott: We shall be delighted to see him.—Witness then left the court, and in a few minutes returned with the "Man in the Moon," who said his name was Whitehead, and he was an upholsterer at Bradford, but had been in the habit of taking part in electioneering affairs. Mr. Serjeant Pigott: I suppose you know you went by the name of "the Man in the Moon" while you were here?—Whitehead: Well, I believe that was my designation.—Serjeant Pigott: And there is no doubt about your identity?—Whitehead: Oh dear no; I'm the man, sure enough.

A Refuge for the Destitute.—In the debate on the second reading of the Reform Bill of Lord Derby's Government in 1859, Mr. Bright thus alluded to the small boroughs which it was proposed to retain under the bill: "Putting the case in the smallest number of words, you say that they send men into Parliament who cannot get in anywhere else. These boroughs form, in point of fact, a refuge for the politically destitute; and all that I have heard in their favour is, that the persons who find shelter in them are what would be called 'deserving objects.' . . . There was an election at Harwich the other day, and I remember a statement made at the time. It was said that Mr. Bagshaw—not now a member of this House—had discharged a drunken gardener. There were two free-traders who had carried out their principles further than the law sanctioned, and were imprisoned for smuggling. A respectable parson of the parish, who had not been out of his room for two years, was brought down (by the aid of cordials, stimulants, and a sedan chair) to the poll; and those four individuals influenced the result of the election."

Samples of the Sack.—Mr. Bright, in addressing a meeting a

Birmingham in 1866, said: "Have you read the report of the proceedings at the commission for Yarmouth? Did you read that a late member for that borough is said to have spent 70,000*l.*, to maintain his seat? Did you read that one gentleman, an inferior partner in a brewery, contributed 4000*l.* for the election of his partner, and that another gentleman, knowing nothing of that borough, went down there and supplied 6000*l.* to fight a contest spread only over a few days? Remember that when Yarmouth or any other borough is thus brought before the public, it is only a sample of a very considerable sack." Yarmouth was disfranchised by the Reform Act of 1867.

"Legitimate" Election Expenses.—Mr. Lowe, in the debate on Reform in May, 1866, said: "We had a paper laid upon our table this morning, giving an account of the expenses of elections from 'S' downwards. I take the first few large boroughs, and I will read the expenses. The expense of the election for Stafford is 5400*l.*; Stoke-upon-Trent, 6200*l.*; Sunderland, 5000*l.*; and Westminster, 12,000*l.* These are the aggregate expenses of all the candidates. I take them as they come, without picking and choosing. I will now call attention to two or three counties. I will take the southern division of Derbyshire. The election cost 8500*l.*, and this is the cheapest I shall read. The northern division of Durham cost 14,620*l.*, and the southern division 11,000*l.* South Essex cost 10,000*l.*; West Kent cost 12,000*l.*; South Lancashire, 17,000*l.*; South Shropshire, 12,000*l.*; North Staffordshire, 14,000*l.*; North Warwickshire, 10,000*l.*; South Warwickshire, 13,000*l.*; North Wiltshire, 13,000*l.*; South Wiltshire, 12,000*l.*; and the North Riding of Yorkshire, 27,000*l.*—all legitimate expenses, but by no means the whole expense. Now, I ask the House how it is possible that the institutions of this country can endure, if this kind of thing is to go on and increase?"

Election Expenses in 1874.—It appeared by a return made to the House of Commons in August, 1874, after the general election, that the expenses incurred by the candidates throughout the United Kingdom amounted, omitting fractions of pounds, to 1,041,436*l.* Of this sum the expenses of the candidates for English counties were 383,888*l.*; for Welsh counties, 33,900*l.*; for cities and boroughs in England and Wales, 424,204*l.*; for Ireland (counties, cities, and boroughs), 80,110*l.*; and for Scotland, 119,336*l.*

Contrasts in Returning Officers' Charges.—A Parliamentary return issued in 1879 showed that in the counties of England and Wales the returning officers' charges at the general election of 1874 were highest in the county of Middlesex, being 2273*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*, and lowest in Bedford (where there was no contest), being 25*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* In eighteen other counties the charges exceeded 1000*l.* The highest charge in the cities and boroughs of England and Wales was that for Lambeth, which amounted to 1980*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*, and the lowest that for Harwich, which was only 6*s.* 6*d.* In only one Scotch county were the charges more than 1000*l.*, namely, those for Perth, which amounted to 1056*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* Glasgow headed the burghs with 2482*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*, Edinburgh coming next with 1021*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* In Ireland the counties for which the charges were highest were Galway

1200*l.*, and Down 1000*l.*; and in the boroughs, Dublin headed the list with 1306*l.*

County Election Expenses in 1876, &c.—Official returns published in April, 1876, showed that at a recent contest in North Shropshire the expenses of the successful candidate, Mr. Stanley Leighton, amounted to 11,727*l.*, and of the defeated candidate, Mr. Mainwaring, to 10,688*l.* —In a contest for North Norfolk in 1878, the expenses of Mr. E. Birkbeck, the successful Conservative candidate, were returned as 3496*l.* Of this, 945*l.* was paid for agency, and 742*l.* for the conveyance of voters. The expenses of Sir T. F. Buxton, the unsuccessful Liberal candidate, amounted to 3190*l.*, of which 572*l.* was paid for agency, and 638*l.* for the conveyance of voters.

Cost of Elections in 1880.—The returns presented from the several counties and boroughs after the general election of 1880 showed the following among other high figures: In the county of Middlesex, the expenses on behalf of the successful candidates, Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Octavius Coope, were 11,506*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; and those of their unsuccessful competitor, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, amounted to 6377*l.* 7*s.* 7½*d.*, the largest item in this total being 967*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for conveyance of voters. In West Kent, the expenses of Sir C. Mills and Viscount Lewisham were 10,646*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*; of the unsuccessful candidate in the Liberal interest, Mr. Bompas, 4595*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and of Mr. J. May, a tenant-farmer candidate, 819*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* In South-west Lancashire, Sir R. Cross and Mr. J. Blackburne were returned at an expense of over 10,000*l.* In the West Riding of Yorkshire, eastern division, the expenses of the two successful Liberal members, Sir A. Fairbairn and Sir J. Ramsden, were 7703*l.*; and those of their unsuccessful competitors, Mr. C. B. Denison and Lord Lascelles, were 7343*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* In the borough of Southwark, the expenses of Messrs. Cohen and Rogers were 8008*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*; and those of Messrs. Cattley and Clarke, the defeated Conservative candidates, were 7562*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* In the borough of Greenwich, Mr. Boord and Baron H. de Worms were debited with 7166*l.* At Newcastle-on-Tyne, the expenses of Mr. Joseph Cowen were 2219*l.*, and those of Mr. Ashton Dilke, 2056*l.*; these two gentlemen being the elected Liberal members. In the Flint Boroughs, the expenses of the successful Liberal candidate, Mr. J. Roberts, were 3244*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; and those of his opponent, Captain Pennant, 3402*l.* The cost of the Gravesend election, and the petition which followed and unseated the candidate returned, was estimated altogether at 20,000*l.* The unopposed return of Mr. Samuelson for Frome cost 379*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*, of which 89*l.* 12*s.* was for printing and advertising, 70*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* for hire of public halls and committee rooms, and 167*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* for professional agency, messengers, clerks, postage, &c.

An Expensive Election in Oxfordshire.—An Oxfordshire election in 1754 was the cause of great party animosities. The sheriff returned all the four candidates, and they all petitioned, complaining of undue election and double return. After a very long debate, on the 18th of November and on many subsequent days, it was eventually decided that Lord Parker and Sir Edward Turner were the sitting members,

and that Lord Wenman and Sir James Dashwood had not been duly elected. The sums of money spent on this occasion were enormous. Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann: "A knowing lawyer said to-day that, with purchasing tenures, votes, and carrying on the election and petition, 55,000*l.* will not pay the whole expense."

Half a Million spent in an Election.—In 1807 (writes Oldfield) the most expensive contest took place for the representation of Yorkshire that ever distinguished the annals of electioneering. The candidates were Viscount Milton, son of Earl Fitzwilliam, supported by the Whig party; the Hon. Henry Lascelles, son of Lord Harewood, proposed by the Tories; and William Wilberforce, Esq., on the Dissenting and Independent interest. The election was carried on with doubtful success between the two party candidates for fifteen days, but Mr. Wilberforce was at the head of the poll for the whole time. It terminated in favour of Mr. Wilberforce and Lord Milton. This contest is said to have cost the three parties near half a million of money. The expenses of Mr. Wilberforce were defrayed by public subscription; and such public zeal was manifested in his favour, that more than double the sum necessary was raised in a few days, and one moiety was afterwards returned to the subscribers.—Lord Brougham notes that "The committee which conducted Mr. Wilberforce's election for Yorkshire in 1807 state their expenses at 58,000*l.*, with every resource of the most rigid economy, and great voluntary assistance in labour."

The Nottingham Lambs.—In the year 1790, a fiercely contested election took place for Nottingham. On one of the polling days, I, being at a window in the market-place, saw the people set ladders against the Exchange Hall, burst through the windows, and seize a depôt of constables' staves, which they cut into bludgeons and threw out to the people below. One of them was aimed at the head of Mr. Smith (one of the candidates), as he was leaving the hustings in the market-place, but he was saved by having on an exceedingly high-crowned hat, such as was then fashionable.—*Pryme's "Recollections."* The professor's daughter adds in a note, "On July 12, 1865, about ten a.m., an attack was made by the Lambs on a committee-room of Morley and Paget (Nottingham), and it was completely gutted. One cannot here say, *Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis.*"

The Use of Red-hot Pokers.—During an election inquiry at Norwich in 1875, some curious particulars were unfolded. Colourable employment of voters it appeared was common, and also the hire of sham committee-rooms to stimulate the landlords. One of the Conservative agents stated that he put on about 100 men in a district in which the voting power was 800 or 900; and also that his committee-room had been attacked, and if he had not had a determined will it would certainly have been sacked. But he had a messenger to keep the fire up, and had hot pokers ready. He offered them to his assailants at the top of the stairs, but they would not take them (laughter).—Another agent said the Liberals were like rats, for when stowed up in one hole they got out of another. They might hold a prayer meeting, and present each man with one of

Moody and Sankey's hymn-books with something between the leaves. The law must be altered to make elections pure.—A solicitor of the town said a pure election was not possible in Norwich. The number of corruptible electors was between 3000 and 5000, and if either party agreed to leave them alone, that corrupt element would start a candidate of their own in order to get money.

The Ballot Act.—The Ballot Act was passed in 1872, to remain in force until the end of 1880. The first Parliamentary election under it occurred at Pontefract on the 15th of August, 1872, and was reported in the newspapers at the time to have been "characterised by remarkable tranquillity." At this election Mr. Childers was returned by a majority of eighty over Viscount Pollington, the numbers being 658 and 578; but only about two-thirds of the number of registered electors were polled. The last of the open pollings under the old system took place in the city of Aberdeen, and the last hustings was erected in the borough of Wakefield.

Nomination Days.—The old nomination days were abolished by the Ballot Act of 1872. They did not, however, pass away without a strong effort being made for their retention. On the bringing up of the report of the committee, Mr. Sclater-Booth moved that the clause dispensing with the ancient practice in nominations (clause 1) should be struck out of the bill. Here ensued a discussion in which some peculiar facts were disclosed. Mr. Bernal Osborne said: "In my opinion, one of the most valuable clauses in the bill is that which proposes to abolish nominations. The honourable gentleman talked about the voices of the electors. As if the individual voice of an elector were ever heard at a nomination, and as if there were not a general agreement to roar, to hiss, and become debased with drink! The true-born Englishman is said to delight in that day. Now, who are the true-born Englishmen who take part in the proceedings at nominations? Why, the representatives of muscular Christianity—prize-fighters and people of that sort. I have spent as much money in retaining the services of those gentlemen as anybody in this House. (Much laughter.) One of my most efficient supporters in Nottingham was a gentleman who was always clothed as a clergyman of the Church of England, but who was really an ex-champion of England, Bendigo by name. This is a sample of your true-born Englishman on whose behalf we are to strike out the first clause. . . The honourable gentleman said in the simplicity of his heart that we might do away with open-air meetings, and hold the nomination in some hall or public room. Why, you would be worse off there than you would be in the open air. On the hustings it is possible to dodge the missiles, but what are you to do in a small town-hall, where, perhaps, the galleries are stormed *vi et armis* by opposing forces, and there is a general shindy? Immemorial custom indeed! I know it is a custom which often breeds disorder and riot. It is true wisdom to get rid of these immemorial customs, and thus make the proceedings at elections more quiet and orderly."—On the other hand, Mr. Bouverie (one of the most influential members of the House) said, "If the House accepted this clause, a nomination would become so like a

funeral that they might as well have the parish church bell tolled during the proceedings." On a division, the clause was retained by 253 against 177.

Hours of Polling.—By an Act passed in 1878 (known as Sir Charles Dilke's Act) the time for polling in the boroughs of the metropolis was extended from 4 to 8 p.m. In June, 1879, a bill was brought in by Mr. Chamberlain, to make the same extension in all boroughs and all kinds of elections throughout the United Kingdom. It was opposed by the Government, and rejected by 190 to 165.

Largest Number of Votes Polled.—At the election of a member for Liverpool in February, 1880, upwards of 50,000 votes were polled between two candidates, out of a total number of 63,946 on the electoral list. This was the largest number up to that time ever polled in a constituency of Great Britain. Deducting between three and four hundred "spoiled votes," the numbers officially declared were—for Mr. Whitley (Conservative), 26,106; for Lord Ramsay (Liberal), 23,885; majority for Whitley, 2,221.

Election Riots in 1880.—The elections of 1880 were in many cases accompanied by scenes of great violence. At several of the towns—for instance, Rotherham, Leamington, and Dorchester—the Riot Act was read; and at others, including Chester, Kendal, Abingdon, and Chard, the proceedings of the mob were of a most threatening character, and much damage was done to property. At Dundee a candidate, attempting to address a meeting at the harbour, was saved by the arrival of the police from being hustled into the docks; and at Kirkwall, Mr. Pender, the only candidate for the Wick Boroughs, was attacked in his carriage, and an attempt was made to run it into the sea, but frustrated by an accident happening to the vehicle, which gave time for its owner's friends to interpose and deliver him.

Riotous Elections Cancelled.—The House of Commons has frequently cancelled elections on the ground of riot prevailing at the time. Nov. 6, 1722, it was "Resolved, that it appears to this House that there were notorious and outrageous riots and tumults at the late election of citizens to serve in Parliament for the city of Westminster, in defiance of the laws of this realm, and in violation of the freedom of elections." The election was therefore declared void, new writs being issued. A similar decision was given in 1702 in the case of Southwark, where the additional circumstance was noted that the riot was committed by the servants and agents of the persons returned. Coventry was also a conspicuous offender, its elections being cancelled for rioting in 1706, 1722, and 1736; and on the second occasion several persons of standing were committed to custody as the "authors, contrivers, and promoters" of the tumults.

An Election Return Stolen by Highwaymen.—This occurred in 1740. Mr. Charles Trelawney had been elected for Liskeard, but could not take his seat, as the proper document was not forthcoming. The under-sheriff of Cornwall, being in town, was ordered to attend the House, and having explained the circumstances, the counterpart of the indenture

executed by the Sheriff was admitted as sufficient return, "it appearing to this House that the writ, and the principal part of the aforesaid indenture, were taken away, in coming up to the Clerk of the Crown, by highwaymen, who destroyed the same by burning them." ("Determinations of the House of Commons concerning Elections," 1753.)

Vexatious Election Petitions.—The presentation of such petitions has been visited at times by the signal displeasure of the House. We find it recorded: "March 4, 1695.—Resolved, that Sir Richard Gipps, having preferred to the House a frivolous, vexatious, and groundless petition relating to the election of members to serve for the borough of Totnes, be taken into custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms." He was also to defray the costs of the members petitioned against. In the month of December in the same year, Sir George Meggot was ordered into the Serjeant's custody for having preferred a groundless and vexatious petition relating to the borough of Southwark, and for "having scandalised this House in declaring 'That, without being duly chosen, he had friends now in the House to bring him into this House.'" In the following year, Sir George Meggot was again committed to custody, for breach of privilege in having prosecuted at law two persons for what they had testified before the election committee in the previous session.

Trial of Election Petitions by the Judges.—The bill transferring the hearing of election petitions from committees of the House of Commons to the judges, was introduced by Mr. Disraeli when Chancellor of the Exchequer, in February, 1868. It was the subject of an emphatic protest addressed by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn to the Lord Chancellor of the day (Lord Chelmsford), asking, among other things, "Is a judge to set aside her Majesty's commission, and leave the gaols undelivered and causes untried, while he is occupied in investigating the unclean doings in a corrupt borough?" Extra judges were appointed under the Act, and they commenced their labours on the meeting of a new Parliament in 1869.

Minority Representation.—The representation of minorities was introduced by the Reform Act of 1867, which provides that two votes only shall be given by each elector in a place returning three members, and three votes in the City of London, which returns four. In June, 1870, Mr. Hardcastle brought in a bill for abolishing this system. On a division, the numbers for and against it were equal—181. The Speaker gave his casting vote, according to custom, in such a way that the question would again come before the House, and on a second division the bill was rejected by a majority of two. The places in which this system of voting is established are commonly termed "three-cornered" or "cocked-hat" constituencies.

Introduction of the Caucus System.—This plan, by which a section of the leading politicians in a district endeavour to control the result of an election, was introduced from America, and came into favour with the Liberal party after the defeat of that body in the general election of 1874. It is said to have originated in the meetings of some aggrieved ship-caulkers in Boston, U.S., about 1770. These gatherings were called

"*caulkers'* meetings," the expression being afterwards corrupted into *caucus*.

Caucus Dictation.—In July, 1880, the Hull Liberal Club wrote to the sitting members for the borough, Messrs. Norwood and Wilson, dictating the course they should adopt on a question pending before the House of Commons. Both these gentlemen had been returned in the Liberal interest, at the general election in the previous spring, by an immense majority over their Conservative opponents; and Mr. Norwood had represented the borough for many years. He wrote to the chairman of the club, in reply: "I feel it due to myself at once to intimate to you that, so far as I am concerned, it will be unnecessary for your association to issue its mandates until it learns to adopt a tone which any gentleman has a right to expect." Mr. Wilson also returned an indignant letter, saying, "There is no inducement for me to be in Parliament unless I have the sympathy and confidence of my supporters; and I beg you will convey to the Liberal Association my sense of the undesirable relations which would exist between us if my conduct is to be criticised and my course of action dictated in such a spirit."*

Westminster Elections.—Many interesting anecdotes respecting these are on record. "It is curious" (says Isaac D'Israeli) "to observe that the Westminster elections, in the fourth year of Charles's reign (1629), were exactly of the same turbulent character as those which we witness in our days. The duke (of Buckingham) had counted by his interest to bring in Sir Robert Pye. The contest was severe, but accompanied by some of those ludicrous electioneering scenes which still amuse the mob. Whenever Sir Robert Pye's party cried, 'A Pye! a Pye! a Pye!' the adverse party would cry, 'A pudding! a pudding! a pudding!' and others, 'A lie! a lie! a lie!' This Westminster election ended as we have seen some; they rejected all who had urged the payment of the loans; and, passing by such men as Sir Robert Cotton and their last representative, they fixed on a brewer and a grocer for the two members for Westminster."

Putting an End to the Poll.—The Parliament expired with the session that closed April 25th, 1741, and a general election consequently ensued. Westminster had hitherto been a Government borough, and the nominees of the minister had been returned as a matter of course. Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Sandon, a lord of the Treasury, were proposed to be re-elected; but some of the electors were resolved to recover their representation, and Admiral Vernon and Mr. Edwin were put in nomination. The contest, although severe, seemed likely to terminate in favour of the ministerial candidates, since on the fifth day of polling they had a considerable majority; but on that day the high bailiff, Mr. John Lever, through cowardice or folly, put an end to the poll. Seeing a mob advancing to the hustings, bearing banners inscribed with the watchwords of the Opposition, he became alarmed either for his own safety or for the success of the Government candidates.

* See, under Edmund Burke, "Representative and Constituents," p. 151.

He mounted upon a form within the hustings, called out that he apprehended a riot was intended, and, ordering his clerks to shut their poll-books, ran into the vestry with them. The crowd, enraged at this interference, attacked Lord Sandon, who narrowly escaped with his life. Cooke, in his "History of Party," quotes the particulars of the affair from a "Review of the Westminster Election," which he observes "is of course grossly exaggerated for party purposes." There can be no question, however, that the Guards were called out, and sixty or seventy of them marched to Covent Garden churchyard, with drums beating and bayonets fixed, and drew up before the hustings. Several of the electors petitioned against the return of Sandon and Wager, whereupon, after an inquiry, the House ordered "That John Lever, Esq. (the high bailiff), Nathaniel Blackerby, George Howard, and Thomas Lediard, Esqs., justices, who ordered the soldiers to attend, be severally taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms." The order having been carried into effect, the delinquents were reprimanded on their knees by the Speaker, and then discharged, paying their fees.

A Dirty House.—Delinquents on their Knees.—Mr. R. Palgrave states that the practice of ordering delinquents on their knees was stopped by the obduracy of a Mr. Murray in February, 1750. Being ordered to kneel to receive the censure of the House for a breach of privilege, he refused, and his audacity being voted a high contempt, he was sent to Newgate, where he remained until set free by the prorogation, four months afterwards. No one (says Mr. Palgrave) was ever after compelled to kneel at the bar. Oldfield, however, records the following among other later instances. (See p. 383.) An election for the city of Westminster took place in 1751, when Lord Trentham was returned against Sir George Vandeport. Serious outrages having been committed by a mob, one of the ringleaders—Mr. Crowle, an attorney—was summoned before the House of Commons. The delinquent was commanded to kneel, and was duly reprimanded by the Speaker. On rising he wiped his knees, and said he had never been in so dirty a house before.

A Westminster Election described by a Foreigner.—C. P. Moritz, of Berlin, wrote as follows in 1782: "While I was in London, what is called 'hanging day' arrived. There was also a parliamentary election. I could only see one of the two sights, and therefore naturally preferred the latter, while I only heard tolling at a distance the death-bell of the sacrifice to justice. Mr. Fox is one of the two members for Westminster; one seat was vacant, and that vacancy was now to be filled. Sir Cecil Wray, whom Fox had before opposed to Lord Hood, was now publicly chosen. The election was held in Covent Garden, a large market-place, in the open air. In the area before the hustings immense multitudes of people were assembled, of whom the greatest part seemed to be of the lowest order. To this tumultuous crowd, however, the speakers often bowed very low, and always addressed them by the title of 'gentlemen.' The moment Sir Cecil Wray began to speak, this rude rabble became all as quiet as the raging sea after a storm—only every now and then rending the air with the parliamentary cry of 'Hear him! hear

him!' Even little boys clambered up and hung on the rails and on the lamp-posts; and, as if the speeches had been addressed to them, they also listened with the utmost attention, and they, too, testified their approbation of it by joining lustily in the three cheers, and waving their hats. At length, when it was nearly over, the people took it into their heads to hear Fox speak, and every one called out, 'Fox! Fox!' I know not why, but I seemed to catch some of the spirit of the place and time, and so I also bawled 'Fox! Fox!' and he was obliged to come forward and speak. When the whole was over, the rampant spirit of liberty, and the wild impatience of a genuine English mob, were exhibited in perfection. In a very few minutes the whole scaffolding, benches, and chairs, and everything else were completely destroyed, and the mat with which it had been covered torn into ten thousand long strips, or pieces, with which they encircled multitudes of people of all ranks. These they hurried along with them, and everything else that came in their way, as trophies of joy; and thus, in the midst of exultation and triumph, they paraded through many of the most populous streets of London."

Ladies on Canvass.—At the general election which took place consequent on the dissolution of Parliament in 1784, Fox appealed again to his old constituents at Westminster; so did Sir Cecil Wray. The Government set up Lord Hood as their candidate. It soon appeared that Lord Hood would be at the head of the poll, and that the real contest would be between Fox and Wray. The voters came forward slowly, and the poll continued open from day to day and from week to week—that is, from the 1st of April to the 17th of May. During this time every nerve was strained on either side. Several ladies of rank and fashion stood forth as Fox's friends—at their head, Georgiana, the eldest daughter of Earl Spencer, and the wife, since 1774, of the fifth Duke of Devonshire. Of great beauty and unconquerable spirit, she tried all her powers of persuasion on the shopkeepers of Westminster.* Other ladies who could not rival her beauty might at least follow her example. Scarce a street or alley which they did not canvass in behalf of him whom they persisted in calling "the Man of the People," at the very moment when the popular voice was declaring everywhere against him. The Prince of Wales rode through the streets of Westminster wearing Fox's colours. Pitt writes to Wilberforce on the 8th of April, "Westminster goes on well, in spite of the Duchess of Devonshire and the other Women of the People."—*Stanhope's "Life of Pitt."* Earl Russell observes, with respect to this election: "The Duchess of Devonshire canvassed for Mr. Fox, and contributed greatly, by her charms, her activity, and her zeal, to gain electors to his side. She was, in revenge, libelled in the grossest manner by the advocates of the Court candidates. At the end of the election there was an immense crowd collected for the chairing of Mr. Fox. He mounted a car; an immense procession followed, which was closed by the state-carriages of the Duchesses of Portland and Devonshire, drawn by six

* "Devon's kiss seduced a blacksmith's vote."
—*Lytton's "St. Stephen's."*

horses each. Mr. Fox descended from the car at Devonshire House, where the Prince of Wales and the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire were assembled on a temporary platform to receive him. He dined at Willis's Rooms, where he made a warm speech on the subject of the election. On the same day, the Prince of Wales, after attending the King at a review at Ascot, rode up St. James's-street in his uniform, and afterwards went to dine at Devonshire House, wearing Mr. Fox's colours and a laurel branch for victory. On the following day more festivities took place. The Prince of Wales gave a grand breakfast, which lasted from noon till six o'clock in the evening."

Pauper Proxies.—Stapleton writes: "I remember Canning's being very much amused when (having to deal with Knaresborough, then a close borough, in which the Duke of Devonshire's interest was paramount, and for which Mr. Tierney and Sir James Mackintosh were the members) he discovered the following sentence in a publication describing the borough: 'The members never appear at the elections, and it is the constant practice to chair two old paupers by way of proxies.' His merriment was unbounded at the idea of such grave old members of Parliament as Mr. Tierney and Sir James having those undignified representatives on these important occasions."

Caging the Voters.—I had to go to Kilkenny on the business of my own election (says Mr. John O'Connell, in his "Parliamentary Experiences"), and while there some 120 or 130 Carlow freeholders were sent in to our especial care. It appeared that the landlord practice at the Carlow elections had been to "sweep the countryside" of the voters several days before the election, and keep them comfortably under watch and ward within the demesne walls of one or other of the candidates, and so secure them from being operated upon by agitation. Refusal to submit to this species of abduction was considered as grave an offence as refusal to vote according to the landlord's wish, and punished accordingly. The popular party at the election of 1841 retaliated this practice on the landlords. For three whole weeks, as I have said, we had 120 or 130 voters of the neighbouring county snugly quartered in an old brewery in the city of Kilkenny, fed most abundantly, entertained during the day with the music of the temperance bands of the city, and during the evening with political speechification—a strong and active watch of true Kilkenny boys being meanwhile maintained within and without, day and night, to prevent desertions and invasions. The feats of swallowing which some of these poor fellows accomplished during the two or three first days, while they were quite new to good feeding, and our commissariat was not sufficiently regulated, were wonderful. On the day of nomination at Carlow we set out from Kilkenny with our "caged birds," to traverse the twenty-two Irish miles intervening between us and the scene of action. First came a stage-coach, loaded with the "agitators"—Carlow and Kilkenny men intermixed; then one of Bianconi's long stage-cars, with a temperance band to enliven us on the road; then twenty jaunting-cars, with the voters, and a "guard" car bringing up the rear. On either side we had an escort of county Kilkenny farmers, on their stout hacks, to

guard our convoy from any guerilla charges that the enemy might take it into their heads to make.

Disorderly Electors.—I recollect (once said Mr. Bright) an election for the borough of Carlow. There were two troops of dragoons, two companies of infantry, and one hundred and fifty police; the whole of this force having, during the period of the election, been engaged in keeping the peace in a town which comprised only two hundred electors.

A Carlow Election in 1880.—At the general election in 1880, Carlow sustained its previous reputation. While the voting for the county representatives was proceeding, one of the candidates (Col. Bruen) was attacked in his committee-room, and with difficulty effected his escape, after receiving a cut over the eye, and having his hat smashed in by a stone. Another gentleman received a dangerous hurt from a blow on the forehead. The streets of the town in the evening had repeatedly to be cleared by the police charging with the bayonet. During this election also, at a meeting held in a village near Ossory, the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Gray) being one of the candidates, he stated that parcels of dynamite had been placed under the platform, and fortunately discovered before the time appointed for the proceedings.

An Election for Waterford.—In February, 1870, an election took place for the city of Waterford, Mr. Bernal Osborne and Mr. Smyth being the candidates, when the former gentleman was returned by a narrow majority. A writer in the *Times* gave the following account of the proceedings, and the scene which followed: "A large force of infantry, cavalry, and police had been marched into the town, and a most able stipendiary magistrate sent to preside over their movements. The day of polling was as usual at an Irish election; voters escorted to the poll by dragoons; politicians obnoxious to the 'national' party stoned and beaten in the public streets. I was drinking tea last night when an avalanche of paving stones shattered the entire front of the windows, and the roar of an enormous mob announced that the town was at their mercy. The hotel was attacked, and an omnibus propelled against the entrance-door with the view of breaking it in. Some shots were fired through the shutters into the hall. During a period of two hours not a policeman or a soldier appeared. The inmates of the hotel barricaded the hall-door with mattresses, and, with such arms as could be procured on the instant, stood ranged on the staircase prepared to sell their lives dearly. After a most anxious interval, a force of police arrived, but no magistrate could be found, and—tell it not in England—the police actually looked on, almost 'standing at ease,' while houses were wrecked and stores set on fire. Neither a soldier nor a magistrate came to the spot, and the town through the night was left in the hands of a mob more resembling a horde of Cherokee Indians than Christian men. Several stores were set on fire; the market-house on the quay was burnt; the chapel of the Dominican Friars completely wrecked, and the houses of all the principal supporters of Mr. Osborne attacked, and wrecked; one in particular was broken into and gutted, the furniture broken up and thrown into the road, the mob dancing on the piano before destroying it."

Intimidation in Galway.—In May, 1872, Mr. Justice Keogh, who had been trying a petition respecting a recent election for the county of Galway, gave a decision which attracted great attention, and caused much excitement in Ireland. In the course of his judgment, which occupied nine hours in delivery, he said that, after carefully examining the whole evidence, he was convinced that it presented the most astonishing attempts at ecclesiastical tyranny which the whole history of priestly intolerance afforded. Both Catholics and Protestants had been intimidated from voting. Shots had been fired into houses; gentry had been hunted through the fields, and one nobleman had been obliged to absent himself from chapel, in order that he might not hear himself defamed from the altar. Sir Arthur Guinness had fought his way to the polling booths at the head of twenty-seven men, and several of them had been injured. He declared Captain Nolan unseated, and reported the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, Bishops of Galway and Clonfert, and a number of priests, as guilty of intimidation. A few days after, the Dublin Court of Common Pleas declared Captain French entitled to the seat from which Captain Nolan had been ousted. Mr. Gladstone's Government determined to prosecute the Bishop of Clonfert and nineteen priests for illegal practices at the election; but the bishop and two others being acquitted on trial, the remaining prosecutions were abandoned.

A Preposterous Request.—Mr. John O'Connell relates the following: The candidate for a county representation in the west of Ireland had asked a friend of his—a gentleman resident and greatly liked in the part of the county which he was going to visit—to accompany him on a ride to visit and canvass the farmer voters. They drew up their horses at the door of one farmhouse, where stood a stout and sturdy yeoman waiting to be wooed. The candidate, with all the deferential urbanity *de rigueur* on such occasions, raised his hat, and respectfully expressed his hope that he might have the honour of Mr. ——'s vote and support at the next election. "Oh, well, Mr. F., I am sure I respect you and your family, sir, very much; but before I promise my vote I'd like to hear, sir, what are your *prenciples*." Mr. F. was about to answer, with undiminished urbanity, when his canvassing friend and aid-de-camp pulled him back, and, craning over the neck of his horse, opened a broadside on the astonished farmer. "His *principles!* You ask a gentleman like Mr. F. his principles! Get along with you! A pretty pass things are come to when Mr. F. must stop on the road to tell you his principles! Come away, F.; pitch the fellow, and his vote, and his principles to the d—— together, and don't be losing your time." "Oh, my dear ——," said the candidate, as soon as he got breath again, after the double effects of laughter and the smart canter into which his indignant aid-de-camp had forced the horses, "you're an excellent fellow, and I am much obliged for your offer to assist me; but, unless you want me to lose my election, never more be canvasser of mine."

A Hustings Speech Plagiarised.—Perhaps the queerest election that occurred in the three kingdoms in 1832–33 (says Mr. John O'Connell) was that of Feargus O'Connor, for the county of Cork. In his canvass he

was assisted by his cousin, O'Neill Daunt, then standing, and afterwards elected, for the borough of Mallow. Between them both the plan of taking county and borough aristocrats simultaneously by surprise had been concocted and carried out with infinite cleverness; but Daunt, although far superior to O'Connor in information and general ability, was no match for him in dexterity. He had a proof of it on one occasion in particular, when, as both stood on the hustings, Daunt, to his dismay and horror, had to listen while Feargus delivered, *ore rotundo*, and greatly to the admiration of the multitude, the very speech that Daunt himself had carefully prepared for that occasion; Feargus having, daring their journey to the place of meeting, industriously and successfully pumped his unsuspecting companion of all his treasured eloquence.

The Less Exceeding the Greater.—Amongst the elder O'Connell's anecdotes was one of the son of a Wexford elector, whose father had been promised patronage by a member of the Loftus family, in return for a vote. The father's ambition aimed at a sergeantcy in the artillery. Lord Loftus, on applying for this post for the youth, was informed that it was totally impossible to grant his request, inasmuch as it required a previous service of six years to qualify a candidate for the sergeantcy. "Does it require six years' service to qualify him for a lieutenant?" demanded Lord Loftus. "Certainly not," was the answer. "Well, can't you make him a lieutenant, then?" rejoined his lordship. "Whereupon," said O'Connell, laughing heartily, "the fellow was made a lieutenant, for no better reason than just because he wasn't fit to be a sergeant."

An "Intimidating" Visage.—During the Clare election in 1828, when Mr. Daniel O'Connell and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald were the candidates, an attorney employed by Mr. Fitzgerald rushed in and exclaimed that a priest was terrifying the voters. This accusation produced a powerful effect. The counsel for Mr. O'Connell defied the attorney to make out his charge. The assessor required that the priest should attend; and behold Father Murphy, of Carofin. His solemn aspect struck everybody. He advanced with fearlessness to the bar, behind which the sheriff was seated, and inquired, with a smile of derision, what the charge was which had been preferred against him. "You were looking at my voters," cried the attorney. "But I said nothing," replied the priest; "and I suppose I may be permitted to look at my parishioners." "Not with such a face as that!" cried Mr. O'Doherty, one of Mr. Fitzgerald's counsel. This produced a loud laugh; for the countenance of Father Murphy was fraught with no ordinary terrors. At this instant one of the agents of Mr. O'Connell precipitated himself into the room, and cried out, "Mr. Sheriff, we have no fair play; Mr. Singleton is frightening his tenants. He caught hold of one of them just now, and threatened vengeance against him." This accusation came *apropos*. "What!" exclaimed the advocate of Mr. O'Connell, "is this to be endured? Do we live in a free country, and under a constitution? Is a landlord to commit a battery with impunity, and is a priest to be indicted for his physiognomy, and to be found guilty of a look?" Thus was obtained a valuable set-off against Father Murphy's eyebrows.

Swearing an Irish Elector.—The following scene is described by Mr. John O'Connell, in his "Parliamentary Experiences;" the actors being the sheriff's deputy, presiding in the polling-booth, his clerk, the voter, and occasionally one or other of the attorneys or election agents there stationed. Clerk: "Now, repeat the words after me. 'I, Patrick O'Shaughnessy ——'" Voter: "Yis, that's me." Deputy: "That won't do, voter; you must say exactly as the clerk says." Voter: "Yis, your honour; I will, sir." Clerk: "I, Patrick O'Shaughnessy, do swear ——" Voter: "Yis, I do." Clerk: "Come, come, you stupid fellow, repeat the words after me. 'I, Patrick O'Shaughnessy,'" &c. &c. Voter: "Well, anything for a quiet life. 'I, Patrick O'Shaughnessy, do swear ——'" Clerk: "'That I am the same Patrick O'Shaughnessy whose name appears in this certificate.'" Voter: "That I am—the same ——. Arrah! (indignantly) to be sure I am! Who else could I be? Is it wanting to make game of me you are?" Deputy: "Come, come, voter; I'll send you off the table if you don't do as you're bid, and not be wasting our time in this manner. Repeat after the clerk, sir, as you are told, or I won't take your vote at all." Voter: "Well, sure I will, sir—I will! This is a poor case, now. Well; 'that I am the same,' &c. &c. Will that plaze ye?" Clerk: "Silence, sir! 'And that I have not before voted at this election.'" Voter: "No! the divil a vote! Well, you know it yourself that I wasn't up here before to-day," &c. &c. Again, when the bribery oath is being put. Clerk: "'And that I have not received anything, nor has any one in trust for me.'" Voter: "No; the dickens a hap'orth; nor any one for me either! Troth, if I was going to sell my conscience that way, it's little I'd thrust to another to resave the valley for me!" &c. &c. At length the poor clerk gets him to the end of the oath, and the formula of kissing the book is gone through. This is the signal for a new difficulty. Up starts the opposing attorney, ripe and ready for a row, and protests that the man did not "kiss fair;" that he "kissed his thumb" instead of the book. At such an imputation upon his honesty and due regard for his oath, the indignation of the voter knows no bounds. "Kiss my thumb, indeed! Kiss your granny! Truth, then, if *you* only said yer prayers this fine mornin' as surely as I kissed the book, the ould boy below wouldn't have the howld of yer sowl that he has, Misther Attorney!" Here the sensitive professional appeals to the deputy for protection, amid the shouts of laughter of the people in the body of the court, while his learned brother at the other side jumps up, quite as smartly, to argue the matter with him. The deputy storms; the police vainly shout for silence; and meantime the voter quietly slips away, perfectly satisfied with himself, since he had an opportunity of giving an answer to his assailant, and greatly rejoicing in the confusion he has created.

An Irish Election Bill.—The following bill was sent by an innkeeper at Trim to Sir Mark Somerville, who had given an order that all persons who voted for him in a contested election for Meath should be boarded and lodged at his expense. The bill, it is said, is still kept in a frame at the family seat:—

"16th April, 1826.

My Bill

To eating 16 freeholders above stairs for Sir Marks at 3*s.* 3*d.* a-head is to me £2 12*s.*

To eating 16 more below stairs and 2 priests after supper is to me £2 15*s.* 9*d.*

To 6 beds in one room and 4 in a nother at 2 guineas every bed, and not more than four in any bed at any time cheap enough God knows is to me £22 15*s.*

To 18 horses and 5 mules about my yard all night at 13*s.* every one of them and for a man which was lost on the head of watching them all night is to me £5 5*s.*

For breakfast on tay in the morning for every one of them and as many more as they brought as near as I can guess is to me £4 12*s.*

To raw whiskey and punch without talking of pipes tobacco as well as for porter and as well as for breaking a pot above stairs and other glasses and delf for the first day and night I am not sure but for the three days and a half of the election as little as I can call it and to be very exact it is in all or thereabouts as near as I can guess and not to be too particular is to me at least £79 15*s.* 9*d.*

For shaving and crapping off the heads of the 49 freeholders for Sir Marks at 13*d.* for every head of them by my brother had a Wote is to me £2 13*s.* 1*d.* For a womit and nurse for poor Tom Kernan in the middle of the night when he was not expected is to me ten hogs.

I don't talk of the piper or for keeping him sober as long as he was sober is to me £0.

The Total			
2	12	0	0
2	15	0	9
22	15	0	0
5	5	0	0
4	12	0	0
79	15	0	9
2	13	0	1
	10	10	
		0	0

Signed
in the place Jemmy Cars wife
his
Bryan X Garraty
Mark.

£110 18 7 you may say £111 0 0 so your Honour Sir Marks send me this eleven hundred by Bryan himself who and I prays for your success always in Trim and no more at present."

PRIVILEGE.*

Freedom from Arrest.—Oldfield relates that in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1543) George Ferrers, Esq., member for Plymouth, was arrested for debt and committed to prison, under the orders of the judges of the King's Bench. The House, on receiving information of the fact, sent their Serjeant to demand their member. In the execution of his orders he met with resistance, his mace was broken, and his assistant knocked down. In consequence, the Sheriff of London and those who were concerned in the arrests were brought before the House, when some of them were committed to the Tower, others to Newgate, where they remained until they were discharged on the petition of the Lord Mayor.

Protecting an Unworthy Member.—In February, 1558, there was an inquiry into a complaint that John Smith, returned burgess for Camelford, had come to the House, being outlawed, and had deceived divers merchants in London, taking wares of them to the sum of 300*l.*, minding to defraud them of the same under colour of privilege. The complaint was reported to be true, and the House divided on the question that he should be allowed privilege. The ayes were 112, the noes 107. Prynne says, "How honourable this vote was for the House in the case of such a cheating member, carried only by five votes, is not fit for me to determine."

Dishonest Use of the Privilege.—In 1807, a Mr. Mills wrote to the Speaker stating that he was under arrest. He was held entitled to his privilege, and on motion discharged out of the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench, although it was notorious that he had purchased his seat to escape payment of his debts, which amounted to 23,000*l.* Another case of similar kind was that of a Mr. Bourke, who, being confined in the King's Bench in execution for a considerable debt, procured, through the instrumentality of some friends, his return for a pocket borough, but never went near the House, for he had horses ready at the door of the prison on his release, started direct for the Continent, and never returned.

Lord Cochrane's Arrest in the House of Commons.—The attention of the House of Commons was called, on March 21st, 1815, to a singular circumstance connected with the subject of arrest. Lord Cochrane, who was a prisoner in the King's Bench, during his confinement had been re-elected for Westminster, and, having contrived to escape from prison, he went to the clerks' room in the House of Commons, where members were usually sworn previously to taking the oaths at the table of the house. Being informed that it was necessary he should have with him the certificate of his return, he sent for it from the Crown Office, and

* See also the references in the Index, under this heading, to the other sections of the book.

then went into the house, where he seated himself on the bench at the right hand of the chair, no member at that time being present, and prayers not having been read. The marshal of the King's Bench, having been apprised where his lordship was to be found, now entered with two or three of his officers, and carried him back to prison, notwithstanding his remonstrance that they had no right to lay hands on him in that place. After the House was assembled, the Speaker informed them that he had received a letter from William Jones, Esq., marshal of the King's Bench prison, which he read. Its purpose was to acquaint the House with what he had done, and that he was in waiting to receive their commands on the occasion, humbly hoping that he had not committed any breach of privilege by the step he had taken. The question was referred to a Committee of Privileges, who reported "That, under the peculiar circumstances given in evidence, it does not appear that the privileges of Parliament have been violated, so as to call for the interposition of the House by any proceedings against the marshal of the King's Bench."

Duration of the Immunity from Arrest.—A remarkable case, concerning the freedom from arrest, was decided by Vice-Chancellor Sir Charles Hall in April, 1880. On March 24, the day on which Parliament was dissolved, a motion was made before the Vice-Chancellor to commit Mr. Fortescue Harrison, at that moment M.P. for Kilmarnock, for contempt of court in not complying with an order of the Chancery Division in regard to certain transactions in which he was concerned. Mr. Harrison's counsel raised the preliminary objection that as a member of Parliament his client was privileged from arrest, and this objection was sustained by the Vice-Chancellor. Parliament was dissolved within a few hours of this decision, and the question then arose whether its privilege still protected Mr. Harrison. On the 15th of April this question was argued, and the Vice-Chancellor held that the period claimed by Parliament had been legally defined by the Court of Exchequer as a period of forty days before and after the meeting of Parliament. His honour said it was clear time must be given for an ex-member to return home before his privilege expired. Was this time indefinite and uncertain, or definite? An indefinite period would be very inconvenient, and that being so, having regard to the fact that the only case which mentioned any particular time, Duncombe's case, gave forty days as the term during which the privilege extended, he must hold that Mr. Harrison was still entitled to privilege, twenty-three only having expired since the dissolution. The motion must therefore be refused, but that would not prevent the liquidator from again moving against Mr. Harrison when the full term had expired.

Committal of Members by the Law Courts.—Mr. Whalley, member for Peterborough, having in 1874 been committed by the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench (Sir A. Cockburn) for contempt of court, and fined 250*l.*, a letter from the Chief Justice to the Speaker, notifying the circumstances, was read to the House on the first meeting of the Parliament in that year, and, the explanation being accepted as satisfactory, the House declined to interfere. In a similar case in 1837, Mr.

Lechmere Charlton having been committed, the House, "as sole and exclusive judge of its own privileges," claimed to be informed of the nature of the offence, and having received the information, a committee of privileges reported that Mr. Charlton's claim to be discharged ought not to be admitted. In another case, in 1831, Lord Chancellor Brougham laid it down that a committal by order of the court was "no violation of the privileges of Parliament if the members of Parliament have violated the rights and privileges of this court, which is of as high a dominion and as undisputed a jurisdiction as the High Court of Parliament itself."

Protection of Servants.—On the 8th of February, 1620, a complaint was made in the Commons (writes Sir T. E. May) that two of the members' pages had been punished for misbehaviour in the Court of King's Bench. It was stated, however, that the judges had sent one of the offenders to be punished by the House, and would send the other when he could be found; "and yet, but for respect for this House, they would have indicted them for stroke in face of the court; and many for less offences have lost their hands."

Arresting the Servant of a Member.—On the 4th of June, 1621 (says Hatsell), the House is informed of Johnson, Sir James Whitlock's man, being arrested. The parties are immediately called to the bar, and heard on their knees in their defence; and after a variety of propositions for various degrees of punishment, it is ordered upon the question, "That they shall both ride upon one horse, bare-backed, back to back, from Westminster to the Exchange, with papers on their breasts with this inscription, 'For arresting a servant to a member of the Commons House of Parliament;' and this to be done presently, *sedente Curiâ*."

A Rank Abuse of Privilege.—John Selden, in the "Table Talk," thus refers to an abuse which was prevalent in his time: "The Lords giving protections is a scorn upon them. A protection means nothing actively, but passively: he that is a servant to a Parliament man is thereby protected. What a scorn it is to a person of honour to put his hand to two lyes at once; that 'such a man is my servant, and imployed by me,' when haply he never saw the man in his life, nor before never heard of him." A later instance of the abuse which justly excited Selden's scorn is given by Mr. R. Palgrave: "A foreign lady married an Englishman of some wealth, and she had, unfortunately, to take proceedings against her husband. He was a man of property—his income was £2000 a year—but he would not pay his wife what he owed her. The court of law declared the debt to be just; she was compelled to enforce her claim by arrest; and then her husband turned round against her. He had the audacity to pretend that he was a menial servant in the household of a member of Parliament, and the pretence had its effect; no one dared to arrest him, as it would be a breach of parliamentary privilege to do so. The evidence that this gentleman was the menial servant of a member of Parliament was clear enough; he held a protection from arrest, signed by a member, one Colonel Wanklyn. This paper was drawn up in the grandest style; it was addressed to all 'sheriffs, undersheriffs, gaolers, bailiffs, constables,' and threatening them with the

vengeance of the House of Commons if they arrested his servant, this rich man of £2000 a year. Defeat of justice like that was beyond endurance. The House of Commons, in a just fit of indignation, immediately expelled such an unworthy member as Colonel Wanklyn, and he was led out of the house weeping for shame."

Servants' Protection allowed to Lapse.—The protection from arrest, as to servants of members, came to an end in the reign of George III. An Act was then passed expressly declaring the immunity of members, but making no such reservation in the case of their servants; and thus, says Sir T. E. May, "without any distinct abrogation of the privilege, it was in fact put an end to, as executions were not to be stayed in their favour, and their freedom from arrest was not reserved."

The Privilege of Free Speech.—In the reign of William III., Colonel Churchill complained, in the House of Commons, of receiving a summons to attend the Board of Admiralty the night before, stating, "When I was called in, the Lords accused me of what I said here, that some persons in the fleet were cowards. I know not that I am to answer anywhere for what I say here but to the House." The assembled Commons were instantly in a flame, several members asserting that there was an end of privilege "if officers, many of whom had seats, were to be called to account for what might be said or done there." It appeared on inquiry that Colonel Churchill had used elsewhere the words complained of, and a satisfactory explanation was given, that a man in the fleet had been condemned to be shot as a coward, that the King had been petitioned for pardon, and that the board wished to ascertain from Colonel Churchill whether he were a fit subject for pardon. A resolution proposed by Sir Charles Musgrave, "That no member be examined for what he has said here," was negatived on the judicious objection of Colonel Titus: "Do you think that this is a new privilege? This is calling that in question that was ever out of question!" The House, having vindicated the privilege beyond cavil, allowed the subject to drop, with a rebuke from the Speaker to the Board of Admiralty, inculcating more caution for the future: "It had been civil and reasonable for the board to inform Colonel Churchill they had no intent to interrogate him as to anything said in the House."

Abusing Freedom of Speech.—In 1621, a Mr. Edward Floyde was punished by the House of Commons for a breach of privilege, in having scoffed at the son-in-law and daughter of the King (James I.). The sentence is thus reported:—1. Not to bear arms as a gentleman, nor be a competent witness in any court of justice. 2. To ride with his face to a horse's tail, to stand in the pillory, and have his ears nailed, &c. 3. To be whipped at the cart's tail. 4. To be fined £5000. 5. To be perpetually imprisoned in Newgate. It was put to the question, first, whether Floyde should be whipped or not, because he was a gentleman; yet it was agreed, *per plures*, that he should be whipped. Then it was put to the question whether Floyde's ears should be nailed to the pillory or not, and agreed, *per plures*, not to be nailed.

An Ingenious Evasion.—In the reign of Anne, Sir William

Whitelocke, member for the University of Oxford, referring to the Act of Settlement, made the remark, "Should the Elector of Hanover succeed to the throne, which I hope he never will——." The conclusion of his sentence was drowned in shouts of "To the bar! To the bar!" But he recovered his presence of mind in the clamour, and refused to apologise, saying, "The Queen is younger in years than the Elector, and I merely expressed a loyal hope that she might survive him." His words clearly admitted of this explanation, and he was excused, although many of the same mind with himself applauded his ingenuity.

"The Mildest Censure."—On the 5th of April, 1715, a fortnight after the House had met, a motion was made to take into consideration George the First's proclamation of the 15th of January for the calling of a new Parliament. The new monarch having been made to express his conviction "that his loving people would send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and therein have a particular regard to such as showed a firmness to the Protestant succession when it was most in danger," Sir William Wyndham complained of this proclamation as "not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments." When called upon to justify his charge, he declined giving any particular explanation, but repeated that, "as he thought some expressions in the proclamation of dangerous consequence, so he believed every member was free to speak his thoughts." In this belief (says Mr. W. C. Townsend) the Opposition orator found himself wholly mistaken. Mr. Walpole, himself fresh from the Tower, could with difficulty ward off the same unjust punishment for uttering unwelcome truths, a rampant majority being determined to fix some mark of their displeasure upon a Jacobite professed. It was moved "that Sir William Wyndham, having reflected upon his Majesty's proclamation, and having refused to justify his charge, although often called upon so to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his Majesty, and a breach of the privileges of this House." After three divisions, it was decided, by 212 against 138, that he be reprimanded in his place. The Speaker, Sir S. Compton, acquainted him with the resolution, sitting in the chair covered, and Sir William standing up uncovered: "Sir, the arraigning a proclamation issued by his Majesty for calling the present Parliament, and refusing to assign any cause why such proclamation is blameable, the House thought an indignity to his Majesty, and so unwarrantable an use of that freedom of speech which is the undoubted privilege of Parliament, that the House thought they could not let it pass without animadversion; but, being willing their moderation should appear, notwithstanding their lenity has been too much despised and contemned, they have inflicted the mildest censure your offence was capable of, and have commanded me to reprimand you in your place; and, in obedience to their command, I do reprimand you accordingly." Whereupon Sir William Wyndham said: "Mr. Speaker, I very truly return my thanks to you for performing that duty which is incumbent upon you, from your office, in so candid and gentlemanlike a manner. As I am a member, I know I must acquiesce in the determination of the House; but, as I am not conscious to myself of

having offered any indignity to his Majesty, or of having been guilty of any breach of the privilege of the House, I have no thanks to return to those gentlemen who, under a pretence of lenity, have brought me under this censure."

A Reprimand for Breach of Privilege.—The reprimand of an offender at the bar is sometimes an occasion of much solemnity. By him (says Mr. R. Palgrave) stands the Serjeant-at-Arms, holding up in air the sceptre of gilded silver that is called a mace. In the far distance at the end of the great hall, raised on high, sits the Speaker; in solemn tones he questions the offender; so frightened, indeed, was one poor fellow that he fell down on the floor of the house in a convulsive fit. Then the House directs the Speaker to give his reprimand, and the prisoner is perhaps led away with such words ringing in his ears as those addressed by Mr. Speaker Abbot to Sir W. Rawlins, Sheriff of Middlesex, in 1805: "Because you have, in defiance of the law of this country, knowingly and wilfully violated at once the privileges of this House, and the just constitution of Parliament, you are committed to the gaol of Newgate, the common receptacle of malefactors, there to remain a prisoner—a signal proof of the power and justice of this House, an indelible disgrace upon you, and a memorable example to others."

Speaking against a Member.—A curious question of privilege was brought before the House of Commons in December, 1640, by a petition from Leicestershire concerning an affront given to Sir Arthur Hazlerig, member for that county, at his election, by a Mr. Richard Holford. This person, it appears, had said, "They had chosen a man for the knight of the shire who had more will than wit, and it was to the disparagement of the county." Sir John Northcote thus notes the proceedings which followed: "Called in, says that if he made no better speech than the last he heard, they would have little cause to joy in their choice.—Lord Grey of Groby (member for Leicester): That he is no gentleman. That in memory of divers he kept hogs.—Sir A. Hazlerig: That the petition moved not from him, nor expects reparation. Offence to the House, because after election; and to the county.—*Ordered*, to be sent to the Tower, to make humble submission, to be drawn here in house, and at Leicester assizes, and go to Tower."

A Member Denouncing Fellow Members.—In February, 1880, Sir Charles Russell, member for Westminster, complained to the House that a handbill addressed to his constituents had been circulated by Mr. Plimsoll, member for Derby, in which his conduct in giving notice to oppose the Merchant Shipping Bill of the latter gentleman was stigmatised as inhuman and degrading. He represented this as an attempt to coerce and intimidate him in the discharge of his duties, and moved a resolution to that effect. A like complaint was made by another member. The discussion having been adjourned for two or three days to give time for consideration, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir S. Northcote) then moved, as a substitute for Sir Charles Russell's resolution, the following: "That in the opinion of this House the conduct of the honourable member for Derby, in publishing printed placards denouncing the part taken by two

members of this House in the proceedings of this House, was calculated to interfere with the due discharge of the duties of a member of this House, and is a breach of its privileges. But the House, having regard to the withdrawal by the honourable member for Derby of the expressions to which the honourable and gallant member for Westminster had drawn its attention, is of opinion that no further action on its part is necessary." The motion was warmly opposed, but eventually carried by 182 to 116.

A Challenge in the Peers.—In November, 1780 (writes Campbell), an affair of honour was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Chancellor Thurlow, as a breach of privilege. The Earl of Pomfret, erroneously supposing that a gamekeeper whom he had discharged had been countenanced by the Duke of Grafton, wrote some very intemperate letters to his grace, and insisted on fighting him, either with sword or pistol. Thurlow, on the rumour of what had happened, moved that they should attend in their places in the house; and both parties being heard, it was resolved that the behaviour of the Duke of Grafton had been highly laudable and meritorious; and Lord Pomfret, being made to kneel at the bar, was informed that he had been guilty of "a high contempt of the House."

The Privilege of Franking Letters.—This was first proposed when a Post-office Bill was before Parliament in 1660. The "Parliamentary History" says: "Sir Walter Earle delivered a proviso, for the letters of all members of Parliament to go free during their sitting. Sir Heneage Finch said 'it was a poor, mendicant proviso, and below the honour of the House.' Mr. Prynne spoke also against the proviso; Mr. Bunckley, Mr. Boscawen, Sir George Downing, and Serjeant Charlton, for it—the latter saying the counsels' letters were free. The question being called for, the Speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, was unwilling to put it, saying he was ashamed of it; nevertheless the proviso was carried, and made part of the bill, which was ordered to be engrossed. The Lords subsequently disagreed to this proviso, and it was ultimately thrown out. At a subsequent period, however, both Houses did not feel it to be below their honour to secure for themselves this exemption from postage."

Breaking open Members' Letters.—In an abstract of "Proceedings in the last Session of Parliament," published in the *London Magazine* for 1735, occurs the following: "On Feb. 17, W——r P——r, Esq., moved the H——e of C——ns, 'That the Postmaster General might be ordered to lay before that House a copy of his Majesty's warrant, whereby letters were permitted to pass free of the duty payable upon post letters;' which copy was accordingly laid before the House upon the 19th; and on the 26th the same gentleman moved, 'That it might be taken into consideration.' The warrant being accordingly read, the House proceeded to take it into consideration; upon which occasion complaints were made by several members that their letters were not only charged at the Post Office, but that they were often broke open and perused by the clerks; and that this practice of breaking open letters was

become so frequent, and was so publickly known, that the very end for which that liberty was given to the postmasters was entirely disappointed; for the intention being at first to discover any treasonable correspondence that might be carried on against the Government, that intention was rendered altogether vain, because by the practice of opening letters being so frequent, and so well known, it was certain that no man would carry on any treasonable correspondence by means of the Post Office. . . It was moved that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the affair. This motion was supported by E——d L——le, Esq., member for M——gh in Wiltshire [and other members who are referred to in the same way], and it was a little opposed by Sir R——t W——e and H——ry P——m, Esq.; but at last they agreed to the motion, provided that committee should not enquire into anything that might tend to the discovering of any of the secrets of the Government." The committee reported several resolutions to the House, by which the franking privilege was confirmed, and it was also eventually agreed, "That it is an high infringement of the privilege of the knights, citizens, and burgesses . . . to open or look into, by any means whatsoever, any letter directed to or signed by the proper hand of any member, without an express warrant in writing, under the hand of one of the principal Secretaries of State, or to detain or delay any such letter."

Privilege of Printed Documents.—"Stockdale v. Hansard."—In the memorable struggle which arose in 1840 between the Commons and the courts of law on the subject of privilege, the Melbourne Cabinet (writes Torrens) stood firmly for the rights of either House of Parliament to print and publish matter of any kind whatsoever at its discretion. For printing and circulating the report of a Select Committee on Prisons, which stigmatised a certain book as "disgusting and obscene," its publisher, J. J. Stockdale, brought an action against Messrs. Hansard, whose plea of authorisation was disallowed by Lord Denman, on the ground that no order of the House of Commons could justify the publication of a libel. Damages were assessed at £600, which the Sheriffs of Middlesex were directed by the Court of Queen's Bench to pay over to the plaintiff. The House summoned them to appear at the bar, commanded them to refund the money to the defendants, and committed them for contempt of its privileges in hesitating to do so. A writ of *habeas corpus* required the Serjeant-at-Arms to bring the imprisoned Sheriffs into court, where their submission that they could not disobey the order of Parliament was allowed, and they were remanded to Newgate. After weeks spent in discussing the conflict of jurisdiction, on the 5th of March a bill was brought in by Lord John Russell, and carried by 149 to 106, interdicting all further procedure in pending suits, and for the future rendering the privilege of either House a legal warrant for the report of any words spoken within its walls, or the circulation of any document laid upon its table. The Sheriffs were liberated under an order of the House.

Claim to the Franchise by Peers.—During the registrations of the year 1872, this subject came before the law courts, on claims made

by the Marquis of Salisbury and Earl Beauchamp, the former to vote in elections for the counties of Middlesex and Hertford, and the latter in the county of Worcester. In the registration court at Hatfield, the revising barrister (Mr. Charles Clark) had disallowed the claim of the Marquis of Salisbury, making the following remarks: "Though there can be no Common Law rule in the ordinary sense of that term, except what has been pronounced by a decision of the Common Law Judges, nor any legal incapacity created in a particular subject by statute, except such as has been created by the will of the two Houses, assented to by the Sovereign, there can be a Common Law of Parliament which is not so created—a law of Parliament necessary for the dignity and freedom of each House of Parliament, and declared to be so by each House. And when that declaration had, for all time past, been left uncontested by the Upper House, that fact gives it the authority of an admitted right and invests it with the character of a law. In this way the Common Law of Parliament had been declared, and its declarations had been admitted, to the effect that no peer of the realm has the right to concern himself in the election of persons to serve as members of the House of Commons. By this Common Law of Parliament a 'legal incapacity' was created in a peer of the realm which prevented him from being entitled to be put on the register of voters for electing Members of Parliament." On appeal, the case was heard, with others of similar nature, in the Court of Common Pleas; when, the counsel for the appellants having admitted that they could quote neither precedent nor authority in support of the claim, the Court dismissed the appeals, without calling upon the other side.

A Peerage Inalienable.—In the 15th year of the reign of Charles I. (1640), Roger Stafford, by fine levied at Westminster, surrendered the barony of Stafford into the King's hands, in consideration of 800*l.* paid to him by the King. But in the case of the barony of Grey of Ruthyn it was resolved by the House of Lords, "That no peer of this realm can drown or extinguish his honour, neither by surrender, grant, fine, nor any other conveyance to the King, but that it descends to his descendants." And some years after (in the Purbeck case), the validity of a surrender by fine to the King being questioned, it was resolved by the House of Lords, upon great deliberation, and after hearing the Attorney-General, that such a surrender was void.

The Relations of Members and Political Clubs.—In June, 1876, Sir W. Fraser brought under the notice of the House of Commons a letter sent to one of its members, Mr. Ripley, by the political committee of the Reform Club, calling his attention to his recent votes in Parliament. The letter amounted, he said, to a menace, and, according to the rules of the House, the menacing of a member was a breach of privilege. He moved (amid some laughter) that the writer of the letter be ordered to attend at the bar.—Sir George Bowyer said he also had received a similar letter.—Mr. Disraeli said that technically such a letter, if intended to influence the votes of a member, was an interference with privilege, as many things were which were prudently passed over. But he thought it

would be wise not to pursue the discussion. A very great indiscretion had been committed, in his opinion, by the committee in question, and he thought that public notice of it might prevent its repetition, or, if repeated, it would probably be harmless. He advised that the motion should be withdrawn, or he should meet it by moving the previous question.—The motion was withdrawn accordingly.

A "Reprehensible" Practice.—In the session of 1877, one of the metropolitan members (Mr. Forsyth) asked a question of the Speaker with reference to the privilege of members. He said he had received several circulars headed "Laymen's Association," and would read one of them: "Sir,—As one of your constituents, I beg to address you as to the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874. The passing of that Act was so notoriously partisan, and the confusion and injustice consequent on its working have been so prejudicial to the work of the Church in many parishes, that I am compelled as a matter of duty to ask you whether you will vote for its repeal. I beg very courteously, but still firmly, to inform you that at the next election I shall, apart from all questions of politics, feel it my duty to withhold my vote from any candidate who will not pledge himself to the repeal of this Act." He said he had no objection to any one of his constituents expressing his opinion; but he did object to a body of men banding themselves together to manufacture printed papers asking his constituents not to support him if he did not give his vote in a particular way. That seemed little less than intimidation, and he wished to know whether a breach of privilege had been committed. The Speaker (Mr. Brand) replied: "The honourable member for Marylebone has handed to me a copy of the circular which he has now read. I cannot say that it constitutes a breach of privilege; but at the same time I am bound to observe that expressions such as those contained in that circular are calculated to influence the independent judgment of members, and as such are highly reprehensible."—The House signified its assent to this by cheers.

Mr. Grissell's Case.—In July, 1879, Lord Henry Lennox, as chairman of a committee of the House of Commons on the Tower High Level Bridge Bill, called attention to a special report made by the committee, which stated that Mr. Charles E. Grissell had represented to the agents conducting the opposition to the bill that he could control the decision of the committee, and would procure the withdrawal or rejection of the bill for the sum of 2000*l*. A debate ensued, and after much discussion it was agreed, at the instance of Sir Stafford Northcote (Chancellor of the Exchequer), that the matter should be referred to a select committee for investigation. This committee reported that a breach of the privileges of the House had been committed by Mr. Grissell, and that Mr. John S. Ward, the solicitor who had introduced him to the agents for the opposition to the bill, was cognisant of Mr. Grissell's offence, and had assisted him in its commission. A few days later, on July 22, it was agreed that both the offenders should be ordered to attend the House on the following day. Mr. Ward appeared, and, having been ordered into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, was confined in a room in the Clock

Tower, and a week afterwards was released on a motion of the Chancello of the Exchequer, to the effect that "he had entirely submitted himself t the House, and expressed his sorrow and regret for his offence, and had already suffered in his health." The fees paid by the offender amounted to 14*l.*; the fee for arrest or "caption money" being 5*l.*, the orders for committal and release 1*l.* each, and 1*l.* per day during the imprisonment. Mr. Grissell had betaken himself to Boulogne before the Speaker's warrant could be executed, and a messenger of the Serjeant-at-Arms found him staying at an hotel there under the name of Graham. Knowing that the power of the House to commit an offender or retain him in custody determined with the session, Grissell came to London and surrendered himself to the Serjeant-at-Arms on August 13. On A[redacted] he was committed to Newgate, to be released the next day, when [redacted]ent was prorogued; but the Speaker explained that, although the [redacted] would be released on the prorogation of Parliament, he would be [redacted]her imprisonment in another session at the pleasure of the Hou[redacted]s before the Parliament again met, in February, 1880, Mr. [redacted]- warded to Mr. Walpole, for presentation to the House, a petitic[redacted] for its forgiveness. Mr. Walpole did not consider the petition submissive enough, and the matter dropped until the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice of a motion referring to the case. Mr. Grissell then forwarded to Mr. Walpole a petition, described by that gentleman as completely submissive, which was presented on the 2nd of March. But the House of Commons was not content with a mere verbal submission. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that Mr. Grissell be sent for in the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and reprimanded at the bar of the House. A strong feeling was expressed, however, that the House should reserve its discretion of dealing with Mr. Grissell as it thought best, until it had him in its custody; the motion, with Sir Stafford Northcote's consent, wa amended by the omission of the last clause, and Mr. Grissell was orde to attend on the following day on the Speaker's warrant in the custo the Serjeant-at-Arms. When he had been brought to the bar, the S addressed him, recapitulating the circumstances of the case, but that the House was willing to hear any explanation he might th offer. Mr. Grissell then expressed his "deep regret for his grav and threw himself upon the merciful consideration of the H which he was ordered to withdraw. On the motion of the Ch Exchequer, seconded by a leading member of the Opposition a resolution was passed to the effect that Mr. Grissell, ha evaded punishment for his offence, be committed to Newg accordingly removed thither. His imprisonment was te dissolution of Parliament a few days later.

EXCLUSION OF STRANGERS.

"Among the privileges of Parliament," says Sir H had been more frequently exercised (down to 1782) b the exclusion of strangers from their deliberations

ecessary to prevent confusion; for even so late as 1771 a stranger was ounted in a division. When the debates in Parliament began to excite he interest of the public, and to attract an eager audience, the presence of strangers was connived at. They could be dismissed in a moment, at the instance of any member; but the Speaker was not often called upon to enforce the orders of the House." The following are some of the occasions on which this privilege has been exercised:—

The Unreported Parliament.—Mr. Wright, in his advertisement to "Cavendish's Debates," referring to the Parliament commonly known by the designation of the "Unreported Parliament," says: "Much regret has often been expressed that the proceedings of the House of Commons during th[illegible]eenth Parliament of Great Britain, which met in May, 1768, an[illegible]ssolved in June, 1774, should, in consequence of the strict enforce[illegible] the standing order for the exclusion of strangers from the galle[illegible]House, have remained nearly a blank in the history of the co[illegible] was known that Sir Henry Cavendish had taken, in short-h[illegible]unt of the debates during that period; and Mr. Wright succ[illegible] finding it among the Egerton manuscripts. It consists of forty-nine small quarto volumes, and contains notes of all the principal debates which took place during the six sessions of the above-mentioned Parliament.

Mutual Exclusion of the Lords and the Commons.—On the 10th of December, 1770, the Duke of Manchester rose in the House of Lords to make a motion relative to preparations for the war with Spain, then believed to be impending, when he was interrupted by Lord Gower, who desired that the house might be cleared. The messengers were already proceeding to clear the house, when several members of the House of Commons, who had been waiting at the bar to bring up a bill, desired to stay for that purpose, but were turned out with the crowd—several peers having gone down to the bar to hasten their withdrawal. They were [illegible]ntly called in again; but the moment they had delivered their [illegible]e, and before time had been allowed them to withdraw from the [illegible]outcry arose, and they were literally hooted out of the house. [illegible]t their indecent treatment, the members hastened back to their [illegible]. *The first result of their anger was sufficiently ridiculous. Onslow desired the house to be cleared,* "peers and all." The [illegible]*ow the bar were the very lords who had in vain resisted the [illegible]rangers from their own house, which they had just left in [illegible]nd now the resentment of the Commons, provoked by [illegible]st expended upon them. . . Lord Chatham happily [illegible]ttempt for a senate debating with closed doors.* Writing [illegible]*on the 22nd of January, 1771,* he says, "I take it for [illegible]same declaration will be laid before the tapestry on [illegible] be offered to the live figures in St. Stephen's;" and [illegible]e writes to Lady Chatham, "Just returned from the [illegible]*tual exclusion of the members of the two Houses con*[illegible]l in a spirit of vindictive retaliation for several years. [illegible]*ional History.*"

Garrick Hiding Himself in the Gallery.—Mr. Peter Burke relates that in the spring of 1777, Garrick chanced to be present in the gallery of the House of Commons during a debate which produced an altercation between two members, that became so warm as to oblige the Speaker and the House to interpose to prevent a duel. Whilst the assembly was in this agitation, a Shropshire member observed Mr. Garrick sitting in the gallery, and immediately moved to clear the house. Roscius contrived to keep himself concealed, and avoided the consequence of the illiberal motion. But when the same gentleman, the day after, harangued the House on the impropriety of suffering players to hear the debates, Mr. Burke arose and appealed to the honourable assembly whether it could possibly be consistent with the rules of decency and liberality to exclude from the hearing of their debates a man to whom they were all obliged—one who was the great master of eloquence—in whose school they had all imbibed the art of speaking, and been taught the elements of rhetoric. For his part, he owned that he had been greatly indebted to his instructions. Much more he said in commendation of Mr. Garrick, and was warmly seconded by Mr. Fox and Mr. Thomas Townsend.

Motion by Mr. John O'Connell.—The questions of privilege and the presence of strangers in the house were raised on the 18th May, 1849, by the member for Limerick, Mr. John O'Connell, who spoke as follows: "Having seen in the *Times* newspaper another breach of the privileges of this House, by a report of the last discussion upon the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, in which report not only were the rules of the House violated, but the arguments of some Catholic members were entirely omitted, whilst the arguments against them were duly reported, I shall to-night, when the discussion upon the Parliamentary Oaths Bill comes before the House, endeavour to ascertain if there be strangers present, and if I find that to be the case, I shall draw the attention of the House to that fact." Later on the same night, when the House went into committee on the bill referred to, Mr. J. O'Connell, in pursuance of his notice, directed the attention of the chairman (Mr. Bernal) towards the reporters' gallery, and said, "Sir, I perceive that there are strangers in that gallery." The chairman having given the order, all strangers present were excluded.

Motion by Colonel Thompson to Alter the Rule.—In consequence of the exclusion of strangers by the member for Limerick, Colonel Thompson, on the 24th May, 1849, moved "That this House will take into its consideration the rule or practice whereby strangers have been excluded on the motion of any single member, with a view to alter the same; so that a motion for the exclusion of strangers shall be made and seconded, and question thereupon be put, as is the practice with other motions." The motion was, however, negatived. Mr. J. O'Connell, on the 8th of June, again caused the galleries to be cleared of strangers. The circumstance is thus given in "Hansard":—The Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill was about to be considered in committee when Mr. O'Connell said: "Sir, after the specimen of fairness which I experienced when I was going to express my opinion on the Poor Law just before the last

division, there is but one course left me,—either to insist on the House enforcing justice to its members, or by doing away with an absurd practice; and therefore, Sir, I see strangers present" (waving his hat towards the reporters' gallery). Strangers were immediately ordered to withdraw.

Motion by Mr. Crawfurd.—On the 24th of April, 1870, Mr. W. Fowler, the member for Cambridge, asked leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Mr. Crawfurd, member for the Ayr Burghs, then called the attention of the Speaker to the fact that there were strangers in the house. The *Times* gives the following report of what took place thereupon:—"This unusual proceeding caused some commotion. Honourable members turned towards Mr. Crawfurd, inquiring whether he intended to insist on the point of order he had raised; others looked to the Speaker, awaiting his order to the officers to clear the galleries; and in this interval of suspense Mr. Bouverie rose and said, if the honourable member persisted in calling attention to the presence of strangers, they must be ordered to leave. The Speaker was understood to suggest that on reconsideration the honourable member might not wish to insist on excluding strangers. He then said, very slowly, 'Does the honourable member persist? Strangers must——' Several honourable members exclaimed 'Withdraw! withdraw!' Mr. Bouverie: 'There is no motion.' The Speaker: 'Does the honourable member persist?' Mr. Crawfurd: 'I do, sir.' The Speaker: 'The galleries must be cleared.' The officers proceeded to clear the Speaker's and the strangers' galleries, and the reporters withdrew from their gallery." It is deserving of remark, and perhaps may be considered as a sort of apology to the reporters for their share in the general exclusion, that on being re-admitted to their gallery they were greeted with a burst of cheering from the House. On the 20th of July, 1870, it is recorded in "Hansard," the debate on the Contagious Diseases Acts was resumed, and, as on the previous discussion, Mr. Crawfurd called the attention of the Speaker to the presence of strangers, whereupon they were ordered to withdraw.

Alteration of the Rule.—On the 27th of April, 1875, the galleries were crowded with members and visitors anxious to hear a debate on the export of horses, brought on by Mr. Chaplin; but before this gentleman could rise to propose his motion, Mr. Biggar, member for Cavan, called the Speaker's attention to the presence of strangers. In the peers' gallery at the time, the Prince of Wales was seated, with many members of the Upper House (Mr. Biggar, however, afterwards disclaimed knowledge of this fact), and amongst other distinguished personages was the German ambassador. The Speaker pointedly asked the honourable gentleman whether he intended to take notice of the strangers, and receiving an affirmative answer, immediately ordered the galleries to be cleared, which was done, the ladies only being allowed to remain. Then ensued a scene of much excitement. The Prime Minister (Mr. Disraeli) rose and said, "I regret that the House is called upon by the act of the honourable gentleman to take a step which brings discredit upon the House. The honourable gentleman should remember that this

House is an assembly of gentlemen,* and it has not been the practice of gentlemen to take the step which he has adopted, unless there has been some strong and imperious public necessity to justify it. No reason has been assigned for the extraordinary course he has adopted; a course calculated to discredit the House, and I think I am justified in saying that it is repugnant to the general—I might almost say the unanimous—feeling of the House. (General cheering.) Under these circumstances I feel it necessary to move that the standing order relative to the admission of strangers be suspended during the sitting of the House." The motion was seconded by the leader of the Opposition (the Marquis of Hartington), and Mr. Biggar, having been called upon by other members to state his reasons for his extraordinary proceeding, declared that he desired to amend the unsatisfactory relations of the Press in regard to the House,† and should pursue a similar course every evening until an alteration was made in the rules relating to strangers and reporters. Other Irish members warmly repudiated his action, as tending to bring discredit upon themselves, and one (Mr. Bryan) told the honourable gentleman that he should remember it was the duty of a representative to be first a gentleman and next a patriot. The motion for suspension of the standing order was carried unanimously, and, strangers being re-admitted, the first who took his seat was the Prince of Wales. A week afterwards the Marquis of Hartington brought forward resolutions intended to recognise formally the reporting of debates, &c., unless such reports were expressly forbidden, and also the presence of strangers under ordinary circumstances; but during the debate on this motion, the galleries were again cleared on the demand of Mr. Sullivan. The debate was adjourned until the 31st of May, when the Marquis of Hartington's resolutions were rejected, and the following, proposed by Mr. Disraeli, was eventually adopted: "That if at any sitting of the House or of a Committee any member shall take notice of the presence of strangers, Mr. Speaker or the Chairman, as the case may be, shall forthwith put the question without debate or amendment; provided that Mr. Speaker or the Chairman, as the case may be, may, whenever he thinks fit, order the withdrawal of strangers from any part of the house."

First Application of the New Rule.—In April, 1878, the rule thus passed was applied under peculiar circumstances. Mr. O'Donnell rose to propose a resolution censuring the action of the Government in Donegal, consequent upon the recent murder of Lord Leitrim; and his remarks gave rise to much interruption. Mr. King-Harman "spied strangers," and the question that they be ordered to withdraw was then put by the Speaker without debate, and carried by 57 to 12. The reporters' and other galleries were cleared about half-past nine, and not reopened until half-past twelve, the proceedings within the House meanwhile, it was understood, having been of a turbulent character.

* "St. Stephen takes not from St. Giles his art,
But is a true good gentleman at heart."
—*Lytton's "St. Stephen's."*

† See "The Commons and the Press in 1875," page 427.

An Intruder in the House.—During the session of 1642, one Mr. Shepherd, a stranger, came into the house, and stood behind the serjeant. So divers espied him out, and called him to the bar. There he would not tell his name, but said he was a Bedfordshire man. As divers knew him he was dismissed.—*Harl. MSS.*

Intruders in 1875.—In the month of March, 1875, an incident occurred, the particulars of which are gathered from the *Times*:—During the debate two strangers entered the house by the members' doorway, and took seats in the body of the house, close by the chair of the Serjeant-at-Arms. There they sat, according to their own story, for over half an hour. At length a division was called. The Speaker's wonted emphatic warning, "Strangers must withdraw," fell upon deaf ears, for the two strangers did not understand the summons, and remained in the places they had taken. By this time the Serjeant's attention had been called to them, and the first order they received was, "Take off your hats." As the doors were locked the intruders could not be turned out; and it would have been against all parliamentary precedent to unlock the doors for any purpose. They were therefore led upstairs into the gallery reserved for distinguished strangers, and after the division was over were severely taken to task by the officials of the House. Their explanation was simple. They had orders for the strangers' gallery; they were told by a policeman in the central hall to walk "straight on," and had done so only too literally. It was thought, on the whole, inexpedient to make too much of this incident by taking the delinquents into custody, as they really appeared to have erred through ignorance, and therefore no notice was taken by the House of their intrusion. But they were severely admonished, and, probably, were duly scared by the representation of the penalties they might have incurred, and the serious breach they had committed of the standing orders.

A Stranger Counted in a Division.—A division took place in the House of Commons, February 11th, 1771, on the bill to repeal a clause of the Nullum Tempus Act, when it happened, says the "Parliamentary History," that among the members coming in on the division, a stranger, who had continued in the lobby after it was cleared, had come in and was told as one of the "noes." The stranger was brought to the bar, and, by general consent of the House, dismissed, with a caution from Mr. Speaker not to be guilty of the like offence again. It appeared that the intruder was a merchant of Bermuda, and that he was personally known to several of the members.

The Strangers' Gallery.—The question of admitting the public to the strangers' gallery of the House of Commons without a member's order was raised, February 1st, 1837, by Mr. Ewart, who considered that the present system was a great injury to the unrepresented class. His proposition was opposed by Lord John Russell, on the ground that on all great occasions the gallery would be inconveniently crowded, and that pickpockets were likely to put in an appearance among the respectable visitors. A division gave the result of eleven for the opening, and one hundred and seventy-three against it.

The Peeresses' Gallery.—The peeresses' galleries of the House of Lords are set apart for the unmarried daughters of peers; and if the daughter of a peer marries a commoner, she loses her privilege. Horace Walpole tells the story of the struggle of the peeresses for admission into the house, and their ultimate triumph over every obstacle. They had been admitted, but made such a noise that orders were issued that their presence could no longer be tolerated. But they came again. The Lord Chancellor swore they should not enter, and a noble duchess, with equal warmth, swore they would. The doors were shut on them, and they tried what rapping would do; but, though this stopped the debate, it failed to open the doors. Then silence was called for half an hour, when the peers, confident that the enemy must be gone, and thirsting for fresh air, ordered the doors to be re-opened, and in rushed the victorious band.

Waiting to Conquer.—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu gives the story of the triumph of the ladies over the Lords, in entertaining detail. She writes to Lady Pomfret (1738): "The ladies have shown their zeal and appetite for knowledge in a most glorious manner. At the last warm debate in the House of Lords, it was unanimously resolved that there should be no crowd of unnecessary auditors; consequently the fair sex were excluded, and the gallery destined to the sole use of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding which determination, a tribe of dames resolved to show on this occasion that neither men nor laws could resist them. These heroines were Lady Huntingdon, the Duchess of Queensberry, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Westmorland, Lady Cobham, Lady Charlotte Edwin, Lady Archibald Hamilton and her daughter, Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Pendarvis, and Lady Francis Saunderson. I am thus particular in their names, since I look upon them to be the boldest assertors and most resigned sufferers for liberty I ever heard of. They presented themselves at the door at nine o'clock in the morning, where Sir William Saunderson respectfully informed them that the Chancellor had made an order against their admittance. The Duchess of Queensberry, as head of the squadron, pished at the ill-breeding of a mere lawyer, and desired him to let them up the stairs privately. After some modest refusals, he swore by G— he would not let them in. Her grace, with a noble warmth, answered by G— they would come in, in spite of the Chancellor and the whole House. This being reported, the peers resolved to starve them out; an order was made that the doors should not be opened till they had raised their siege. These amazons now showed themselves qualified for the duty even of foot soldiers; they stood there till five in the afternoon, without either sustenance or intermission, every now and then playing volleys of thumps, kicks, and raps against the door, with so much violence that the speakers in the house were scarce heard. When the Lords were not to be conquered by this, the two duchesses (very well apprised of the use of stratagems in war) commanded a dead silence of half an hour; and the Chancellor, who thought this a certain proof of absence (the Commons also being very impatient to enter), gave order for the opening of the door; upon which they all rushed in, pushed aside their competitors, and placed themselves in the front rows of the gallery.

They stayed there till after eleven, when the House rose, and during the debate gave applause, and showed marks of dislike, not only by smiles and winks (which have always been allowed in these cases), but by noisy laughs and apparent contempts; which is supposed the true reason why Lord Hervey spoke miserably. I beg your pardon, dear madam, for this long narration, but it is impossible to be short on so copious a subject; and you must own this action to be very well worthy of record, and I think not to be paralleled in any history, ancient or modern."

Taking Possession of the Throne. — Mr. Greville writes: "April 4, 1829.—The House of Lords was very full (to hear the Catholic Relief debates), particularly of women; every fool in London thinks it necessary to be there. It is only since last year that the steps of the throne have been crowded with ladies; formerly one or two got in, who skulked behind the throne, or were hid in Tyrwhitt's * box, but now they fill the whole space, and put themselves in front with their large bonnets, without either fear or shame. . . Lady Jersey is in a fury with Lord Anglesey, and goes about saying he insulted her in the House of Lords the other night. She was sitting on one of the steps of the throne, and the Duchess of Richmond on the step above. After Lord Anglesey had spoken he came to talk to the duchess, who said, 'How well you did speak;' on which he said, 'Hush! you must take care what you say, for here is Lady Jersey, and she reports for the newspapers;' on which Lady Jersey said very angrily, 'Lady Jersey is here for her own amusement; what do you mean by reporting for newspapers?' to which he replied with a profound bow, 'I beg your ladyship's pardon; I did not mean to offend you, and if I did I beg to make the most ample apology.' This is his version; hers, of course, is different."

Presence of Ladies in the Commons.—It was the practice in olden times for ladies to be present among other strangers in the gallery of the House of Commons. It appears from "Grey's Debates" that on the 1st of June, 1675, some ladies were in the gallery peeping over the gentlemen's shoulders. The Speaker, spying them, cried out, "What borough do those ladies serve for?" to which Mr. Wm. Coventry replied, "They serve for the Speaker's Chamber." Sir Thomas Littleton said, "The Speaker might mistake them for gentlemen with fine sleeves dressed like ladies." Says the Speaker, "I am sure I saw petticoats."—Mrs. Montagu wrote as follows to one of her friends in February, 1762: "In the House of Commons every boy who can articulate is a speaker, to the great dispatch of business and solidity of councils. They sit late every night, as every young gentleman who has a handsome person, a fine coat, a well-shaped leg, or a clear voice, is to exhibit these advantages. To this kind of beau-oratory and tea-table talk, the ladies, as is reasonable, resort very constantly. At first they attended in such numbers as to fill the body of the house on great political questions, but . . a ghost† started up in a dirty obscure alley in the city, and diverted the attention of the female politicians."—In 1778, on the 2nd of February, a large

* The Usher of the Black Rod. † The Cock-lane ghost.

number of ladies were present to hear a great debate on the state of the nation; we are told that they filled the whole gallery and the seats under the front gallery. Captain Johnstone, of the navy (commonly called Governor Johnstone), being angry that the house was cleared of all the "men strangers," amongst whom were some friends he had introduced, insisted that all strangers should withdraw, but so much opposition was shown by the fair audience that it took two hours to enforce the order. After this, ladies were excluded from the house, and, until 1834, could only obtain a glimpse of its proceedings by peeping down the "lantern" over the largest chandelier.

The Ladies' Gallery in the Commons.—An amusing discussion on this subject took place in the House of Commons in July, 1869. Mr. H. Herbert moved, "That in the opinion of this House the grating in front of the ladies' gallery should be removed." He said the gallery was not such a place as ladies ought to occupy. It had been well remarked that it would be a chamber of horrors but for those who occupied it. There was no escape from the vitiated atmosphere, and the ladies were obliged to be confined—(great laughter)—were kept for hours in that confined space. In this age of civilisation it was absurd to have the ladies placed behind a grating.—Mr. Beresford Hope said, on behalf of the ladies themselves, he thought it would be a cruel kindness to take away the barrier. What the ladies desired was one or two hours' rational amusement—(laughter)—and for that purpose it was best for them to come there in morning dress and in their bonnets, and to be placed in a position where they could not be molested by impertinent glances. He deprecated any change which might tend to establish a flirting place there.—Mr. Layard (First Commissioner of Works) said he had asked at least two hundred ladies, and they were, almost without exception, in favour of retaining the grating. He read a letter from a lady, pointing out the advantages the grille or grating conferred on all parties. One was, that it enabled a lady to leave when a bore was speaking, even though that bore happened to be the friend who had obtained her seat for her. It prevented, too, a good many ill-natured remarks. No one could say that Mr. —— said so-and-so because Lady —— was in the gallery, or that Sir —— always stammered and broke down when Miss —— was present. He thought there was a good deal of truth in that letter, and that the House would take the ladies' view of the matter.—The House did, and the motion was withdrawn. Another discussion on the subject arose in 1876, with a similar result.

PUBLICATION OF DEBATES.

Members Punished for Divulging Debates.—In the reign of Henry VII. (says Oldfield) a member of the House of Commons was committed to the Tower for acquainting the King with the debates in Parliament, and both he *and his posterity* were by an Act disabled from ever sitting or serving as representatives for any place whatever. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth there was a similar case, when Arthur Hall, Esq., was committed to the Tower for six months, fined five hundred pounds, and expelled the House, for having published the debates.

Dislike of the House to Note-taking.—In March, 1641-2, a special instance occurred of the jealousy very frequently exhibited by members of the House in regard to the practice of note-taking. Sir Edward Alford, member for Arundel, had been observed taking notes of a proposed declaration moved by Pym. Sir Walter Earle, member for Weymouth, upon this objected that he had seen "some at the lower end comparing their notes, and one of them had gone out." Alford was thereupon called back, and his notes required to be given up to the Speaker. D'Ewes, who gives these particulars, continues: "Sir Henry Vane, sen., sitting at that time next me, said he could remember when no man was allowed to take notes, and wished it to be now forbidden. Which occasioned me, being the principal note-taker in the House, to say that the practice existed before he was born; for I had a journal, 13th Elizabeth. For my part I shall not communicate my journal (by which I meant the entire copy of it) to any man living. If you will not permit us to write, we must go to sleep, as some among us do, or go to plays, as others have done."

Note-taking Cannot be Stopped.—Sir Simonds D'Ewes also relates that when the clerk of the House was questioned as to who did sometimes write out of his journal-book, or were present, "he said Mr. Moore and Mr. Bodrell did often write out of the same, and that myself was sometimes present. But I, mistaking him and conceiving that he ranked me amongst the transcribers (who scarcely wrote three words out of his journal-book in three months), was very angry with him, and stood up and said that I was, indeed, often present when others transcribed out of the said journal, but did myself write not out of that, but out of my head." A delicate matter coming under debate next day, some members arose in much excitement to suggest that the debate be adjourned for a day, and that no one meanwhile be permitted to take notes. "Stop note-taking!" cried D'Ewes, "you cannot; or, if you can, make men hold their tongues, then, as well!"

Manufacture of Fictitious Speeches and Petitions.—One of the natural consequences of the jealousy as to note-taking in Parliament was the manufacture of fictitious and garbled accounts of its proceedings. Sir Simonds D'Ewes has the following in his Notes on the discussions in the Long Parliament: "After prayers I said that much wrong was offered of late to several members by publishing speeches in their names which they never spake. I had yesternight a speech brought me by a stationer to whom one John Bennet, a poet lodging in Shoe Lane, sold it for half-a-crown to be printed. He gives it as my speech at a conference, when there was no conference." Fictitious petitions were got up in the same way. On the 25th of January, 1641-2, the matter of a Royalist petition from Hertfordshire was before the House, and the subjoined entry is made by D'Ewes: "Thomas Hulbert, one of the framers of the Hertfordshire petition, sent for as a delinquent, also Martin Eldred, one of the penners of the same. The said Martin Eldred, being called into the house, did acknowledge that Thomas Hulbert, a young scholar of Cambridge, did draw the said false petition of Hertfordshire in his presence, and that they

sold it to the said John Greensmith, a stationer, for half-a-crown, which the said Greensmith, being called on, did likewise confess, and that he printed it. I said there were now abiding in and about London certain loose beggarly scholars who did in alehouses invent speeches, and make speeches of members in Parliament, and of other passages supposed to be handled in or presented unto this House. That the licence of printing these scandalous pamphlets is grown to a very great height," &c. Wherefore the indignant Sir Simonds would have Mr. Thomas Hulbert, and Mr. Martin Eldred, and Mr. John Greensmith forthwith conveyed to the Gatehouse.

The Father of Parliamentary Reporting.—This title would appear fairly to belong to Rushworth, that assistant clerk of the House of Commons to whom all later writers have been so largely indebted for the "Historical Collections." Rushworth displayed in perfection the qualities of his reporting successors in later days, when he steadily went on taking his shorthand notes amid the excitement attending Charles's entry to arrest the five members (p. 32). But it is curious to find members of the House of Commons objecting to the use of shorthand by its own servant at the table. Such, however, was the dislike to elaborate note-taking, and so keen the recollection of the punishment which had fallen on Eliot and others for words uttered in the House, that this objection was made in the earlier days of the Long Parliament. In the "Note-book of Sir John Northcote," lately published, occurs the following entry, under December 1, 1640:—"Sir Jo. Hotham (spoke) against Mr. Rushworth taking notes by shorthand.—A committee (appointed) to view clerk's book every Saturday, to allow of what they think fit to be preserved, and no copies of arguments. *Ordered.*—And to examine what copies have been given out, and to whom."

Reporting in the Last Century.—The very imperfect manner in which accounts of parliamentary debates were communicated to the public in the last century, is thus described by Lord Brougham, in his sketch of the Earl of Chatham:—"At one period they were given under feigned names as if held in the Senate of Rome by the ancient orators and statesmen; at another they were conveyed under the initials only of the names borne by the real speakers. Even when, somewhat later, these disguises were thrown aside, the speeches were composed by persons who had not been present at the debates, but gleaned a few heads of each speaker's topics from some one who had heard him; and the fullest and most authentic of all those accounts are merely the meagre outline of the subjects touched upon, preserved in the diaries or correspondence of some contemporary politicians, and presenting not even an approximation to the execution of the orators. Thus many of Lord Chatham's earlier speeches in the House of Commons, as now preserved, were avowedly the composition of Dr. Johnson, whose measured style, formal periods, balanced antitheses, and total want of pure racy English, betray their author at every line, while each debater is made to speak exactly in the same manner. For some years after he ceased to report, or rather to manufacture—that is, from 1751 downwards—a Dr. Gordon furnished the newspapers with reports, consisting of much more accurate accounts

of what had passed in debate, but without pretending to give more than the substance of the several speeches. The debates upon the American Stamp Act, in 1764, are the first that can be said to have been preserved at all, through the happy accident of Lord Charlemont, assisted by Sir Robert Deane, taking an extraordinary interest in the subject, as bearing upon the grievances of Ireland; and accordingly they have handed down to us some notes, from internal evidence plainly authentic, of Lord Chatham's celebrated speeches upon that question. A few remains of his great displays in the House of Lords have in like manner been preserved, chiefly in the two speeches reported by Mr. Hugh Boyd; the second of which, the most celebrated of all, upon the employment of the Indians in the American war, there is reason to believe was revised and corrected by Lord Chatham himself; and if so, it was certainly the only one that ever underwent his revision."

Dr. Johnson and the Debates.—The following facts are given in Boswell's "Life of Johnson":—"In 1738 Johnson was enlisted by Cave as a regular coadjutor in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. What we certainly know to have been done by him was the debates in both Houses of Parliament under the name of 'The Senate of Lilliput,' sometimes with feigned denominations of the several speakers, sometimes with denominations formed of the letters of their real names, in the manner of what is called anagram, so that they might easily be deciphered. Parliament then kept the press in a kind of mysterious awe, which made it necessary to have recourse to such devices. . . This important article of the *Gentleman's Magazine* was for several years executed by Mr. William Guthrie—a man who deserves to be recorded in the literary annals of this country. The debates in Parliament, which were brought home and digested by Guthrie—whose memory, though surpassed by others who have since followed him in the same department, was yet very quick and tenacious—were sent by Cave to Johnson for his revision; and, after some time, when Guthrie had attained to greater variety of employment, and the speeches were more and more enriched by the accession of Johnson's genius, it was resolved that he should do the whole himself, from the scanty notes furnished by persons employed to attend in both Houses of Parliament. Sometimes, however, as he himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers, and the part which they had taken in the debate. . . Johnson told me that as soon as he found that the speeches were thought genuine, he determined that he would write no more of them, 'for he would not be accessory to the propagation of falsehood.' And such was the tenderness of his conscience that a short time before his death he expressed his regret for his having been the author of fictions which had passed for realities."—Johnson having been praised for his impartiality in these debates, in dealing out reason and eloquence with an equal hand to both parties, replied, "That is not quite true. I saved appearances tolerably well, but I took care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it."

First Publication of Debates in the Irish Parliament.—It was in the time of Lord Chancellor Bowes, in the years 1763 and 1764,

that the first printed reports of the speeches delivered in the Irish Parliament were published. They can hardly (says O'Flanagan) be considered very reliable, as they were given from the recollection of Sir James Caldwell, and few have memories so accurate as to recollect what falls from several speakers on the same, or on different subjects.

The Commons and the City Printers.—In 1771, a contest between the House of Commons and the authorities of the City of London arose out of the publication by several printers of reports of parliamentary debates. The time was one of great political excitement, owing to the proceedings of the House in the case of Wilkes and the Middlesex elections, the Falkland Island question, &c. Colonel Onslow, a Lord of the Treasury, moved the reading of the resolutions of the 26th of February, 1728, which ran as follows: "That it is an indignity to, and a breach of privilege of, this House, for any person to presume to give in written or printed newspapers any account or minutes of debate, or other proceedings of this House, or any part thereof; and that, upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers of any such written or printed newspaper, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." The order having been read, some of the printers were summoned to the bar for infringing it. They took no notice of the summons, and the Serjeant-at-Arms in vain sought to find them. A proclamation was issued offering a reward for their apprehension, and two of them were arrested in the City, and carried before Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, who immediately discharged them. A messenger from the House attempting to arrest a third, was himself taken into custody for assault, and committed by Lord Mayor Crosby and the two aldermen to the Compter, but released on bail. The ground of committal was that, by the City charters, no citizen could be arrested east of Temple Bar without the Lord Mayor's authority. The House of Commons was furious, and sent Crosby and Oliver, who were both members, to the Tower. Wilkes was also called to the bar, but refused to obey, claiming his right to be summoned to his place as member for Middlesex. The other two remained in the Tower from March until Parliament was prorogued in May.

Fox on the Publication of Debates.—Soon after the meeting of Parliament in 1778, Colonel Luttrell, complaining that in a certain morning paper he had been grossly misrepresented, informed the House that, for his future safety and protection, he was determined to move that the standing order of the House for excluding strangers from the gallery should be strictly enforced. Mr. Fox (writes Earl Russell) laid down the true doctrine of publicity on this occasion. He said that "he was convinced the true and only method of preventing misrepresentation was by throwing open the gallery, and making the debates and decisions of the House as public as possible. There was less danger of misrepresentation in a full company than in a thin one, as there would be a greater number of persons to give evidence against the misrepresentation. The shutting of the gallery could not prevent the proceedings of the House from finding their way to public view; for, during a certain period when the gallery was kept empty, the debates were printed, let the manner of obtaining

them be what it might; and, in fact, the public had a right to know what passed in Parliament."

The Fourth Estate.—In contrast with the restrictions imposed upon reports of debates in former times, the following may be noted. Macaulay writes in 1828 ("Essay on Hallam's History"), "The gallery in which the reporters sit has become a fourth estate of the realm." And in 1871 we find Mr. Disraeli alluding, in the House of Commons, to a newspaper as being "the classical authority" for reports of parliamentary proceedings.

Communication of Parliamentary Proceedings to the Sovereign.—It is mentioned in other parts of this book (p. 299, &c.) that it has been the custom in recent times for the Minister leading in the House of Commons to send brief notes of its proceedings to the Queen. The taking of notes for such a purpose was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of May, 1879. Mr. Dillwyn then moved a resolution, "That, to prevent the growing abuse by her Majesty's Ministers of the prerogative and influence of the Crown, . . it is necessary that the mode and limits of the action of the prerogative should be more strictly observed." In the course of the discussion a member (Mr. Courtney) alluded to the fact that an officer of the Royal household (Lord Barrington) was taking notes, and said, "He saw before him at that moment a noble lord who was very busily engaged in what was an undoubted breach of the Constitution. They would all be sorry if anything serious should happen to that noble lord, but without knowing it he was exposing himself to the very gravest censure. ('Oh,' and laughter.) For the benefit of those honourable members who laughed, he would read a passage from Sir Erskine May bearing on the point:—'The privileges of Parliament,' said Sir Erskine, 'were systematically violated by the King (George III.). In order to guard against the arbitrary interference of the Crown in its proceedings, Parliament had established, for centuries, the constitutional doctrine that the King should not hear or give credit to reports of its debates, . . yet during the proceedings of the Commons against Wilkes the King obtained from Mr. Grenville the most minute and circumstantial reports.' It was a true and sound constitutional principle that the Crown should know only of the collective action of Parliament—that it should know nothing of the action of individual members of that House to guide it in the distribution of its favours. ('Oh.') Of course it might not be true that the noble lord he referred to took notes of the proceedings of that House for transmission elsewhere; but such was the rumour." Mr. Gladstone (then in Opposition) declined to support the motion, and said: "The lore of the Constitution has been searched, even including resources which, though they are not those of a member of this House, yet, we rejoice to think, are in one and in a very important sense the resources of this House. The doctrine of the time of Mr. Grenville in regard to the communication of the debates of this House to the Sovereign has been gravely and seriously adduced, in a great debate on a vote of censure on the Government, as a doctrine applicable to the present time, and some notes of my noble friend opposite, which, it is presumed,

he was making for the purpose of a very effective reply, were referred to. I can conceive that this House might object to the communication of the details of its procedure to the Crown, at a period when it objected to the communication of the details of its procedure to the nation. That was the doctrine of those times, and the practice was consistent. It would have been a false position for this House to have the details of its debates made known in private to the Sovereign while the nation was kept in ignorance; but can the honourable member for Liskeard really think that it should now be made an offence to communicate to the Sovereign the details of debates in the House of Commons, which are made known to all persons throughout the country, from the Sovereign to her subjects, not only with the knowledge, but with the virtual approval of this House, by every newspaper in the kingdom? I therefore must really decline to enter upon these high constitutional matters on the present occasion."

Origin of the Reporters' Gallery.—Mr. Spencer Walpole mentions that the destruction of the old Houses of Parliament was memorable for one great change. Up to that time the reporters in the House of Commons had always carried on their labours in the strangers' gallery. A separate gallery was provided for their use in the temporary house which was constructed in 1834. The Peers had preceded the Commons in this act of common sense. They provided accommodation for reporters from the 15th of October, 1831. But it must not be supposed (Mr. Walpole remarks) that this exceptional act of liberality on their Lordships' part in any way proved them to be in advance of the Commons. They were the first to provide accommodation for the press, not because they were more liberal than the Commons, but because they had more room.

Accommodation in the Reporters' Gallery.—Major Gosset, the Serjeant-at-Arms, gave evidence before the select committee of the House of Commons on parliamentary reporting in 1878, from which it appeared that numerous applications for seats in the reporters' gallery, on behalf of organs of the press, could not be acceded to. An enlargement of the gallery could only be effected by encroachment on the side galleries, and there was scarcely room for members. There were 19 front seats, and those were the only seats in which it was possible to report properly. Fifteen of these were devoted to the London daily press, three to the Press Associations, and one to Mr. Hansard. The total number of reporters was as follows:—The Central News and the Press Association, 10; *Globe*, 6; Hansard, 4; *Morning Post*, 11; *Standard*, 17; *Morning Advertiser*, 15; *Daily Telegraph*, 12; *Times*, 16; *Daily News*, 10; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2; *Daily Chronicle*, 7; *Echo*, 2; *Central Press*, 3; Reuter's, 1; and the latter's representative could only occupy a back seat. (It will be understood that only one or two representatives from any of the above organs can be present in the gallery at the same time. The numbers given by Major Gosset showed the total of each reporting staff, the members of which enter the gallery in turn to discharge their duties.)

The Commons and the Press in 1875.—In April, 1875, a member (Mr. C. Lewis) brought before the House a complaint that the

Times and the *Daily News* had published evidence and documents laid before its Committee on Foreign Loans, then sitting. He referred to a resolution passed in 1827, to the effect that the publication of any such evidence, not reported to the House, was a breach of its undoubted privileges, and moved that the printers of the papers in question should be called to the bar. This was agreed to, and three days afterwards the printers attended to the summons. By this time, however, opportunity had been given to all parties in the House for reflection, and the Prime Minister (Mr. Disraeli) met the proposal of Mr. Lewis that the printers should be called in, by an amendment that the Foreign Loans Committee should report specially upon the matter. After some discussion, in the course of which Sir W. V. Harcourt (Attorney-General under Mr. Gladstone's Government) declared that the House had been got into an "undignified mess," Mr. Disraeli's resolution was carried, and also another, that the printers should be discharged from further attendance.

Power of the Reporters.—On the subject of reporting, Lord Lyttelton, in a letter to the *Birmingham Post* in 1871, wrote: "I do not complain of the reporters. To do so would be unjust in my case—foolish in any case; for we are absolutely at the mercy of those excellent and formidable personages, and to complain would make matters very much worse. I will tell two anecdotes. Mr. Cobbett, during the short time he was in Parliament, incessantly abused the reporters (whom he always called 'reporthers') for not fully reporting him. The consequence was that they ended by not reporting him at all. The late Lord Monteagle, when Mr. Spring Rice, in the House of Commons, once said something the reporters did not like. They sent him a formal warning that, unless he publicly apologised, reported he should not be. He did not apologise, and reported he was not for two years. At last the spell was broken by Mr. Murray, the bookseller, starting a new paper, called the *Constitution*. To ingratiate himself with Mr. Rice he reported his speeches, whereupon the others gave in."

Reporting Freaks.—Although members of Parliament are indebted in the main to the reporters for the generally faithful, and sometimes improved, versions of their speeches given to the public, yet it must be admitted that the reporters of a past generation occasionally committed freaks at the expense of members, either in retaliation for such a step as clearing the galleries by drawing attention to "strangers," or merely by way of indulging their own sense of humour. An instance of the latter kind occurred in the case of Mr. Wilberforce. He was short in stature, and having alluded to potatoes in a debate, the reporter (probably Hibernian) put the following ludicrous passage into his speech: "For potatoes, Mr. Speaker, potatoes, Sir, make men healthy; potatoes make men tall. More especially do I feel this, because, being under the common size, I must ever lament that I was not fostered under that genial vegetable, the potato." The worthy member complained of this to the House, as an indignity offered to the representative of a large constituency; but the House would see only the humorous side of the question, and greeted his statement with shouts of laughter.

Emphasizing a Speech.—Mr. Martin, of Galway, once made a speech in which some very peculiar passages occurred, and the reporter underlined them. The printer of the paper, in which the report appeared as written, was called to the bar, but offered to prove that the report was an exact transcript of the member's words. "That may be," said Mr. Martin, "but *did I spake them in italics?*"

PARLIAMENTARY USAGES, &c.

Presence of the Sovereign in the Early Parliaments.—The following is extracted, with abbreviation, from the learned and careful work of Professor Stubbs: "The King's presence was deemed necessary at the opening and generally at the close of the session, but most frequently his duty was discharged when he had directed the Chancellor to state the causes of summons, and to thank the estates for their attendance. The Chancellor was his spokesman in most cases when he approved the election of the Speaker. His decision on petitions was expressed by an indorsement which the clerk of the Parliament read on the last day of the session as the King's answer. It was very seldom that he spoke, or was recorded to have spoken; and when it is recorded it is with exceptional solemnity. It is in 1363, after Edward III. has been more than thirty years on the throne, that we find him first distinctly making his will known to the Commons by his own mouth; they thank him for having done this in the last Parliament, from which we infer that he had spoken on the occasion of the dissolution. The Parliament of 1362 was that in which the use of English in legal transactions was ordered; that of 1365 was opened with an English speech, and it may be inferred that in giving the estates leave to depart, Edward himself had spoken in English, and that where in other cases the address of thanks is not said to have been spoken by the Chancellor, it was spoken by the King. In the last interview which he had with his Parliament, at Sheen in 1377, the parting words are put in his mouth. The days of serene supremacy passed away with Edward III. Richard II. is more than once said to have uttered haughty words in Parliament. He discussed in a long speech to the Commons the foreign policy which he had adopted, and acted as his own minister. The succeeding kings took a still more prominent part in Parliament. Henry IV., whose claim to the crown, spoken in English, made the occasion an era of constitutional progress, not only signified his wishes to the Parliament, but deigned to argue with the Commons; he laid himself open to the good advice of the Speaker, and condescended on various occasions both to defend himself and to silence his interlocutor; he soon learned that his dignity would not survive too great familiarity, and had to reprove the loquacity of the Speaker. Edward IV., who imitated the more popular usages of the rival House, likewise made speeches to both Lords and Commons; and in particular, in dissolving his first Parliament, addressed the Speaker in simple and touching language of gratitude and promise.

All these speeches were made by the King either in full Parliament—that is, in the presence of both Houses—or in the House of Lords to the lords who were then and there in attendance upon him."

The Opening Speech to Parliament.—The opening speech, declaring to a Parliament the cause of its summons, in early times was usually, but not necessarily, delivered by the Chancellor. Professor Stubbs notes that from 1347 to 1363 the Chief Justice made it; the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1401; the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1344, 1368, 1377, 1399, and 1422; the Chancellor in 1343, 1363 (in English), and generally after 1368. The Bishop of Winchester in 1410, the Bishop of Lincoln in 1453 and 1467, the Bishop of Rochester in 1472, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1431, supplied the place of the absent Chancellor.

Recent Speeches from the Throne.—Following the example of her immediate predecessors, Queen Victoria from her first accession read from the throne the speeches prepared by her Ministers for Parliamentary occasion. The death of the Prince Consort led to the absence of her Majesty from state ceremonial for some years, and Parliament was opened and prorogued by Royal Commission; but in 1866, when the Queen again met the Houses, she reverted to ancient practice by deputing the reading of the speech to the Lord Chancellor. On several occasions in later years (between 1878 and 1880, for instance), the Lord Chancellor, when acting as chief of the Royal Commission, has prefaced the reading of the speech by the declaration, "My Lords and Gentlemen,—We are commanded to deliver to you her Majesty's speech *in her Majesty's own words.*"

A King Reading his Speech under Difficulties.—Mr. James Grant relates that, at the opening of the session of Parliament in 1836, King William IV. gave a proof of his good nature and simplicity of manners. The day was uncommonly gloomy, which, added to an imperfection in the King's visual organs consequent upon his advanced years, and to the darkness of the old House of Lords, rendered it impossible for him to read the speech with facility. Most patiently did he struggle with the task, often hesitating, sometimes mistaking, and at others correcting himself. On one occasion he stuck altogether, when, after two or three attempts to make out the word, he was obliged to give it up, and turning to Lord Melbourne, who stood on his right hand, he said, in a tone sufficiently loud to be audible in all parts of the house, "Eh! what is it?" Lord Melbourne having whispered the obstructing word, the King proceeded to toil through the speech; but by the time he had got to the middle the librarian brought him two wax tapers. The King then suddenly paused, and, raising his head, he addressed the Lords and Commons on the spur of the moment, in a perfectly distinct voice, in these terms: "My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have hitherto not been able, from want of light, to read this speech in the way its importance deserves; but, as lights are now brought me, I will read it again from the commencement, and in a way which, I trust, will command your attention." He then again began at the beginning, and read through the speech in a manner which would have done credit to any professor of elocution.

The Speaker of the Lords.—It is singular (writes Sir T. E. May) that the president of this deliberative body is not necessarily a member. It has frequently happened that the Lord Keeper has officiated for years as Speaker, without having been raised to the peerage; and on the 22nd November, 1830, Mr. Brougham sat on the woolsack as Speaker, being at that time Lord Chancellor, although his creation as a peer had not yet been made out. The woolsack, indeed, is not strictly within the House, for the Lords may not speak from that part of the chamber, and if there on a division, their votes are not reckoned.

The Speaker of the Commons.—The House of Commons (says Sir G. C. Lewis) were at first a set of delegates summoned by the Crown to negotiate with it concerning the payment of taxes. They might take advantage of the position of superiority which they temporarily occupied, to remonstrate with the Crown about certain grievances upon which they were generally agreed. In this state of things, it was important that they should have an organ or spokesman with sufficient ability and knowledge to state their views, and with sufficient courage to contend against the displeasure of the Crown. Since the Revolution of 1688, and the increased power of the House of Commons, the functions of the Speaker have undergone a change. His chief function has been no longer to *speak* on behalf of the House. That which was previously his accessory has become his principal duty. He has been simply chairman of the House, with the function of regulating its proceedings, of putting the question, and of maintaining order; but, as their debates have become more important, his office of moderator of these debates has acquired additional importance.

A Critical Casting Vote.—The casting vote of the Speaker has at times exercised an important influence on public affairs. For instance, the resolutions which led to the impeachment of Lord Melville were carried (in April, 1805) only by the casting vote of Mr. Speaker Abbot. Mr. Mark Boyd in his "Reminiscences" gives the following particulars:—"Mr. Pitt, the Prime Minister, was strong on the side of Melville, his friend and colleague, but the opposing party was zealous and powerful. The fierce debate ended with an even vote—216 members declared for Lord Melville, 216 voted for his guilt. Lord Melville's fate was thus placed in the Speaker's hands, to be decided by that one vote. Yet it was long before the Speaker could give his vote; agitation overcame him; his face grew white as a sheet. Terrible as was the distress to all who awaited the decision from the chair, terrible as was the Speaker's distress, this moment of suspense lasted ten long minutes. There the Speaker sat in silence; all were silent. At length his voice was heard; he gave his vote, and he condemned Lord Melville. One man, at least, that evening was overcome. Mr. Pitt was overcome; his friend was ruined. At the sound of the Speaker's voice, the Prime Minister crushed his hat over his brows to hide the tears that poured over his cheeks; he pushed in haste out of the house. Some of his opponents, I am ashamed to say, thrust themselves near, 'to see how Billy looked.' His friends gathered in defence around, and screened him from rude glances. During a quarter of a century—indeed, almost ever since he had been a boy—Mr. Pitt

had battled it in Parliament. His experience there was not victory only, but often defeat. This defeat, however, he sank under; it was his last —he died ere many months had passed. The death of that great man was hastened by Speaker Abbot's casting vote."

A Sympathetic Speaker.—Writing to the Queen (as it was the custom for the leader of the House of Commons to do) on the 13th of August, 1860, Lord Palmerston said: "Members are leaving town, but the tiresome ones, who have no occupation of their own, and no chance of seeing their names in the newspaper when Parliament is up, remain to obstruct and delay by talking. The Speaker, who has not been quite well, grows as impatient as any official who has hired a grousing moor and cannot get to it, and a few nights ago, when a tiresome orator got up to speak just as an end to the debate had been expected, the Speaker cried 'Oh! oh!' in chorus with the rest of the House."

The Speaker and Party Relations.—It was remarked of the Speaker by the *Quarterly Review*, in 1878, "So anxious is he to appear absolutely impartial, that, though necessarily chosen from one of the great parties in the State, we believe we are accurate in saying that no one of the three most recent occupants of the chair has ever entered the political club of his party after accepting his high office."

The Mace of the Commons.—There is a more intimate relation between the Speaker's mace and our legislative proceedings than most persons are aware of. Hatsell says: "When the mace lies *upon* the table, it is a House; when *under*, it is a Committee. When the mace is *out* of the House, no business can be done; when *from* the table and upon the Serjeant's shoulder, the Speaker alone manages." The mace is held in the custody of the Crown when Parliament is prorogued, and returned to the Speaker when it meets again. The present mace dates from the time of the Restoration, and bears the initials C.R.

The Mace Slighted by the Black Rod.—Mr. Arthur Onslow (afterward third Speaker of that name) makes the following note in Hatsell respecting an incident which occurred in the time of his uncle: "When the Speaker, Sir Richard Onslow, went up with the House to demand justice against Dr. Sacheverell (1710), as the mace was going into the House of Lords before the Speaker, the Black Rod endeavoured to hinder it by putting his black rod across the door; on which the Speaker said, 'If he did not immediately take away the black rod, he would return to the House of Commons.' The Black Rod desired him to stay a little, and he would acquaint the lords. The door was shut, and Mr Speaker and the House staid without. After a little time the door was opened, and Mr Speaker with the mace went in. As Mr Speaker was going to the bar, the Black Rod attempted to interpose himself between the Speaker and the mace; upon which the Speaker said aloud, 'My lords, if you do not immediately order your Black Rod to go away, I will immediately return to the House of Commons.' Then Lord Chancellor Cowper directed the Black Rod to go from thence. Then Mr. Speaker, with the mace, went up to the bar. The Black Rod was then ordered to bring the prisoner, and was going to put him on the right hand of Mr Speaker, who

upon that said, 'If you don't order the Black Rod to go with the prisoner on the left hand of me, at some distance, I will return to the House of Commons.' Upon which the Lord Chancellor directed the Black Rod so to do, and then Mr. Speaker demanded the judgment, and the Lord Chancellor accordingly pronounced sentence upon the prisoner, kneeling at the bar."

Taking Opposite Sides.—The modern practice is for the leaders of the Government and of the Opposition to occupy, respectively, the front seats to the right and left of the Speaker, with their supporters behind them; but in ancient times members sat indiscriminately in the House, and the leading antagonists sometimes side by side. (Townsend's "Memoirs.") After the present usage was adopted, a bold member (Mr. Rigby), who constantly supported the Ministry of Lord North, used to delight in placing himself in the ranks of the Opposition, as if to assert his independence, and there delivered himself of his opinions, amid storms of disapprobation from the occupants of the seats around him.

"Another Place."—The rule that allusions to debates in the other House are out of order is mainly founded (says May) upon the understanding that those debates are not known, and that the House can take no notice of them. The rule has been so frequently enforced, that most members in both Houses have learned a dexterous mode of evading it by transparent ambiguities of speech; and, although there are few orders more important than this for the conduct of debate, and for observing courtesy between the two Houses, none, perhaps, are more generally transgressed. ("Law, &c., of Parliament.")—This subject was discussed in the House of Commons on the 9th of June, 1876, when Earl Percy called attention to the practice of referring in that House to debates in the House of Lords. Mr. Disraeli said he thought that of late years there had been an excess of licence in alluding to proceedings in the other House. "It is," said he, "a proceeding which every one feels must be full of inconvenience and unfairness. It is not merely that we criticise the words of those who are absent, but that unfortunately we may criticise words which were never spoken." The discussion was closed by the following observations from the Speaker (Mr. Brand): "It is part of the unwritten law of Parliament that no allusion should be made in this House to the debates in the other House during the current session. There is no standing order on the subject, but the unwritten law of Parliament is of equal, if not greater, force than any standing order. I collect from the discussion which has now taken place that it is the desire of this House that the law of Parliament in this respect should be strictly observed and enforced. (Hear.) As the House is aware, this law is occasionally evaded in a manner which, with every desire to be strict, I am not always able to correct. At the same time it will be my duty on all occasions, as far as I can, to enforce that rule strictly. I am persuaded that it is of great importance to our debates in this House, especially with regard to our relations with the other House, that no allusion should be made to debates in the other House; and that the unwritten law of Parliament herein should be strictly observed."

Addressing the Chair.—While it is the rule in the Lower House to address "the chair," and not to do so is a breach of order, the contrary is the case in the Upper Chamber, where a speaker is expected to make his observations to "my lords." This was illustrated in a discussion in the House of Lords in June, 1880. Earl Beauchamp called attention to the report of a select committee on reporting in that house, and proposed certain experimental alterations in the arrangements of the house, by which better facilities might be given for an accurate representation of their lordships' speeches. He said, noble lords who had contracted the habit of addressing the Chair in the House of Commons frequently retained it in their lordships' house, and turned away from the gallery to the Lord Chancellor, thereby very much diminishing the chances which the reporters had of hearing accurately. If the noble and learned lord's position were changed to that part of the house in which the reporters were placed, he could not but think that there would be a greater uniformity than at present in the direction of the voices of speakers, and that a habit would grow up of speaking with the face turned towards the gallery, instead of away from it.—The Duke of Somerset said he was much surprised to hear that noble lords were in the habit of addressing the Lord Chancellor. He had never seen them doing so. As a rule speeches were addressed to the other side of the House. If speeches were not fully reported, it might be that the public were not much interested in what was said in that house. Indeed, it sometimes appeared as if even the Government did not much care for the speeches delivered, or even the votes given, in their lordships' house. He could not support the plan for turning the house topsy-turvy.—The Duke of Argyll said he agreed with the noble duke that there was no practice among their lordships of addressing the Lord Chancellor. The evidence did not show that the acoustic properties of the house were bad, but that speakers addressing themselves to the Lord Chancellor were inaudible to the reporters. The reason their lordships was not heard was because noble lords carried on private conversation while business was going on.—The Earl of Redesdale (Chairman of Committees) said the recommendation of the committee, to remove the woolsack, would place the Lord Chancellor in a wrong position with regard to the business of the House.—The principal portions of the motion were withdrawn, but a proposal to construct two or three additional seats to the gallery was agreed to, and afterwards it was decided to give the reporters temporary accommodation in the side galleries of the house.

Conference between the two Houses.—The following standing order of the House of Lords for the regulation of conferences with the Commons was drawn up in days when the deference of the Commons was looked for as a matter of course, but it has never been rescinded: "The place of our meeting with the Lower House upon conference is usually the Painted Chamber, where they are commonly before we come, and expect our leisure. We are to come thither in a whole body, and not some lords scattering before the rest, which both takes from the gravity of the lords, and besides may hinder the lords from taking their proper places. We are to sit there, and be covered; but they are at no committee or conference

ever either to be covered or sit down in our presence, unless it be some infirm person, and that by connivance in a corner out of sight, to sit, but not to be covered."

"Required" or "Desired?"—At a sitting in March, 1880, General Sir W. Knollys, the gentleman usher of the black rod, entered the House of Commons and summoned the Speaker and the House to the House of Peers, to hear the royal assent given by commission to certain bills. On the Speaker's return, Sir G. Bowyer rose to a point of order. He called the attention of the Speaker to the language just used by the gentleman usher, which he considered unusual, and which he thought they ought to prevent being made a precedent of. The message as delivered was that the Lords Commissioners "required" the presence of that House to the House of Lords to hear the royal assent given by commission to certain bills. He appealed to the right honourable gentleman whether the word should not have been "desired," and not "required."—The Speaker said that the customary word on such occasions was certainly "desired," but he apprehended that the word "required" was only another form of the word "desired." He was not aware that it was an improper expression.—After a few words from Sir G. Bowyer in reply, the subject dropped.

The "Right to be Heard."—It is reported of Sir Spencer Compton that, when he was Speaker, he used to answer to a member who called upon him to make the House quiet, for that he had a right to be heard: "No, sir; you have a right to speak, but the House have a right to judge whether they will hear you." In this (says Hatsell) the Speaker certainly erred; the member has a right to speak, and it is the Speaker's duty for that purpose to endeavour to keep them quiet.*

Motion that a Member "be Not Heard."—This was made by the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) on the 14th of June, 1880; for the first time, according to an observation of the Speaker, for 200 years. The following were the circumstances: Mr. O'Donnell asked a question of the Government respecting the antecedents of the newly appointed ambassador from France to Great Britain (M. Challemel Lacour), and, having received a reply from the Under-Secretary of State, was proceeding to comment upon it, when he was checked by the Speaker, but resumed his comments by a notice of motion. At this point Mr. Gladstone said he rose to order. He believed he was correct in saying that he was entitled to raise the question of order on the continuance of the honourable member's speech. He felt it his duty to give the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the subject, by moving that Mr. O'Donnell be not heard. The motion caused some excitement and discussion, and the leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) put a question to the Speaker as to the practice of the House in such a case. In reply, the Speaker said: "It appears to me that I should not be doing my duty to the House if I did not point out the special impropriety of proceeding with a motion for adjournment after an answer given by a Minister of the

* See page 17, "Hemming a Member Down."

Crown, and under the cover of that motion to make charges against a foreign ambassador. Upon my making observations of this character as regards the conduct of the honourable member for Dungarvan, the right honourable gentleman the First Minister of the Crown rose to a point of order, and moved that Mr. O'Donnell be not heard. Now, I am bound to say that a motion of that kind has not been made in this House for 200 years. At the same time, I doubt whether such a proceeding as that which took place before the motion was made to-night has occurred for a similar period." The adjournment of the debate was now proposed as an amendment to Mr. Gladstone's motion, and, having been negatived on a division, was moved again and again, members on both sides urging that Mr. Gladstone's motion, if carried, would form a dangerous precedent, and put the rights of the minority at the mercy of any leader of the House who might command a majority for the time being. Eventually, Mr. O'Donnell said he would be content to give notice of a motion on a future day; and Mr. Gladstone's motion as well as the amendment was then withdrawn.

Reading Speeches in the House.—The following entry occurs in the "Diary of Lord Colchester" (Mr. Speaker Abbot):—"May 14, 1806. Mr. Jeffery having read a long *written* speech without interruption, I mentioned it to Mr. Fox, towards the end of it, and also to Mr. Canning, that I should take notice of this impropriety, which they severally agreed to be highly proper to do; and accordingly, before putting the question, I called the attention of the House to it, and stated this to be a practice contrary to the received and established usage of debate, and necessary to be remarked upon, lest it should grow into a precedent. To which interposition the House entirely assented. At the close of the debate, Mr. Jeffery again reading arguments in reply, I was called upon to interfere; and it seemed to be agreed that this was not to be done at all, except so far as resorting to notes or figures. I had in my mind the reprobation of this very practice of reading written arguments, as mentioned in vol. ii. of Grey's 'Debates.'"

Reading from Newspapers.—A question arose in 1840 on this subject, when the Speaker (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) said: "I understand the rule of the House to be that, unless a member gets up in his place to complain of a breach of privilege, he is not entitled to read a newspaper. It appears to me that the honourable member for Belfast (Mr. E. Tennent) cannot be in order when he reads to the House, as he proposes to do, the extract in question."—Sir Robert Peel said he had never heard that the reading of extracts was contrary to order.—Lord J. Russell quoted a precedent in favour of the extract being read.—Mr. E. Tennent proceeded to read the extract referred to. (Mr. Bourke, in his work on "Parliamentary Precedents, being decisions of the Right Hon. C. S. Lefevre," remarks here: "It had been the practice for members, when they desired to read extracts from newspapers, to have them pasted on foolscap paper, that it might appear to the House that they were reading from a manuscript. This was the first time that newspapers or slips of newspapers were allowed to be read in the House without any disguise.")—In 1856 Sir John

Shelley was about to read an extract from a newspaper, when he was called to order by the House, and Sir Frederic Thesiger appealed to the same Speaker on the subject, complaining that the honourable baronet had first said that he would read from a newspaper, and on being checked by the House had called it a document, and proceeded to read the same thing.—Mr. Speaker: "The honourable and learned gentleman is correct as to what used to be the rule of the House; but a few years ago, when I decided that it was out of order to read an extract in the manner in which the honourable gentleman proposes to read one now, my decision was overruled by the House."—It has, however, been ruled to be out of order to quote from a newspaper the speech of another member in the same session. (P. 351.)

Consequences of Naming a Member.—A story (says Hatsell) used to be told of Mr. Speaker Onslow, which those who ridiculed his strict observance of forms were fond of repeating: that he often, upon a member's not attending to him, but persisting in any disorder, threatened to name him: "Sir, sir, I must name you." On being asked what would be the consequence of putting that threat into execution, and naming a member, he answered, "The Lord in heaven knows!"—Mr. Speaker Abbot, however, had a clearer view on the matter. A member entering the house after dinner, in too merry a mood, made a disparaging remark respecting its chairman, and, some say, called upon him for a song. He was thereupon "named," and handed over to the Serjeant-at-Arms. The Speaker next day gave him a solemn rebuke for his levity, and it is to be presumed he had to pay the Serjeant the customary fees on his release. The penalty incurred by "naming" in fact rests upon a rule of the House recorded in its Journal, Jan. 2, 1693, as follows: "That if Mr. Speaker do call upon a member by name, such person shall thereby incur the displeasure and censure of the House."

Mr. Feargus O'Connor Named.—Mr. Feargus O'Connor gave occasion for a later Speaker (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to threaten similar action to that of Speaker Abbot. Sir Benjamin Hall complained that he had received a blow on the side from Mr. O'Connor, whereupon the Speaker thus addressed the House: "I am sorry to say that the honourable member for Nottingham has so habitually violated the rules of the House, that if he further persists in this course I shall feel it my painful duty to call the attention of the House to the honourable member by name, and it will then be for the House to take such ulterior steps as may prevent the repetition of such conduct."—Mr. O'Connor immediately rose, and addressed the Speaker in a most excited and insolent manner.—Mr. Speaker: "I now must call on the honourable member by name. Mr. O'Connor, you are now called upon to apologise to the House; and if you have any apology to offer to the House, now is your time to do so."—Mr. O'Connor: "I beg the pardon of the honourable gentleman, and now I apologise to the House. I beg pardon."—Mr. O'Connor at this time was considered partially insane.

Names in Questions.—In July, 1880, a member had put upon the notice paper of the House of Commons a question respecting some

convictions by Flintshire magistrates for poaching in Hawarden Park, "the property of the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone," and on rising to ask the question, he wished to know by whose authority the words within quotation marks had been omitted from the printed list. The Speaker thereupon said: "The alteration referred to has been made by the clerk at the table under my general authority. According to the uniform practice of the House, when the names of persons are introduced in a question, they will not appear in the paper unless they are necessary in order to make the question plain. That was the case in the present instance. The introduction of the name was not necessary to make the question plain, its insertion was regarded as invidious, and therefore it was omitted."

A Squinting Speaker.—Lord Campbell says, the unfortunate obliquity of Sir John Trevor's vision is perceptible in the portraits and prints we have of him. While in the chair, as Speaker, two members in different parts of the House were often equally confident of having "caught his eye."

A Quarrel with the Speaker.—Horace Walpole, in "Short Notes on my Life," prefixed to the edition of his Letters edited by Cunningham, relates that on the discussion of a measure in the House of Commons in 1747, to transfer the assizes from Aylesbury to Buckingham, he had a remarkable quarrel with the Speaker, Mr. Onslow. "The bill," he says, "was returned from the Lords with amendments. The friends of the Chief Justice resolved to oppose it again. Mr. Potter desired me to second him. He rose, but entering on the merits of the bill, Mr. T. Townshend and my uncle, Horace Walpole, (to prevent me) insisted that nothing could be spoken to but the amendments. The Speaker supporting this, I said, 'I had intended to second Mr. Potter, but should submit to his *oracular* decision, though I would not to the complaisant peevishness of anybody else.' The Speaker was in a great rage, and complained to the House. I said, 'I begged his pardon, but had not thought that submitting to him was the way to offend him.'"

Old Women.—The debates on the Swiss Regiment Bill occupied the House of Commons in the month of February, 1756. "Old Horace Walpole (writes his nephew) terminated this tedious affair with the lowest buffoonery, telling a long story of an old man and his wife; that the husband said to her, 'Goody Barrington, for that was her name—I must not falsify my story; if it had been Onslow I must have said it,' continued he, addressing himself to the Speaker; who replied very properly, 'Sir, one old woman may make as free as she pleases with another.'"

Insulting the Chairman of Committees.—In one of the old Parliamentary collections—"Memorials &c. by R. S. E." [Elsynge], 1670—we find: "13th May, 12 Jacobi, Upon report of the amendments to the bill for the due observation of the Sabbath day, complaint was made that some indignity was offered to Sir R. Owen, when he was in the chair at the committee, by Sir W. H., that told him he was partial; and by Sir R. K., who took him by the hand, and told him he would pull him out of the chair, that he should put no more tricks upon the House. Sir

W. H., being present, made an acknowledgment of his error, which upon the question was taken for a good satisfaction. Sir R. K. was ordered by the House to acknowledge his error at the bar."

Short Sittings and Good Debates.—In 1848, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the best means of promoting the despatch of public business. Among the persons called to give evidence were M. Guizot, upon the usages of the French Chambers, and a Mr. Curtis, upon those of the United States Congress. The Speaker of the House (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was also examined, and in the course of his evidence thus alluded to the short sittings of Wednesday, when it is the rule of the House to rise at six o'clock: "I have frequently observed that debates on Wednesdays, when there happens to be an important question under discussion, are remarkably good. Some of the best debates I have ever heard in the House have taken place on Wednesday's sitting, when every member was obliged to speak very shortly, to enable the House to come to a decision upon the question." The committee came to no conclusion of importance in their report.

Speaker's Lists and "Smouldering Emotions."—In February, 1872, Mr. G. Bentinck called attention, as a matter of privilege, to a statement which had been made in one of the public journals, to the effect that the Speaker of the House, on the occasion of important discussions, was furnished by the whip on each side with a list of members who were desirous of taking part in the debate; and that these lists were used in such a way as to deprive independent members of a hearing. Mr. Brand, who had recently been elected Speaker, said he had never seen such a list; but Mr. Glyn and Mr. Noel, the Government and Opposition whips, admitted that they had been in the habit of supplying Mr. Speaker Denison with such lists for his assistance, but denied that there was any intention that they should be used "to gag" independent members. The feeling of the House, however, was evidently against the practice, and it was understood that it should be discontinued. Mr. Disraeli said, amid much laughter, that he had always been anxious to develope the oratorical powers of young members of his party, and he had thought it good tactics to give members below the gangway an opportunity of speaking, because he had felt that there were smouldering emotions which would be relieved by the expression of opinion, and that after such a process they would get on in debate with better temper than was sometimes the case.

Changing Sides in the House.—In committee on the Ballot Bill in July, 1871, a curious scene occurred. Mr. George Bentinck (member for West Norfolk, and an "independent Conservative") made some very free remarks on the leaders of both parties. Of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Disraeli) he said that many years ago the right honourable gentleman spoke of the Government of that day as an "organised hypocrisy," and that suggested that the proper description of the late Government would be that it was a disorganised hypocrisy.—Being now called to order by the Chairman for alluding to past events, he turned to the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone), and said that he had complained of time being wasted, but no one had for years delayed business by speeches

so much as he had done. He had commented upon the bad habit of imputing motives, but he himself was guilty of that offence when he said that speeches were made solely for the purpose of creating delay.—Mr. Newdegate next rose to speak against the bill, and move an adjournment, when the bulk of the members on the Ministerial side rose and quitted the house. This course, it appeared, had been resolved upon by the members of the Liberal party at a conference the same afternoon. A number of the Conservatives then crossed over, and, amid general laughter, several of them in turn addressed the House, denouncing the Ballot, from the usual seats of their opponents, the supporters of the bill. No one replied to their arguments, and a division was eventually taken on Mr. Newdegate's motion, which was rejected by 154 to 63.

Securing Seats in the House.—The accommodation for members in the House of Commons built by Sir Charles Barry has proved from the first singularly inadequate. For some reason it was considered that sitting room for three-fourths of the members would suffice, but this was not nearly attained by the arrangement for the Commons in the "New Houses." It is considered that in the House of Commons existing in 1880 not more than 300 members can obtain places in which they may conveniently see, hear, and speak; and hence a resort to undignified practices for the securing of seats. In January, 1880, Mr. Mitchell Henry (who was compelled to address the Speaker from the gallery) asked if that functionary would be good enough to give an instruction to the House upon a matter of some importance, viz., as to members keeping their seats—whether the rule as to putting a hat on a seat, in order to retain it, did not mean the member's real working hat, and not a colourable substitute (laughter), or whether a member might deposit one hat on the seat and walk away doing his business with another hat. Also, whether it was not against the rule of the House for a member to endeavour to keep a seat by putting on it a piece of paper or a card instead of a hat.—The Speaker said: "The usual practice of the House has been that a member may retain a seat by placing his hat upon the seat before prayers. That practice has prevailed now for a considerable number of years. The idea has always been that in so doing an honourable member was in immediate attendance upon the House, or in a committee. With regard to retaining a seat with papers or gloves, that has never been allowed for the night. No member can retain a seat for the night by placing papers or gloves before prayers."

Payment of Members.—The last payment of wages to a member occurred in 1681, when Thomas King, who had been member for Harwich, obtained from the Lord Chancellor a writ *de expensis burgensium levandi*, after notice to the corporation of Harwich. Lord Campbell, in his life of Lord Chancellor Nottingham, cites this case, and expresses an opinion that the writ might still be claimed, without a new enactment to revive the former usage. In 1870, however, Mr. Peter Taylor moved in the House of Commons for leave to introduce a bill "to restore the ancient constitutional practice of payment of members," and the motion was rejected by 211 to 24.

Unsworn Members Serving on Committee. — The constitutional doctrine enforced by Sir Joseph Jekyll's case in 1715, that a member is capable of sitting on a committee although he has not been sworn at the clerk's table, received confirmation in Baron Lionel de Rothschild's case. On the 11th of May, 1858, the House called Baron de Rothschild, who had continued to be one of the members for the City of London for eleven years without taking the oaths, to the committee appointed to draw up reasons, to be offered to the Lords at a conference, for disagreeing to the Lords' Amendments on the Oaths Bill, intended to remove Jewish disabilities; and on the 18th he was appointed to be one of the managers of the conference. A compromise was eventually arranged, under which either House was at liberty to modify the form of oath, and Baron de Rothschild formally took his seat on the 26th of July following.*

Referees Voting on Private Bills.—In February, 1876, Mr. Anderson (member for Glasgow) called the attention of the House to the position of certain of its officers styled referees, who it appeared were gentlemen possessing special knowledge on particular subjects, called in to assist the deliberations of select committees of the House on private bills relating to railways, gas, water, &c. It appeared that the practice had grown up of allowing these gentlemen not only to aid such committees by their experience and advice, but also to share in the voting by which the members of a committee determined their report. While thus they took a part in what virtually was legislation, they were not responsible either to any constituency or to the House. In the discussion which ensued, some members expressed the opinion that the system worked well, and others thought that it was clearly unconstitutional. Mr. Gathorne Hardy (the Home Secretary) said he had heard with some surprise, about a year before, that the referees did vote, and it was absolutely necessary that the question now raised should be settled. Eventually the House agreed to Mr. Anderson's motion for a committee to inquire into and report upon the subject, and the committee having reported, it was ordered (March 27, 1876) "That it be an instruction to committees on private bills that referees, appointed to such committees, may take part in all the proceedings thereof, but without the power of voting."

The Opening Scene.—The disorderly scene that ensues upon the summons of the House of Commons to attend in the Lords' chamber to hear the Royal speech on the opening of Parliament, has frequently been subject of comment. It was well described in an article in *Household Words* in March, 1851: "The Speaker of the House of Commons answers the summons of his liege lady the Queen, as if he were a schoolmaster with a mob of unmannerly boys at his heels; and is propelled to the bar of the House with the frantic fear of being knocked down and trampled upon by the rush of M.P.'s. A transient cloud passes over the royal countenance, but is rapidly succeeded by a prolonged smile at the ludicrous efforts of a couple of hundred of eager Commons to squeeze themselves into a space only ample enough for a hundred. The account

* See "Removal of Jewish Disabilities," p. 57.

of a sufferer in the scramble is amusing: 'I happened,' said Mr. Joseph Hume, in his place in Parliament on the following evening, 'to be the twenty-fifth from the Speaker; but both sides of the bar were so filled, that I neither saw the Queen nor heard her voice. I was knocked against a corner; my head was knocked against a post, and I might have been much injured if a stout member, to whom I am much obliged, had not come to my assistance. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It was no laughing matter.' Mr. Hume recollected, moreover, that on a similar occasion the coat of a member of the House who now (1851) fills a high office abroad, had been torn, and that his shoulder was dislocated."

A City Privilege.—At the first meeting of a new Parliament, the members for the City of London, in court dress or uniform, take seats on the Treasury bench, which are afterwards vacated for the Ministers of the day. The privilege is accorded to them in commemoration of the part taken by the City in 1642, in defence of the privileges of Parliament, and the protection given to the five members who took refuge in the City when their arrest had been attempted by King Charles. The usage was duly observed at the meeting of Parliament in April, 1880.

Introduction of New Members.—An unusual incident arose on the 18th of February, 1875. Dr. Kenealy, who had just been returned for Stoke-upon-Trent, presented himself, unattended, at the table of the House to be sworn, and handed to the clerk a copy of the writ and return for the election. The Speaker informed him that it was the practice for a new representative to be introduced by two other members of the House; to which Dr. Kenealy replied that he was aware of the practice, but not cognisant of any law or rule depriving the House of the right to administer the oath under such circumstances as his own. He was proceeding to argue the matter, when the Speaker called him to order, remarking that he was not at present qualified to address the House, and the Speaker went on to say: "I must point out to the House that this practice dates from the year 1668. 'On the 23rd of February, 1668'—I am quoting to the House from the journals—'the House being informed that it is the ancient form and custom that a new member coming to the House is introduced to the table between two members, each making his obeisance, in order that he may be the better known to the House—it was ruled that such order should be for the future observed.' That order and custom has been observed by the House from that day to this. The House will observe that this rule has been made because it appears to identify the member. It is my duty to see that the resolutions of this House are carried out, but should the House see fit upon this occasion to dispense with the ordinary resolutions——" (Cries of "No, no.")—Dr. Kenealy: Am I to understand that the House will not hear me upon this matter?—The Speaker: I must point out that when any action is taken by this House with regard to any member, it is in accordance with the ordinary practice for that member to withdraw.—Dr. Kenealy bowed, and withdrew, after which Mr. Disraeli said, as the identity of the member was not on this occasion in question (laughter), he thought the ordinary rule should not be carried out, and he moved that it be dispensed with.—

It was understood that Dr. Kenealy had not been able to obtain two members to introduce him; but Mr. Bright, addressing the House for the first time for many sessions, observed, that although he had no acquaintance with the honourable gentleman, yet, out of deference to the will and return of a large constituency, he was willing to accompany Dr. Kenealy to the table if he would accept his companionship. Some discussion followed, many members not being disposed to dispense with the rule, but, as it appeared Dr. Kenealy had not been acting contumaciously, Mr. Disraeli's motion was agreed to. Dr. Kenealy was then called in, advanced unaccompanied to the table, and took the oath in the usual way.

Oath or Affirmation?—At the general election in April, 1880, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was returned as one of the members for Northampton, and on the 3rd of May he presented himself at the table of the House, and claimed to be allowed to affirm instead of taking an oath. Being asked by the clerk the grounds of his claim, he referred to the Evidence Amendment Acts, 1869 and 1870; and being then informed by the Speaker that he might address the House in explanation, if he so desired, he declared that he came within the provisions of those Acts, inasmuch as "he had repeatedly for nine years past made affirmation in the highest courts of jurisdiction in the realm, and was now ready to make such declaration or affirmation." The Speaker then acquainted the House that he did not consider himself justified in determining the matter, but desired to refer it to the judgment of the House. A select committee was appointed to report whether persons entitled, under the Acts specified, to make a solemn declaration in the courts of justice, might be admitted to make affirmation in the House; and on the 20th of May the committee reported in the negative. On the day after receipt of its report by the House, Mr Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table, this time to make and subscribe the oath; and was proceeding to do so, when Sir H. D. Wolff rose and objected, on the ground that Mr. Bradlaugh had already declared the oath was not binding on his conscience. Mr. Bradlaugh was then ordered to withdraw, and Sir H. D. Wolff moved that he "ought not to be allowed to take the oath which he then required to be administered to him, in consequence of his having previously claimed to make an affirmation or declaration instead of the oath," &c. An amendment was adopted, to the effect that the matter be again referred to a committee, which should inquire and report as to "the right and jurisdiction of the House to refuse to allow the form of the said oath to be administered" in the case. This second committee reported, on the 16th of June, that under the circumstances the House could, and in its opinion ought to, prevent Mr. Bradlaugh "going through the form" of taking the oath; but it added a recommendation that, "should Mr. Bradlaugh again seek to make and subscribe the affirmation, he be not prevented from doing so." On the 21st of June the House considered a motion by Mr. Labouchere (one of the representatives of Northampton) that Mr. Bradlaugh be admitted to make an affirmation; and an amendment by Sir Hardinge Giffard, that, having regard to the reports of the two committees, he be not permitted to take the oath or make an affirmation, was carried (against

the influence of the Government), after two nights debate, by 275 to 230. On the 23rd Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself again at the table, and was informed by the Speaker of the resolution the House had come to on the previous night, and requested to withdraw. He desired, however, to be heard upon his claim, and was so heard at the bar of the house. After this, it was proposed that the previous resolution be rescinded; but the motion was withdrawn, and Mr. Bradlaugh, being again called in, was informed by the Speaker that the House had not altered its previous decision. Being again requested to withdraw, he refused, and was committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, but released on the following day. Eventually, on the 1st of July, the House adopted by 303 to 249 the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Gladstone: "That every person returned as a member of this House, who may claim to be a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead of taking an oath, shall henceforth (notwithstanding so much of the resolution adopted by this House on the 22nd day of June last as relates to affirmation) be permitted, without question, to make and subscribe a solemn affirmation in the form prescribed by 'The Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866,' as altered by 'The Promissory Oaths Act, 1868,' subject to any liability by statute." In accordance with the opportunity afforded by this resolution, Mr. Bradlaugh on the following day walked to the table (unaccompanied by any other member) and made the affirmation, the Speaker afterwards presenting his hand to him in the usual way.

Arrest in the House.—The circumstances attending this incident in connection with Mr. Bradlaugh's case were thus recorded in the official "Votes and Proceedings" of the House of Commons issued on the following day (June 24, 1880): "Mr. Bradlaugh insisted upon his right, as a duly-elected member, to take the oath and his seat, and refused to withdraw. Mr. Speaker repeated his direction that he should withdraw; and Mr. Bradlaugh having expressed his determination to resist the direction of the Chair,—Motion made and question put, 'That Mr. Bradlaugh do now withdraw.' The House divided—Ayes, 326; noes, 38.* Mr. Speaker again called upon Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw, in obedience to the order of the House, but he refused to obey the order of the House, as being against the law. Mr. Speaker thereupon called on the Serjeant-at-Arms to remove Mr. Bradlaugh below the bar, whereupon, the Serjeant having placed his hand on Mr. Bradlaugh, he was conducted below the bar. Mr. Bradlaugh, however, again advancing within the bar, and asserting his determination to resist the order of the House,—Motion made and question proposed, 'That Mr. Bradlaugh, having disobeyed the order and resisted the authority of this House, be for his said offence taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly.' Debate arising,—Motion made and ques-

* Mr. Bradlaugh remained standing at the table while the members passed into the division lobbies;—probably the only instance of a member being allowed to remain in the house during a division.

tion proposed, 'That the debate be now adjourned.' Motion, by leave, withdrawn. Question again proposed. Debate arising,—Motion made and question put, 'That the debate be now adjourned.' The House divided—Ayes, 5; noes, 342. Original question put. The House divided —Ayes, 274; noes, 7. Ordered, that Mr. Bradlaugh, having disobeyed the order and resisted the authority of this House, be for his said offence taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly."

Forward New Members.—Mr. Lechmere (afterwards Lord Lechmere), a member of the legal profession, being returned to Parliament for Appleby, in the year 1708, turned round and addressed the House immediately after he had taken the oaths. A country gentleman, however, interrupted his speech, objecting to his right to be heard, inasmuch as he could not be considered a "sitting member," not having sat down since he had entered the house.—Mr. Cowper (afterwards Lord Chancellor, 1707) addressed the House three times on the day of taking his seat. He was excelled, however, by "Orator Hunt," who spoke (says Townsend) on six different questions the very first night.

"Calling the House."—When there is a "call" of the House of Lords, a notice is sent to every peer informing him "that all the lords are summoned to attend the service of the House" on a certain day. Although the lords may usually remain away with impunity, there have been occasions when both fines and imprisonment have been imposed upon absent peers. During the time when the bill for the degradation of Queen Caroline was before the Legislature, in the year 1820, the House of Lords was called over, and it was resolved, "That no lord do absent himself on pain of incurring a fine of 100*l.* for each day's absence, pending the three first days of such proceedings, and of 50*l.* for each subsequent day's absence from the same; and in default of payment of being taken into custody." The only excuses allowed were those of sickness, being abroad, or out of the country upon public service, old age (seventy and upwards), or the death of a parent, wife, or child. At the "call," the clerk first reads the name of the junior baron, according to ancient custom.—As regards calls of the House of Commons, it is usual to give at least a week or ten days' notice, and (according to May's "Parliamentary Practice") the order for the House to be called over is accompanied by a resolution "that such members as shall not then attend be sent for in the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms." On the call day, after the first order of the day has been disposed of, the names of members are called—the county representatives first, and then the city and borough members. The English and Welsh counties precede those of Scotland and Ireland. The clerk takes down the names of those members who are present, and during the evening they are again called. Members not present are summoned to attend on a future day; if they are not on that occasion in the House, and fail to make some valid excuse, they are "liable to be committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and to the payment of the fees incident to that commitment."

"No House."—On the 19th of May, 1876, a circumstance occurred

which had not transpired before during an interval of fourteen years, namely, a "no house." When the Speaker took the chair at four o'clock, he proceeded to count the members present, and, reporting that there were only 36, the House stood adjourned, according to its rule that 40 must be present to constitute a sitting.

Making a House from Committees.—In the House of Commons on May 1, 1879, Sir J. Goldsmid asked a question of the Speaker on this subject. On the previous day (a Wednesday) he was acting as chairman of a select committee on a private bill, and shortly after twelve o'clock he was, with other members of the committee, asked by the Serjeant-at-Arms to leave the committee-room and assist in making a House. He thought this unfair alike to the members and to the persons interested in the bills, inasmuch as there were many members who had no committee work to do who might, if they would, attend at noon on Wednesdays to make a House. When the Serjeant-at-Arms appeared, he had not the mace with him, but he stated that in the event of non-compliance he should have to produce the mace, and he (Sir J. Goldsmid) did not know what the consequences of such an appearance might have been. (Laughter.) The Speaker, in reply, said the practice of sending the Serjeant-at-Arms under such circumstances was founded upon ancient custom. He had in his possession a book, prepared on the authority of Mr. Speaker Abbot in 1805, and handed down to his successors, from which he would read an extract. It ran as follows: "After prayers, the Speaker generally retires to his own chamber, or sits in the House in the clerk's chair. When he says he wishes to take the chair and there are not forty members in the house, the Serjeant must go to the committees upstairs, and, addressing himself to the chairman, must say, 'Sir, the Speaker wants to take the chair,' and desire the members of such committees to go down to help to make a House; if they don't comply with this summons, the Speaker can send, and frequently has sent, up the Serjeant with the mace; and on the appearance of the mace at any committee, that committee is dissolved of course. But it is convenient and usual first to inform the committee that the Speaker intends or threatens to send the mace if they do not come, and for the messenger, when the mace is coming, to inform the committee of it, that they may adjourn and not be dissolved." He remarked, further, that the Speaker had no authority to compel the attendance of honourable members who were serving on committees. The attendance of members at the request of the Speaker must, under the circumstances, be left to their own good sense and judgment.

Whips' Circulars for Attendance.—In allusion to the absence of party questions in the session of 1877, Sir Wilfrid Lawson told some of his constituents that it was the custom for the "whip" of the Liberal party in Parliament to call his political hounds together by means of a little circular "earnestly requesting" their attendance. If the circular came without a dash or stroke under the word earnestly, it meant there was some business which might or might not come on that night. If there was one dash under the word "earnestly," it meant you ought to come. If there were two, it meant you should come. If there were three,

it meant you must come. If there were four, it meant "come, or stay away at your peril."

An Unusually Full House.—Evelyn writes in October, 1705: "The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith Speaker. There had never ben so greate an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450." The full number of members at this time was about 500.

Non-Attendance of Members.—In debates of the highest consequence during the reign of Charles I. (says Clarendon) there were not usually present in the House of Commons the fifth part of their just numbers, and very often not above a dozen or thirteen in the House of Peers.

Fines on Absent Members.—A correspondent putting a question on this subject to *Notes and Queries*, the editor replied as follows:—"The personal service of every member of the Commons House has been compulsory from time immemorial. By 5 Rich. II. c. 14 it is enacted that, 'if any person summoned to Parliament do absent himself, and come not at the said summons (except he may reasonably and honestly excuse himself to our lord the King), he shall he amerced, or otherwise punished, according as of old times hath been used to be done, within the said realm in the said case.' And by 6th Henry VIII. c. 16 it is declared that no member shall absent himself 'without the licence of the Speaker and the Commons.' The penalties imposed upon members so offending have varied with the times and the temper of the House. Sometimes absentees have been committed to prison, but more frequently punished by fines, or the forfeiture of their 'wages.' In the latter Parliaments of Charles I. and those of the Commonwealth, the fine for disobeying a call of the House was not less than ten nor more than twenty pounds; and most probably the last-mentioned sum was the maximum in all times. Taking the value of money into consideration, as well as the loss of the parliamentary allowance, the cost of absenteeism at the period referred to certainly was not to be 'lightlie esteemed.' The infliction of fines seems to have ceased towards the close of the seventeenth century. The power of inflicting them rested with the House; the Speaker, in virtue of his office, merely executed its orders."

Fines for Late Arrival.—Many efforts (says Mr. Forster, in his "Arrest") had been made to compel early and full attendance at the House. Under the form of fines for being late at prayers, these attempts were frequently renewed. The practice originated at the memorable time of May, 1641; but, owing to the confusion caused by the calls of "Pay! Pay!" which greeted dilatory members on their entrance, it was for the time abandoned. Ten months later it was renewed. "A motion made," says D'Ewes, "as I came in, that such members as should not come up by eight, and be at prayers, should pay a shilling. I said, when that was tried twelve months ago it was laid aside from its inconvenience, after one day's practice; and that the best way would be to rise at twelve, and not at two or three, to ensure members coming at eight. Divers others spake against it; but the greater number being for it, it passed." Very little, however, as it would seem, to the benefit of Mr. Speaker, seeing that

next morning he did not make his appearance till a quarter to nine. "The House by this time," D'Ewes remarks, "was very full at prayers, by reason of the order made yesterday. Sir H. Mildmay, after prayers, stood up and said he was glad to see this good effect of yesterday's order, and said to the Speaker that he did hope that hereafter he would come in time; which made the Speaker throw down twelvepence upon the table. Divers spake after him, and others as they came in did each pay his shilling to the Serjeant. I spake to the orders of the House: That the order made yesterday was to fine 'after' prayers, and therefore you (I spake to the Speaker) cannot be subject to pay; and for coming a little after eight, that was no great difference. Although I spake truly, the Speaker, having cast down his shilling, would not take it up again."

Early Hours in Parliament.—The sittings (says May) were formerly held at an early hour in the morning, generally at eight o'clock, but often even at six or seven o'clock, and continued till eleven, the committee being appointed to sit in the afternoon. In the time of Charles II., nine o'clock was the usual hour for commencing public business, and four o'clock for the House rising. At a later period, ten o'clock was the ordinary time of meeting; and the practice of nominally adjourning the House until that hour continued until 1806, though so early a meeting had long been discontinued. According to the present practice, no hour is named by the House for its next meeting, but it is announced in the "Votes" at what hour Mr. Speaker will take the chair. Occasionally the House has adjourned to a later hour than four, as on the opening of the Great Exhibition, 1st May, 1851; to six o'clock, and on the Naval Review at Spithead, 11th August, 1853, to ten o'clock at night.

A Speaker's Lament.—Speaker Arthur Onslow, in 1759, wrote as follows respecting the late hour of commencing Parliamentary sittings: "This is shamefully grown of late, even to two of the clock. I have done all in my power to prevent it, and it has been one of the griefs and burdens of my life. It has innumerable inconveniences attending it. The Prince of Wales that now is (afterwards George III.) has mentioned it to me several times with concern, and did it again this very day; and it gives me hopes, that in King William's time those of his Ministers who had the care of the government business in the House of Commons were dismissed by him to be there by eleven o'clock. But it is not the fault of the present King; his hours are early. It is the bad practice of the higher offices, and the members fall into it, as suiting their late hours of pleasure, exercise, or other private avocations. The modern practice, too, of long adjournments at Christmas and Easter, and the almost constant adjournment over Saturdays, are a great delay of business and of the sessions. This last was begun by Sir Robert Walpole for the sake of his hunting, but now everybody is for it."

Motion for Candles.—In the House of Commons an interruption was sometimes caused by moving that candles be brought in; but by a standing order of the 6th of February, 1717, it was ordered, "That when the House, or any committee of the whole House, shall be sitting, and daylight be shut in, the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House do take

care that candles be brought in, without any particular order for that purpose."

A Long Sitting.—Walpole relates, in his "Memoirs of the Reign of George III.," that on the discussion of the Westminster election in 1742, the Speaker sat in the chair for seventeen hours.

The Longest Recorded Sitting of the House.—This occurred on the 31st of July and 1st of August, 1877. The House met at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st (Tuesday), and continued sitting until six the following evening, the leaders of the Government and the Opposition agreeing to continue the business of the House by relays of members and by a succession of chairmen; the officers of the House being also relieved by arrangement. The bill before the House was one relating to South Africa, which had been obstinately contested (apparently for the mere sake of obstructing business) by a section of the Irish party.*

Prolonged Sittings.—An extraordinary sitting of the House of Commons occurred on the 13th and 14th of May, 1878. At past two o'clock in the morning the House went into committee on the Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill, which was supported by some of the Irish members, but strenuously resisted by others. About ten divisions were taken on repeated motions to report progress, and "that the chairman do leave the chair" was negatived as many times without division, but carried out in a literal sense, one gentleman after another taking the place of his tired colleague. Progress was eventually reported at twenty-five minutes past nine o'clock in the morning; the Speaker returned to the House, and the other orders were hastily disposed of.—The sitting of Aug. 11, 1879, was prolonged until ten minutes past seven on the following morning. The House went into committee on the Public Works Loans Bill at twenty minutes past two, and several motions to report progress were opposed and defeated by the Government, which (through Sir Stafford Northcote) resisted the appeals of some members to break up the sitting. It was past six when the bill passed through committee, and the Speaker re-entered the House. Other business was then taken, and its transaction occupied another hour.

Vacation of a Seat.—The Chiltern Hundreds.—By ancient law, a member of Parliament cannot voluntarily vacate his seat; but on acceptance of an office under the Crown his seat is vacated as a matter of course, the rule being that he must return to his constituents for them to express their approval of such a step, by re-electing him. The stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds is an ancient office, entailing, now, neither duty nor emolument; but its acceptance affords to a member of Parliament a ready means of resigning his position, and the office is retained for the convenience of members of the House. It is in the gift of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it has sometimes been applied for and resigned by different persons three or four times within a week. An interesting question respecting application for the office arose in July, 1880. At the general election in the previous April, Mr Dodson (for-

* See pp. 460, 461.

merly Chairman of Committees in the House) had been returned for Chester, but, accepting office in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry formed soon after, he had gone back to his constituents, and was re-elected. A petition, however, was presented against his first return, and, on hearing, the judges pronounced such return null and void on the ground of bribery and treating, but that no corrupt practice had been proved against the candidate. The question as to the legality of the second election was not raised, Mr. Dodson applying for the Chiltern Hundreds, and being returned for Scarborough soon after. It was remarked in the House that there was no former instance, in the history of the British Parliament, of a Cabinet Minister having accepted so humble an office as the stewardship in question. With regard to the practice of bestowing it, Mr. Gladstone said that the rule was "to consider whether the gentleman who asks for the office can by possibility be escaping from any duty he owes to Parliament, or any law under which he has come by his election to Parliament; and, unless there is some ground or colour of positive objection of this nature, to grant the office without making further inquiry."

The Stewardship Refused.—An instance of this kind occurred in 1842. Mr. Goulburn, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, declined granting the office to Viscount Chelsea, on account of a suspected arrangement for the purpose of avoiding investigation into bribery; but he said in his letter that "under ordinary circumstances I should not feel justified in availing myself of the discretion vested in me to refuse or delay the appointment for which you have applied, when sought for with a view to the resignation of a seat in Parliament."

New Writs.—Under an Act of George III., five members are appointed for the purpose of issuing writs in the event of the illness or death of the Speaker. The appointments are made at the opening of each Parliament.

Adjournment of Parliament over the "Isthmian Games."—Lord Palmerston, in moving the customary adjournment over the Derby day in 1857, alluded to it as "the day on which our Isthmian games are celebrated." An interesting discussion on the motion arose in 1872. On the evening before the Derby day in that year, the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) moved the adjournment. The motion was opposed by Mr. Thomas Hughes, who remarked that the House had recently waived its former observance of Ascension Day, and it would be stultifying itself now to sacrifice a whole day to the festival of the turf. The turf, he said, whatever it might have done for the breed of horses, had given the British nation a system of gambling the most corrupt, the most insidious, and the most mischievous that had ever cursed any country in the world.—Mr. Locke charged the honourable member with inconsistency, and said Mr. Hughes would probably go to the Derby himself.—Col. Beresford hoped the honourable member would divide the House, as he threatened, for the result would probably be to prevent his ever interfering in the matter again.—Mr. Gladstone, in reply, said: "The House agreed with his honourable friend in his denunciation of the foolish, vicious, and even ruinously vicious practices in many cases associated with what they never-

theless believed to be in itself a noble, manly, distinguished, and he might almost say historically national sport. The House would act on the principle that it was not bound, and that it was not expedient, to take cognisance, in connection with such a motion as this, of abuses which, after all, were not essential to the sport itself. Moreover, were it to take cognisance of those abuses, and to take its stand on the extremely detrimental character of some of those practices, it ought to do something a little more decided than declining to adjourn over the morrow, and should in its legislative capacity make them the object of some aggressive action." On a division there appeared, for the adjournment, 212; against it, 58—majority, 154. In 1876 a division again took place on the subject, Mr. Disraeli (the Premier) moving, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Bright opposing, the adjournment. The numbers then were—For the adjournment, 207; against, 118—majority, 89. In 1880 Sir Wilfrid Lawson again opposed the adjournment, which had been moved by Mr. R. Power; the Government, through Mr. Gladstone, declining to take any step in the matter. On division there appeared—For adjournment, 285; against, 115—majority, 170.

The Ministerial Whitebait Dinner.—This annual festivity at the end of the Parliamentary session is believed to have originated towards the close of the last century, when Sir Robert Preston, a wealthy merchant residing at Dagenham in Essex, and representing Dover in Parliament, was accustomed to invite his friend Mr. George Rose, Secretary to the Treasury, to partake of his hospitality. By Mr. Rose's suggestion, Mr. Pitt was asked to participate, and made his visit yearly. The locality being inconvenient, it was decided to change it for Greenwich, and by degrees other Ministers were invited, until in time the dinner assumed an exclusively ministerial character. It was continued annually until Mr. Gladstone's Administration came into office in 1868, when it was discontinued, but it was revived by Mr. Disraeli in 1874.

Smoking in Parliament.—Members appear occasionally to have indulged themselves in the House by the use of the fragrant weed. The standing orders issued about the middle of the seventeenth century contain the following: "Ordered, that no member of the House do presume to smoke tobacco in the gallery, or at the table of the House, sitting as Committees."

The Rush to Dinner.—As it has been (says Forster) with many a modern Mr. Speaker between the hours of seven and eight in the evening, so fared it with Mr. Speaker Lenthal, between twelve and one mid-day. One day the rush of members out of the house at that hour, during a debate on supply, had been such that he was fain flatly to tell them "they were unworthy to sit in this great and wise assembly in a parliament, that would so run forth for their dinners."

The "Dinner-bell" of the House.—I am indebted to a friend (says Professor Pryme) for the following: "An anecdote is told of David Hartley, the dinner-bell of the House, getting up to speak. Sir Robert Walpole took the opportunity of taking his ride, and went home, changed

his dress for riding costume, rode to Hampstead, returned, put on full dress and came down to the House, when he found D. Hartley still on his legs, not having finished his speech."

Shabby Peers.—In the Parliament which assembled at Drogheda, Dec. 1, 1494 (relates O'Flanagan) the lords spiritual and temporal were enjoined to appear in every Parliament in their robes, as the lords of England. The reason assigned for this was "that during the space of twenty years the English lords of Ireland had, through penuriousness, done away the said robes, to their own great dishonour, and the rebuke of all the whole land."

Wearing of Spurs in the House.—In the 39th year of Elizabeth, the House was cautioned by one of the Ministers that "none should enter with their spurs;" and a little later, we are told, "Mr. Speaker showed to the House that some particular members found themselves aggrieved that the ancient order for putting off their spurs, before they came into the Parliament House, was not observed, which he prayed might be done: others suggested that boots and rapiers be taken away, but nothing was done thereon."

Swords Forbidden.—Lord Strafford (says Townsend), when Viceroy of Ireland, issued a proclamation to regulate Parliamentary sittings, and expressly forbade the entrance of any member of either House with his sword. All obeyed except the young Earl of Ormond, who told the usher of the black rod, on demanding his sword, that he should have no sword of his except through his (the usher's) body. Equally concise and determined was the rejoinder of the spirited Irish nobleman when, in reply to the irritated inquiry of the Lord Deputy himself, what were his reasons for such insolent behaviour, he laid on the table his Majesty's writ which had summoned him to Parliament "cinctum cum gladio," or "per cincturam gladii."

"Tottenham in his Boots."—A very trifling circumstance marks the exactness and gravity of the dress insisted on about 1730 in the Irish House of Commons. Colonel Tottenham was called "Tottenham in his Boots;" because, having just come to town, and hearing of the important business then under discussion, he hurried down to the House without giving himself time to take his boots off. The members stared; and the older ones, as I have been well assured, muttered sadly and loudly at this crying innovation, as they termed it.—*Hardy's "Memoirs of Charlemont."*

Going to Court in Top-boots.—When the resolution for an address to the King to make peace with America, in 1782, was carried by the Opposition by a very small majority, it was decided that the address be taken up to the Throne by the whole House. In order (says Professor Pryme) to mark their sense of the treatment they had been receiving from the Court, the county members went up to the Throne, according to their privilege, in leather breeches and top-boots, instead of court dress—a privilege, of course, very seldom exercised. The Court was not behindhand with them; for, as a marked and well-understood insult to the Opposition, General Arnold (just returned from America) was placed

conspicuously on the King's right hand, where he was visible to the whole body of the members.

The Last of an Old School.—Mr. George Byng (says Lord Dalling) was the last M.P. who was seen in the House of Commons with the top-boots that formed part of the costume of the Pitt and Fox epoch. He represented Middlesex in Parliament for fifty-six years—from 1790 till his death in 1846.

Correct Costume.—Professor Pryme tells the following: The mover and seconder of the address in answer to the King's speech always appeared in court dress, but the rest stood in a semicircle before the throne, in their ordinary morning dress. On the presentation of the address in 1835, one honourable member chose to appear in court dress, and seeing himself, when we were assembled previously, differently habited from the others, inquired if he were correct; to which the Speaker (Abercromby) answered, "*Singularly* correct, sir."

A Member Counting Himself Out.—The following incident is mentioned by Mr. R. F. Palgrave: "About a score of representatives were being addressed on a very important subject, by a very serious brother member. Vexed by the scanty attendance that listened to him, he joked about the crowded benches, the packed house, that he pretended to see around. The jest was fatal; he had referred to the number present. "Order! order!" from the chair silenced the debater. Amazed he sat down, quite ignorant of the effect of his wit. Then the Speaker, in due custom, began the regular, "One, two, three ——." Soon all was over; the two minutes elapsed; only twenty heads were counted, and the House broke up, much in laughter at the luckless orator, who had counted himself out.

A Miscount.—A division took place in the House of Commons, May 17th, 1871, on the second reading of the Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill, moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, when the numbers were declared to be, for the second reading, 124; against, 206—82. The tellers for the "ayes" on this occasion were Sir W. Lawson and Lord C. Hamilton; for the "noes," Mr. Wheelhouse and Mr. Amphlett. On the following day Sir W. Lawson, addressing the Speaker, said: "Yesterday, when the division took place on the second reading of the Permissive Bill, the honourable member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse) gave in the numbers of the majority as 206, whereas it appears from the votes that only 196 members voted against the bill." At a later period of the sitting, Lord C. Hamilton (who stood before the table with Mr. Wheelhouse, addressing the Speaker) said he wished to state that the number of "noes" in the division was erroneously announced to be 206 instead of 196—the latter being the number which corresponded with the division list.

Alone in the Lobby.—Mr. Fawcett was incorrectly stated to have been the first member who ever appeared alone in the division lobby of the House of Commons. Mr. James Grant, however, mentions the case of a Mr. Halcomb, during the Speakership of Sir Charles Manners Sutton. The occasion on which Mr. Fawcett thus appeared was the motion for a grant of £30,000 for the marriage portion of the Princess

Louise, February 16, 1871. The "ayes" were 350 against one "no;" Mr. Fawcett had for his tellers Mr. Taylor and Sir C. Dilke. In April, 1875, Dr. Kenealy also found himself alone, on a motion concerning "the Claimant," the numbers being 1 to 433.

A "Glorious Minority."—In the House of Lords, towards the close of the last century, there was a peculiar instance of voting alone. A motion being before the House on the question of the country going to war with France, the Duke of Somerset called for a division, when he appeared alone in opposition to the motion. To commemorate his course of action, he caused a medal to be struck in honour of "The Glorious Minority of One."

The Voice Overrides the Vote.—On the report of the Holyrood Park Bill, August 10th, 1843 (relates Sir T. E. May), a member called out with the "noes," "The noes have it," and thus forced that party to a division, although he was about to vote with the "ayes," and went out into the lobby with them. On his return, and before the numbers were declared by the tellers, Mr. Brotherton addressed the Speaker, and claimed that the member's vote should be reckoned with the "noes." The Speaker put it to the member whether he had said "The noes have it;" to which he replied that he had, but without any intention of voting with the noes. The Speaker, however, would not admit of his excuse, but ordered that his vote should be counted with the noes, as he had declared himself with them in the House.

Divisions in Full Houses.—The division which overthrew Lord Derby's second Administration in June, 1859, by a majority of 13, drew together the greatest number of members ever recorded to have assembled in the House of Commons. There voted (including tellers) 637, to whom must be added the Speaker.—On the occasion of the second reading of the Reform Bill of the Russell Administration in May, 1866, the total numbers present were 636, 318 voting with the Government and 313 against. The House was this time only eleven members short of its possible number, for eleven seats were vacant; and of the absentees, two members had paired.—The division in 1864 on Mr. Disraeli's motion of censure upon Lord Palmerston's Government, for his policy respecting Danish affairs, brought together 613; and the second reading of the Irish Church Bill in 1869 was decided by a House (including the Speaker) of 618. In former times, before the present facilities for travelling were brought into existence, the numbers were naturally much smaller; but the principal divisions on the Reform Bills of 1831-32 called up respectively 608, 603, and 599 members.

Repeated Divisions in the House of Commons.—In March, 1771, the Opposition, led by Burke, divided the House twenty-four times (until four o'clock in the morning) on a proposition to call to the bar some printers, for having published reports of Parliamentary proceedings.—In 1839, nine voters against 127 compelled sixteen divisions on the Copyright Bill.—On the 3rd of August, 1876, repeated divisions to adjourn an educational debate were forced by members of the Liberal party, until at past four in the morning the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir S. Northcote)

declared that he thought it was now more consistent with the dignity of the House to give way than to persevere, and himself moved the adjournment of the debate, in opposition to the wishes of some of his own party. While the motion for adjournment was being persisted in, a member (Mr. Sullivan) remarked that the example of this mode of Parliamentary procedure would not be lost on the Irish party. (See p. 460, &c.)

Divisions in the House of Lords.—The highest number of votes recorded in the House of Lords in the present century were given on the 4th of August, 1880. The measure before the House was the Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill, the second reading of which was refused by 282 against 51; majority 231, out of a total of 333. It was pointed out that while only 51 Liberal members voted for the bill, 63 of the usual supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Government were found in the majority against it.—On the second reading of the Irish Church Bill, in June, 1869, the number of lords voting was 325, and the bill was carried by 179 to 146. In the latter case the pairs were eighteen, and in the former fourteen.

Petitions to Parliament.—A supplement to the "Votes and Proceedings" of the House of Commons, issued in 1880, contained the following with respect to public petitions: Every member presenting a petition to the House must affix his name at the beginning thereof; every petition must be written, and not printed or lithographed; every petition must contain a prayer. Every petition must be signed by at least one person on the skin or sheet on which the petition is written; every person signing a petition must write his address after his signature, or his signature will not be counted. Every petition must be written in the English language, or be accompanied by a translation certified by the member who shall present it; every petition must be signed by the parties whose names are appended thereto by their names or marks, and by no one else, except in case of incapacity by sickness. No letters, affidavits, or other documents may be attached to any petition; no erasures or interlineations may be made in any petition; no reference may be made to any debate in Parliament. No application may be made for any grant of public money, except with the consent of the Crown. All petitions, after they have been ordered to lie upon the table, are referred to the Committee on Public Petitions, without any question being put; but if a petition relate to any matter with respect to which the member presenting it has given notice of a motion, and the petition has not been ordered to be printed by the committee, he may, after notice given, move that it be printed with the votes.

The Chartist Petition of 1848.—On the 10th of April the Houses of Parliament (says the *Annual Register*) were filled with police, and, for the preservation of the peace, the streets were guarded by 170,000 special constables. The petition, which was to have been carried in procession from Kennington Common to Westminster, was transported by the less ostentatious medium of several cabs. Feargus O'Connor, in presenting it to the House, stated that it bore 5,706,000 signatures; but a strict scrutiny reduced these figures to the still very respectable total of

1,900,000. The Marquis of Lansdowne, in answer to a question in the House of Lords, said, "The meeting which was attempted to be held to-day on Kennington Common was dispersed by the police only, without the assistance or even the presence of a single soldier." Lord Brougham held that "those meetings that are called, whether in England or in Ireland, 'monster meetings,' are, in themselves, essentially illegal."

Prevention of Crowds at Westminster Hall.—To facilitate the attendance of members without interruption, both Houses order, at the commencement of each session, "That the Commissioners of the Police of the metropolis do take care that, during the session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to the house be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of the lords (or members) to and from this house; and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this house, during the sitting of Parliament; and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod (or the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House) do communicate this order to the commissioners aforesaid."*

Harsh Treatment of Petitioners.—The Kentish Petition.—Mr. W. C. Townsend gives the following account of the incidents attending the presentation of this petition, in 1701. A large portion of the nation were irritated against the House of Commons for their factious disputes with the Lords, some of whom they impeached without proceeding in the impeachment, and for their unreasonable jealousies of William III. The leading gentry of Kent discussed these grievances at the Maidstone Easter sessions, and drew up a petition expressing their hope "that no pretence whatsoever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred Majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgotten;" with more to similar effect. The petition was drawn up by Mr. William Colepepper, the chairman, and signed by twenty-three of his brother magistrates, twenty-one of the grand jury, and a number of freeholders, whose signatures in five hours completely covered the parchment. Five of the leading gentry of the county repaired to the House with the petition. As they were waiting in the lobby, Mr. Meredith, one of the county members, came out and informed them of the extraordinary excitement into which its arrival had thrown the House, Mr. How saying if there were 100,000 hands to this petition they should be all made examples of; and Sir Edward Seymour threatening that the whole county should be doubly taxed, and the estates of those who presented the petition confiscated. The country gentlemen stood their ground undaunted. Their leader, Colepepper, applied to himself the saying of Luther to those who would have dissuaded him from entering Worms, that "if every tile on the roof of the chapel of St. Stephen's were a devil he would present this petition—that if none of the members would do their

* See also p. 348, "Presenting Public Petitions."

country so much service as to present their grievances to Parliament, embodied in a legal petition, they would knock at the door of the House, and deliver it themselves." A member having at length ventured to rise with the obnoxious document, the Speaker declared that it was the usage of the House, when a petition was presented, that the persons who brought it ought to be ready with it to justify its contents. The little band of patriots were accordingly called to the bar and addressed by the Speaker, Mr. Harley. They were asked if they owned the petition, and having acknowledged it, were directed to withdraw and expect the order of the House. They were detained in the lobby five hours, and their fears played upon by a message from Sir Edward Seymour, that Mr. How was then speaking, and would continue to speak for some time, to give them time for repentance, and by a timely acknowledgment to save themselves from ruin. The House, finding at length that the petitioners were not to be subdued by menaces, "resolved, that their petition was scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of Parliament, and to subvert the established government of these realms." As a natural sequel to this fiery resolution, the House ordered that the petitioners be committed to Newgate, where they lingered till the prorogation on June 23rd—a period of two months.

Parliamentary Precedent. — An ex-Speaker Defending Himself at the Bar. — On the occasion of the Lord Keeper Finch being heard at the bar to answer the charges of treason preferred against him, in December, 1840, a discussion arose prior to his entrance, respecting the formalities that should be observed. The "Note-book of Sir John Northcote" shows the studious attention of the House on the occasion to form and precedent. The following are the entries: "Clerk to take notes of Lord Keeper's speech. A chair to sit on, and stool to lay the purse.—Sir S. D'Ewes: De la Poole Duke of Suffolk came into the House without either, and came within the bar.—Sir R. Pye: That before he be condemned that honour is to be done to the seal.—Sir G. Gerard: That when Lord Southampton came they stood till Mr. Speaker gave order for stool, and that he might be covered by direction of House.—Mr. Controller: That chair be set, and left to his discretion how to demean himself.—Sir J. Strangways and Mr. Hollis: That no chair be placed till he come in and desire to speak.—Mr. D.: To place chair on left, and that the mace may stand on right." Sir Simonds D'Ewes records what followed: "The serjeant came in before him (Finch), and he brought the purse with the great seal in it himself, and, having made three reverences, he laid the purse on the chair, and stood by it, leaning his left hand on it, and so he made a long and well-composed speech. Before he began the Speaker said, 'Your lordship may sit down if you please.' But he spake standing, and so, having ended his speech, after a reverence made, took up the purse and departed." He departed secretly out of the country immediately after.

Thanks of Parliament to Schomberg and Wellington.— Macaulay relates the following: The House of Commons (in 1689) had, with general approbation, compensated Schomberg's losses and rewarded his

services by a grant of a hundred thousand pounds. Before he set out for Ireland, he requested permission to express his gratitude for this magnificent present. A chair was set for him within the bar. He took his seat there with the mace at his right hand, rose, and in a few graceful words returned his thanks, and took his leave. The Speaker replied that the Commons could never forget the obligation under which they already lay to his grace, that they saw him with pleasure at the head of an English army, that they felt entire confidence in his zeal and ability, and that, at whatever distance he might be, he would always be in a peculiar manner an object of their care. The precedent set on this interesting occasion was followed with the utmost minuteness, a hundred and twenty-five years later, on an occasion more interesting still. Exactly on the same spot on which, in July, 1689, Schomberg had acknowledged the liberality of the nation, a chair was set, in July, 1814, for a still more illustrious warrior, who came to return thanks for a still more splendid mark of public gratitude. Few things illustrate more strikingly the peculiar character of the English government and people than the circumstance that the House of Commons, a popular assembly, should, even in a moment of joyous enthusiasm, have adhered to ancient forms with the punctilious accuracy of a College of Heralds; that the sitting and rising, the covering and the uncovering, should have been regulated by exactly the same etiquette in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth; and that the same mace which had been held at the right hand of Schomberg should have been held in the same position at the right hand of Wellington.

Thanks of the House to General Fairfax.—Speaker Lenthal, in the course of his speech giving the thanks of the House to General Fairfax in 1646, made use of the following high-flown phrases:—"Heretofore, when I read the histories of the acts of famous princes and warriors in this or other nations, it was not without some jealousy that in them there was some mixture and glosses of oratory and art, the more to set off and give lustre to their acts, as arguments of emulation for others to follow the footsteps of their virtues; but the actions of your excellency will add lustre and belief to them, being all verified in you. And, indeed, here considering the swift marches, and the expedition of those grand and difficult attempts, which were prosecuted and effected by your excellency, I may say the Almighty came riding on the wings of the wind; for these were nothing else but the *Magnalia Dei*, acted in and by you, his instrument."

An Admiral on his Beam-ends.—Vice-Admiral Sir Alan, afterwards Lord Gardner, being at the time member for Plymouth, was to receive the thanks of the House, in his place in Parliament, for his share in the naval victory obtained over the French on the 1st of June, 1794. "On the day appointed, before the commencement of business" (says Dean Pellew in his "Life of Sidmouth"), "he entered the Speaker's private room in great agitation, and expressed his apprehensions that he should fail in properly acknowledging the honour which he was about to receive. 'I have often been at the cannon's mouth,' he said, 'but hang

me if ever I felt as I do now! I have not slept these three nights. Look at my tongue.' The Speaker rang for a bottle of Madeira, and Sir Alan took a glass. After a short time he took a second, and then said he felt somewhat better; but when the moment of trial arrived, and one of the bravest of a gallant profession, whom no personal danger could appal, rose to reply to the Speaker, he could scarcely articulate. He was encouraged by enthusiastic cheers from all part of the House; but, after stammering out with far more than the usual amount of truth that 'he was overpowered by the honour that had been conferred upon him,' and vainly attempting to add a few more words, he relinquished the idea as hopeless, and abruptly resumed his seat amidst a renewed burst of cheers."

The "Garter" in the Commons.—Horace Walpole writes in 1772:—"Lord North is likely to have the Duke of Saxe-Gotha's vacant garter, the only one, except my father's, that has shone in the House of Commons since Queen Elizabeth's days." North had the garter, which has since but rarely been bestowed on statesmen sitting in the Lower House. A notable instance was that of Lord Palmerston. It was offered to the younger Pitt and to Sir Robert Peel, but declined by both.

VARIETIES.

Cats and Parliaments.—Charles I. said that Parliaments are like cats; they grow curst [sour-tempered] with age.—*Hallam's "Constitutional History."*

How Long will Parliament Keep "Fresh"?—A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* writes: "In the course of a debate which arose on the Triennial Bill in 1693, a speaker amused the House with the following argument in support of the bill: 'Parliaments,' he said, 'resembled the manna which God bestowed on the chosen people. They were excellent while they were *fresh*; but if kept too long they became noisome, and foul worms were engendered by the corruption of that which had been sweeter than honey.' Grave analogical misgivings as to the durability of new parliamentary materials have compressed themselves into the following query: How long will 'Parliament' *keep* without becoming offensive?"

A Figurative and a Literal Dissolution.—Lord Chief Justice North dined with the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham (says Roger North in his "Life of Guilford") when "both these counsellors were as blown deer, and would be glad to have the Parliament dissolved; of which, to say the truth, the whole nation was weary. And at this time the frost was very sharp, and the company at dinner complained of cold. The duke turned round, and, looking back towards the window, said, 'There will be a thaw soon.' None at the table but his lordship guessed at his meaning. And so he intended it; for he knew that the Parliament would in a few days be dissolved, but his lordship did not, till he guessed so from that

sentence of the duke's; and it proved accordingly. And so the duke *discovered* and at the same time *kept* the grand secret, which was a fine turn of a politician."

Parliamentary Secession.*—At one period, under the Government of Lord North (1777), Fox and his friends, finding themselves unable to take effectual action against the Ministry, seceded from the parliamentary discussion of public measures. "The Opposition," says the *Annual Register*, "appeared in their places only upon such matters of private bills in which they had some particular concern or interest." On this subject Earl Russell remarks ("Life of Fox"): "The general question of parliamentary secession is one of considerable importance and no slight difficulty. It is sanctioned by the precedents of Pulteney in the time of Sir Robert Walpole, of Burke in the period of which we are treating, and of Fox and Grey during the French revolutionary war. The principle of secession, indeed, is not easily defended; for to what end are men chosen representatives of the people if they refrain from voting on the interests of the people, irrespective of the views of other representatives? On the other hand, it must be admitted that practically a Minister gains strength from the repetition of fruitless attempts to overthrow his policy. The publicity of debate gives appearance of fairness to the contest, and the country is apt to rest satisfied with a verdict pronounced after argument heard, evidence weighed, and authority examined. It may, therefore, be practically expedient to retire for a season from opposition to a policy which is deliberately approved, though in error, by the Crown, the Parliament, and the nation. But, however advisable a total secession may be, there could be no greater mistake than a partial, fitful, and capricious withdrawal from public business. It has the air of a loss of temper rather than the silent reserve of dignity or the calm patience of wisdom. This was, however, the course which the Rockingham Whigs pursued. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act being announced, Lord Rockingham held a meeting to consider whether the Whigs should return to oppose it. Lord Rockingham himself, Burke, and the Cavendishes adhered to secession, but Charles Fox would not agree; and he accordingly, on the second reading, attended to oppose the suspension."

Parliamentary Obstruction.—In the House of Commons on the 2nd of July, 1877, the tactics of "obstruction" were developed to their full extent. In committee a vote for the Army Reserve force was met by Mr. O'Connor Power, member for Mayo, with a motion to report progress; and, although only eight voted with the Irish member and 128 against, the motions that progress be reported, and that the chairman do leave the chair, were together repeated seventeen times; after which the House was counted out, at a quarter-past seven in the morning.—On the 25th of the same month, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Stafford Northcote) moved the suspension for two days of Mr. C. S. Parnell, member for Meath, for having "wilfully and persis-

* See also page 14, "Secession of Members from the Commons."

tently obstructed public business;" and on the 27th Sir S. Northcote moved a new rule, that "When a member has been declared out of order, and is pronounced to be disregarding the authority of the chair, a motion that he be not heard during the remainder of the debate or the committee may be put without debate, after the member complained of has been heard in explanation." This was carried by a large majority, as well as another rule, that no member shall twice move in the same committee that the chairman report progress or leave the chair.—On the 31st of the month, when the longest recorded sitting occurred (p. 449), it was in contemplation between the leaders of both sides of the House to support a proposal for the suspension of certain Irish members from participation in the debates, when they suddenly ceased the opposition they had been pursuing, and the business was finally got through, after a sitting of twenty-six hours.

The "Barricade" of Obstruction.—Speaking at the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield in September, 1879, Lord George Hamilton (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education) said: "During the past session we have had exceptional difficulties to contend with. No matter in what direction the Government attempted to move, they were invariably met by a barricade of Parliamentary obstruction. It is quite true that those barricades were only manned by a very few gentlemen; but it is obvious that they were planned and designed by a considerable number more who took very good care to keep in the background. Now, I must do the gentlemen from Ireland the justice to say that they are perfectly frank as to their intentions, and these intentions are to make such a use of the forms of the House of Commons as will enable them to extort something from the majority which they otherwise could not get, and the something which they want to attain is the repeal of the union between England and Ireland. . . . I think Parliamentary Government is dear to every Englishman; but it is perfectly clear that if the practices of the past session increase in subsequent sessions, it will be almost impossible to carry on the present system of government. It is, therefore, above all things essential that those returned to Parliament should be perfectly free and capable of dealing with these obstructions if it be necessary."

Statistics of Obstruction.—In a debate on obstruction and its remedies, in February, 1880, Mr. Newdegate put before the House the following statement as to the smallness of the minorities by which business had been retarded in recent sessions. "In 1876 the divisions in which the minority was less than 21 were 40; in 1877, 110; and in 1878 to April 16 they were 20; making a total of such divisions of 170. In those 170 minorities he found the name of the honourable member for Meath (Mr. Parnell), 121 times; the honourable and gallant member for Galway (Major Nolan), 111; the honourable member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), 107; the honourable and gallant member for Waterford (Major O'Gorman), 75; the honourable member for Dungarvan (Mr. F. H. O'Donnell)—although it was not until late in 1877 that he was returned—73; the honourable member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), 65; and the honourable member for Waterford City (Mr. R. Power), 56. He had carried his

analysis a little further. In the session of 1876 he found that there were 97 divisions in which the minorities did not exceed eleven, tellers included. In those 97 divisions the member for Meath appeared 80 times; the member for Galway, 69; the member for Cavan, 57; the member for Dungarvan, 48; the member for Mayo, 48; the gallant member for Waterford, 46; and the other member for Waterford, 26. He introduced these figures to show how small had been the body of members who had obstructed the proceedings of the House. He thought he could show they had seriously suffered by an abuse in another form of their privileges by some of the same members—a period of *cacoethes loquendi*. In the last session (1879) he had calculated from the "Index to the Proceedings of the House" that in 100 debates the honourable member for Meath addressed the House 500 times; the honourable and gallant member for Galway, 369 times; the honourable member for Dungarvan, 284 times; the honourable member for Mayo, 135 times."

Measures Against Obstruction.—Further rules designed to check obstruction were passed in February, 1880. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir S. Northcote) then moved, "That, whenever any member shall have been named by the Speaker, or by the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, as disregarding the authority of the Chair, or abusing the rules of the House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House, or otherwise, then, if the offence has been committed in the House, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, on a motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, 'That such member be suspended from the service of the House during the remainder of that day's sitting;' and if the offence has been committed in a Committee of the whole House, the Chairman shall, on a motion being made, put the same question in a similar way, and, if the motion is carried, shall forthwith suspend the proceedings of the Committee and report the circumstance to the House; and the Speaker shall thereupon put the same question, without amendment, adjournment, or debate, as if the offence had been committed in the House itself. If any member be suspended three times in one session under this order, his suspension on the third occasion shall continue for one week, and until a motion has been made, upon which it shall be decided at one sitting by the House whether the suspension shall then cease, or for what longer period it shall continue; and on the occasion of such motion the member may, if he desires it, be heard in his place." After long debate, this was agreed to without a division as a standing order, but the following words were added on the motion of Mr. W. E. Forster: "Provided always that nothing in these resolutions shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of procedure against a member according to its ancient usages."

A Prediction and a Threat.—Whatever may be thought of the prejudice done to the business of Parliament by the band of Irish members, who have employed their energies in observing what one of them (Mr. Parnell) called the "sacred rite of obstruction," the contribution of Ireland to the Parliament House of the United Kingdom has hitherto fallen far short of Grattan's anticipation. Mr. Lecky, in his

"Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland," records a prediction of the greatest among them. Grattan is said to have remarked to some English gentlemen after the Union, "You have swept away our constitution, you have destroyed our Parliament, but we shall have our revenge. We will send into the ranks of *your* Parliament, and into the very heart of *your* constitution, a hundred of the greatest scoundrels in the kingdom!"

Fighting and Fasting.—On the 30th January, 1629, both Houses joined in petitioning the King (Charles I.) for a fast, to seek at the hands of Almighty God a happy success in the affairs of the Church and State, and diversion of the miseries of the Reformed Church abroad. The King answered that the deplorable condition of the Reformed Churches abroad was too true, and they ought to give them all possible help. But fighting would do them more good than fasting. This custom of fasting every session was but lately begun, and he was not satisfied with the necessity of it at this time; yet he willingly granted them their request, but it should not hereafter be brought into precedent, except upon great occasions.

Sunday Observance Bills.—February 15th, 1621, a member, Mr. Shepard, is discharged from the House for his speech on the Bill for Keeping the Sabbath, otherwise called Sunday. "The House doth remove him from the service of this House, as unworthy to be a member thereof." Objections are taken to the term "Sabbath," Dies Sabbati being Saturday, and Sunday being used in all statutes. Sir George Moore said, "In every Parliament I have served have been bills for observing the Sabbath."—*Parry's "Parliaments of England."*

A Sunday Sitting of the Houses.—In the "Diurnall Occurrences or Dayly Proceedings of this Great and Happy Parliament," 1641 (a companion volume to the "Speeches and Passages" of the same year frequently quoted in the earlier pages of this book), the following is entered under August 8:—"Resolved upon the question in both Houses of Parliament, *nemine contradicente*, that this ensuing declaration shall be printed: 'Whereas both Houses of Parliament found it fit to sit in Parliament upon the 8. day of August, being the Lord's day, for many urgent and unexpected occasions concerning the safety of the Kingdome, and being so straitned in time by reason of his Majesties resolution to begin his journey towards Scotland on Munday following early in the morning, it was not possible for to settle and order the affairs of the Kingdome, either for the government thereof in the King's absence, or for the present safety as was requisite: Upon these present necessities, though the Houses thought it necessary to sit, yet the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament think it meet to declare that they would not have done this but upon inevitable necessity, the Peace and Safety both of Church and State being so deeply concerned; which they do hereby declare, to the end that neither any other inferiour Court or Councell, or any other person, may draw this into example, or make use of it for their encouragement in neglecting the due observation of the Lord's day.'"—In recent times, a sitting of the House of Commons on Saturday, July 5, 1879, commencing near two o'clock in the afternoon, was prolonged until a quarter past twelve on the Sunday morning.

Pious and Patient.—In the "Diurnall Occurrences" just referred to, we find, under date Nov. 17, 1640: "Tewsday, was the fast day, which was kept piously and devoutly. Dr. Burgesse and Master Marshall preached before the House of Commons at least seven hours betwixt them, upon Jere. 50, 5, and 2 Chron. 2, 3."

The Act for Licensing Plays.—In the course of the session 1737, Giffard (the manager of Goodman's Fields Theatre) brought to Sir Robert Walpole a farce called the "Golden Rump," which had been proposed for exhibition; "but it is uncertain," says Coxe in his "Life of Walpole," from whose narrative the following particulars are taken, "whether the intentions of the manager were to request his advice on this occasion, or to extort a sum of money to prevent its representation." The Minister, however, paid the profits which it was supposed might have accrued from the performance, and detained the copy. He then made extracts of the most exceptionable passages, abounding in profaneness, sedition, and blasphemy, which he read in the House. Leave was accordingly given to bring in a licensing bill, which was introduced on the 20th May, read the 24th, a second time on the 25th, and finally passed on the 1st of June. With equal despatch the measure passed through its various stages in the Upper House, and received the royal assent on the 21st.

The House of Commons and the Theatre.—In 1734, Sir John Barnard having brought in a bill to check the increase of playhouses, a comedian named Tony Aston was allowed to address the House against the measure.—Horace Walpole mentions in his "Memoirs" that in March, 1751, the House adjourned to attend at Drury-lane, where Othello was to be acted by a Mr. Delaval and his family. And again in his "Journals," Feb. 1781, he says, "Mr. Burke's bill for retrenching places on the Civil List was read the first time; the second reading deferred till that day fortnight, because the 21st was to be the Fast Day, and the 22nd the benefit of Vestris, a favourite French dancer of the opera."

Mere Novelties.—Lord Brougham writes of Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell): Of every change he was the enemy. As he could imagine nothing better than the existing state of any given thing, he could see only peril and hazard in the search for anything new; and with him it was quite enough to characterise a measure as "a mere novelty," to deter him at once from entertaining it—a phrase of which Mr. Speaker Abbot, with some humour, once took advantage to say, when asked by his friend what that mass of papers might be, pointing to the huge bundle of the Acts of a single session, "Mere novelties, Sir William—mere novelties."

Ill-worded Acts of Parliament.—The negligence displayed in drawing bills is frequently the subject of comment, but sometimes, escaping detection, has given rise to ludicrous passages in Acts of Parliament. The same effect has resulted from the striking out of clauses without due attention to the connection of the remainder. A good instance was cited by Lord Stanhope in the House of Lords in 1816. A statute enacted the punishment of fourteen years' transportation for a

particular offence, and that upon conviction *one half thereof* should go to the King and one half to the informer.

Sleep by Act of Parliament.—In the days of the old watchmen, a bill for the better regulation of the metropolitan watch was brought into the House of Commons. Among other provisions was a clause that the watchmen should be compelled to sleep during the day. When this was read in committee, a gouty old baronet stood up and expressed his wish that it could be made to extend to members of the House of Commons, as he should be glad to come under the operation of the enactment.

Use of Ecclesiastical Dignities.—Forster relates that Sir Edward Dering, member for Kent, who spoke in the debate on the Remonstrance, taking up the closing averments in the declaration, as to the desire of its promoters for the advancement of learning by a more general and equal distribution of its rewards, avowed his opinion that this object would be defeated if the great prizes in the Church were abolished. "Great rewards," he said, "do beget great endeavours; and certainly, Sir, when the great basin and ewer are taken out of the lottery, you shall have few adventurers for small plate and spoons only. If any man could cut the moon out all into little stars, although we might still have the same moon, or as much in small pieces, yet we should want both light and influence." Sydney Smith's famous argument in defence of the "prizes in the Church" was exactly and almost literally reproduced from this speech of Sir Edward Dering, made nearly two centuries before.

The Bishops in Parliament.—In June, 1870, a motion was made in the House of Commons by Mr. S. Beaumont, for leave to introduce a bill relieving lords spiritual, thereafter consecrated, from attendance in Parliament. The motion was defeated by 158 to 102.

Balaam and his Ass.—Dr. King relates that Atterbury, the celebrated Bishop of Rochester, happened to say in the House of Lords, while speaking on a certain bill then under discussion, that "he had prophesied last winter this bill would be attempted in the present session, and he was sorry to find he had proved a true prophet." My Lord Coningsby, who spoke after the bishop, and always spoke in a passion, "desired the House to remark that one of the right reverend had set himself forth as a prophet; but, for his part, he did not know what prophet to liken him to, unless to that furious prophet Balaam, who was reproved by his own ass." Atterbury, in reply, with great wit and calmness, exposed this rude attack, concluding thus: "Since the noble lord has discovered in our manners such a similitude, I am well content to be compared to the prophet Balaam; but, my lords, I am at a loss how to make out the other part of the parallel. I am sure that I have been reproved by nobody but his lordship."

An Archbishop's Wrath.—Horace Walpole writes in May, 1777: "The Duke of Grafton took notice of the despotic spirit preached up by the clergy, particularly of a late sermon of the Archbishop of York (Markham) before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. That sermon had been printed, but not publicly sold; it was a base instance of

servility, hoping to recover favour in the closet, and a libel on the Opposition. The Archbishop declared himself ready to defend every position in his sermon. . . Lord Shelburne was still more severe on the Archbishop of York, who rose with most intemperate pride and fury, and said that though, as a Christian and bishop, he ought to bear wrongs, there were injuries that would provoke any patience, and that he, if insulted, should know how to chastise any petulance."

Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy.—A trite saying on this subject originated in a debate in the House of Lords on the Test Laws. Lord Sandwich said, "I have heard frequent use of the words orthodoxy and heterodoxy, but I confess myself at a loss to know what they mean." Bishop Warburton interposed in a whisper, "Orthodoxy, my lord, is my doxy; heterodoxy is another man's doxy."

A Bed-ridden Law.—Old Sir Benjamin Rudyard in the Long Parliament said, "he should like to see that good, old, decrepit law, Magna Charta, which hath been kept so long bed-rid, as it were, walk abroad again, with new vigour and lustre."

Piety and Ability.—Lord Commissioner Maynard, in the Parliament of 1689, was particularly severe against the administration of the navy. "I hear," said he, "there are young men put to command ships that never were at sea before, because they are well affected to the present settlement. The question used to be, 'Is he a godly man?' and he was employed. I ask them, Can a godly man, because he is godly, make a watch or a pair of boots?"

The House of Commons Denounced by a Member.—When Alderman Oliver was sent to the Tower by the House of Commons in 1771 (see pp. 49, 425), some of the members strongly disapproved of the course taken by the majority. Horace Walpole writes: "Sir George Savile left the House, protesting against their proceedings, and was followed by some of his friends. Colonel Barré went farther—said in his place that the conduct of the House was *infamous*, that no honest man could sit amongst them, and walked away—and the House was forced to swallow so ungrateful a bolus."

An Odious Comparison.—A debate took place in the House of Commons, December 12th, 1770, on a motion for deferring the Land Tax until after the Christmas recess, "when," says the *Public Advertiser*, "the riot which had recently taken place in the House of Lords* so shocked the delicacy of Sir Fletcher Norton, the Speaker, that upon occasion of some clamour this day he called to the members, with all the softness of a bassoon, 'Pray, gentlemen, be orderly; you are almost as bad as the other House.'"

Mutual Forbearance in Debate.—"We have great reason," said Sir William Coventry (1676), "in cases of disputes in Parliament, to give grains of allowance to one another. In ancient times but a few persons spoke in the House, and their speeches were ready penned. The powder and shot was ready made up in cartridges, ready cut and dried,

* See p. 414, "Mutual Exclusion of the Lords and the Commons."

and a man had then time to think; but now we speak on a sudden, and therefore would have some grains of allowance given."

A Convenient Conscience.—Clarendon relates that Hollis one day, upon a very hot debate in the House (1647), and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the house with him, and then told him that he should presently go over the water and fight with him. Ireton told him his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel; upon which Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the nose; telling him, if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them.

A Member Striking Another.—In the "Memorials and Orders of the House, gathered by H. S. E. [Elsynge], Clerk to the Parliament" (1670), we find: "19th Jacobi, some speeches passing in the House privately between two of the members, and some offence taken, which seems was not intended to be given, one of them in going down the Parliament stairs struck the other, who thereupon catched at a sword then in his man's hand, to strike with it. Upon complaint made of it to the House, they were both of them ordered to attend the House. Being come, he who gave the blow was called in, and standing (not at the bar, but) by the bar, was examined by Mr. Speaker, confessed the giving the blow, insisted on the provocation, and withdrew. The other was also called in, to relate the truth. After he had made the relation and was likewise withdrawn, and testimony given by a member of the House who heard the words, the House proceeded to sentence against Mr. C., who struck the blow: he being brought to the bar, there on his knees he received judgment, which was pronounced by the Speaker—that he should be committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the House."

Abusive Language in Parliament.—Boswell writes (1784): "I censured the coarse invectives which were become fashionable in the House of Commons, and said that if members of Parliament must attack each other personally in the heat of debate, it should be done more genteelly. Johnson: 'No, sir; that would be much worse. Abuse is not so dangerous when there is no vehicle of wit or delicacy—no subtle conveyance. The difference between coarse and refined abuse is as the difference between being bruised by a club, and wounded by a poisoned arrow.'"

Censure, &c., without Personal Offence.—Mr. James Grant wrote in his "Random Recollections" (1837): "Persons unacquainted with the secrets of the prison-house would naturally infer that those members of opposite politics whom they see night after night so heartily abusing each other, were not on friendly terms together. There are some cases in which the conclusion would be just; in the great majority it would not. Before and after the dissolution of Sir Robert Peel's Government, the right honourable baronet and Lord John Russell were often seen in most friendly conversation together. Some weeks after the meeting of the present Parliament, Mr. Hughes Hughes, the member for Oxford, made a most violent attack on Mr. O'Connell, pointedly referring, among other things, to his ordering death's-heads and cross-bones to be painted

over the doors of those electors who would not vote for his nominee in the county of Cork. Mr. O'Connell repelled the attack with equal violence, and retorted—as he did to Mr. Shaw, the member for the University of Dublin, on another occasion—that Mr. Hughes's head was a calf's-head. Some nights afterwards both gentlemen were seen walking arm-in-arm up Parliament-street, on their way home from the House." The same writer gives another instance, in which Lord Brougham and O'Connell were concerned. In the session of 1834 the former had denounced O'Connell in the House of Lords as a great national mendicant, and contrasted him with distinguished men who would not be dependent upon the bounty of others. In the following year they met at a public dinner, there being only one person seated between them; when Brougham proposed to take wine with O'Connell, and they drank to each other, Brougham saying, "We have not drunk wine together since we sat *tête à tête* at a public dinner in 1823."

Scenes in the House of Lords.—Several disorderly scenes have been referred to in the foregoing pages (see pp. 35, 55, &c.). Mr. James Grant depicts one that occurred on the 2nd of August, 1835. The following is a summary of his account: Counsel had been heard at the bar of the House against the Municipal Corporations Bill, and a question arose as to the examination of witnesses, when the Earl of Winchilsea, with great warmth, said: "We are arrived at a most fearful crisis. Never did there exist such a state of things as the present. This House was never in such a situation. ("Hear, hear!" from the Duke of Cumberland and other noble lords.) And I do not see, after what has passed at the bar of this House—after the able exposure of the certain consequences of this measure which has been made—how any noble lord can lay his hand on his heart and vote for this bill. I implore your lordships, from the bottom of my heart, not for one moment to entertain this most atrocious measure. I would scorn to belong to a House which could entertain it. In God's name let it be rejected now." (Here the vehemence of the noble lord's manner was so great as to impede his utterance.)—Lord Melbourne, who appeared perfectly calm and dispassionate, moved the adjournment of the further consideration of the question till Monday, when he would propose that the House resolve itself into a committee on the bill.—The Duke of Newcastle: I wish to understand the noble viscount correctly. Do you (addressing Lord Melbourne) mean to refuse hearing the offered evidence?—Lord Melbourne: Certainly.—The Duke of Newcastle (with much energy): Then I have no hesitation in saying that the conduct of the noble viscount is contrary to what ought to be the conduct of a man, of a Minister of the Crown, of a British peer, and of a British subject. He is taking from the people of this country their property, by the most unconstitutional and most arbitrary means. I have no hesitation in saying I do think that the measure before your lordships is so atrocious as to render the noble viscount liable to impeachment; and, if no other person brings forward a motion for his impeachment, I myself will do it.—Lord Brougham: I beg to remind the noble duke that, in his zeal for the impeachment of my noble friend, he has overlooked the im-

portant circumstance, that as he himself will have to act as a judge when my noble friend is impeached, he cannot also be his prosecutor. The impeachment must come from the Commons; and when the other House does impeach my noble friend, I shall give the case unbiassed and impartial consideration.—The Duke of Cumberland (who had been so much excited as to be unable to remain in his seat): We are too warm at present for considering the question before the House. We had better adjourn the House till Monday.—Lord Brougham said they must first adjourn the consideration of the question, adding, in a peculiarly sarcastic manner, "I do not think that we are at all too warm." The question was then adjourned, as proposed.

A Royal Quarrel in the Lords.—Mr. Greville writes as follows, Feb. 26, 1829: "The debate on Monday night in the House of Lords [on the Catholic Relief Bill] was very amusing. It was understood the Duke of Clarence was to speak, and there was a good deal of curiosity to hear him. He made a very tolerable speech, of course with a good deal of stuff in it, but such as it was it has exceedingly disconcerted the other party [against the bill]. The three royal dukes—Clarence, Cumberland, and Sussex—got up one after another, and attacked each other—that is, Clarence and Sussex attacked Cumberland, and he them—very vehemently, and they used towards each other language that nobody else could have ventured to employ; so it was a very droll scene. The Duke of Clarence said the attacks on the Duke of Wellington had been *infamous*; the Duke of Cumberland took this to himself, but when he began to answer it could not recollect the expression, which the Duke of Clarence directly supplied —'I said, infamous.' The Duke of Sussex said that the Duke of Clarence had not intended to apply the word to the Duke of Cumberland, but if he chose to take it to himself he might. Then the Duke of Clarence said that the Duke of Cumberland had lived so long abroad that he had forgotten there was such a thing as freedom of debate."

A Conflict between the Woolsack and the Episcopal Bench. —Convocation.—A remarkable passage of words took place in 1864 between Lord Chancellor Westbury and some of the occupants of the episcopal bench. Lord Houghton had called attention in the House of Lords to the recent judgment of Convocation in the case of "Essays and Reviews," and asked the Government whether the law officers had been consulted as to the powers of Convocation to pass such a judgment, and the immunity of members of that body from proceedings at common law in consequence. The Lord Chancellor replied in a speech full of sarcasm, and undisguised contempt for both Convocation and the episcopacy. As to the first he said: "There are three modes of dealing with Convocation when it is permitted to come into action and transact real business. The first is, while they are harmlessly busy to take no notice of the proceedings. The second is, when they seem likely to get into mischief to prorogue and put an end to their proceedings. The third, when they have done something clearly beyond their powers, is to bring them before a court of justice and punish them." He went on to show that no action of Convocation, and nothing it might pro-

nounce, had validity without the sanction of the Crown, and any attempt to enforce its unsanctioned decrees would involve the penalties of *præmunire*. He then referred to the judgment itself: "Assuming that the report of the judgment which I have read is a correct one, I am happy to tell your lordships that what is called a synodical judgment is simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and so saponaceous* that no one could grasp it. Like an eel it slips through your fingers,—it is simply nothing, and I am glad to tell my noble friend that it is literally no sentence at all." He called upon the bishops to pause before they entered upon proceedings which, under certain circumstances, might entail the penalties he had before alluded to, and then continued: "Those who concur with me may probably think that by protesting against such a course they may save themselves from consequences; but if there be any attempt to carry Convocation beyond its proper limits, their best plan after protesting will be to gather up their garments and leave the place, remembering the pillar of salt, and resolving not to cast a look behind." (Laughter).—The Archbishop of Canterbury (Longley) mildly defended the course taken by Convocation, as a necessary vindication of the doctrine of the Church of England; but the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), who had been referred to pointedly by Lord Westbury, denounced him warmly. He said: "If a man has no respect for himself, he ought at all events to respect the audience before which he speaks; and when the highest representative of the law in England in your lordships' court, upon a matter involving the liberties of the subject and the religion of the realm, and all those high truths concerning which this discussion has arisen, can think it fit to descend to ribaldry—in which he knows that he can safely indulge, because those to whom he addresses it will have too much respect for their characters to answer him in like sort—I say that this House has ground to complain of having its character unnecessarily injured in the sight of the people of this land, by one occupying so high a position within it. . . I would rather subject myself, in the presence of my countrymen and of your noble House, to any amount of that invective and insinuation, and all those arts of, I will not say what part of the bar of England, of which we have seen something to-night—I would, I repeat, rather a thousand times incur it all, than have to look back on my deathbed upon myself as one of those who had not striven for the truth of our Established Church, and had not encountered, because I was afraid personally of the consequences, anything which the maintenance of that truth might entail."

Inapt Quotation.—It has not unfrequently happened that quotations introduced in debate, from poetry especially, have been misunderstood or interpreted too literally, and occasionally stormy scenes have occurred from this cause. Two or three may be mentioned. On one occasion, while Lord Brougham was Chancellor, the Duke of Buckingham

* This epithet derived personal point from the fact that Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, who was reputed to have drawn up the judgment, had long before been nicknamed by his opponents "Soapy Sam."

was addressing the House of Lords, and brought his harangue to a conclusion in the following terms: "The noble and learned lord on the woolsack and his colleagues think they have buried the noble earl [Grey, who had just retired from office] in his political sepulchre, and that he will no more disturb them; but they will find themselves mistaken. The spirit of the noble earl will burst its cerements and will haunt them in their festivities, and disturb the noble and learned lord on the woolsack in the midst of his 'potations pottle deep.'" Lord Brougham, in great agitation, rose from the woolsack and replied, "As to the concluding observations of the noble duke, all I shall say is that I do not frequent the same cabaret or ale-house as he does." (Loud cries of "Order!") "At all events, I do not recollect having met the noble earl referred to at the noble duke's ale-house potations. My lords, I have not a slang dictionary at hand ——." Most of those present here rose to order, and amid the uproar the Chancellor's voice was lost, but he persisted for some time, until the Duke of Buckingham (who apparently had been enjoying the scene) rose to explain that he had merely intended a pleasantry, and that he had only borrowed for the purpose a quotation from Shakespeare—a fact which the House at first did not seem to recognise.

Unintentional Offence.—Another instance of unfortunate quotation occurred in 1853. The Earl of Derby had moved an amendment to the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, which measure was supported by the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), who read an extract from Burke to enforce the remark that the American people would resist any attempt to "wrest freedom from them by force or shuffle it from them by chicane," which he inferred would be the effect of the amendment. The Earl of Derby objected to the words just used, as an application of terms which could not be made without giving offence. The Bishop of Oxford explained that he had made the allusion with a smile and in a playful way, without intention to offend, and that the noble earl himself had erred in speaking of the promoters of the bill as adopting a shuffling and shifting policy. The Earl of Derby thereupon said: "My lords, I accept at once the explanation which has been offered by the right reverend prelate; but when he tells me that it is impossible for him to say anything offensive because he has a smiling face, he will forgive me if I quote in his presence from a well-known author, without intending in the least to apply the words to him—

'A man may smile, and smile, and be a villain.'"

Interruption here took place, and some laughter, but more indications of disapproval among the noble lords present. The Earl of Derby resumed: "I am at a loss to conceive to whom what I say can be offensive."—The Earl of Clarendon started excitedly to his feet, and said with much emphasis, "It is to me. (Loud cheers.) It is to me, I say. I and my noble friends near me were offended by that expression. We are not accustomed to hear such expressions. (Prolonged cheers.) We are not accustomed, even in the language of poetry, to hear such a word as 'villain' applied to any noble lord in this house."—The noble lord sat.

down amid renewed cheering, after which the Earl of Derby declared that he thought such interference quite uncalled for, and again that he had meant nothing personally offensive. The incident, while it lasted, caused unusual excitement.

Offensive Speech Forbidden.—One of the standing orders of the House of Lords runs as follows: "To prevent misunderstandings, and for avoiding offensive speeches, when matters are debating either in the House or Committees, it is for honour's sake thought fit and so ordered, that all personal, sharp, or taxing speeches be forborne; and whosoever answereth another man's speech, shall apply his answer to the matter without wrong to the person; and as nothing offensive is to be spoken, so nothing is to be ill-taken, if the party that speaks it shall presently make a fair exposition or clear denial of the words that might bear any ill construction; and if any offence of that kind be given, as the House itself will be very sensible thereof, so it will sharply censure the offenders, and give the party offended a fit reparation and full satisfaction."

Scenes in the House of Commons.—A Disturbance Quelled by the Speaker.—In the reign of Charles II., a scene occurred which is thus reported in "Grey's Debates:"—"The question being put, whether a further address should be made to the King for recall of his subjects now in the service of the French king, the grand committee divided, and the tellers, Trevor Williams and Sir John Hanmer, differing in their account of the yeas and noes, some called 'Tell again,' others 'Report;' on which great disorder began, gentlemen rising from their places and mingling in the pit: hot and provoking discourses and gestures passed on both sides, especially betwixt Lord Cavendish and Sir John Hanmer. Some said that Lord Cavendish's sword was half drawn out, but prevented by Mr. Russell, who kept close to him; others said that Lord Cavendish spat in Sir John Hanmer's face, but that was only eagerness of speech; but it was visible to all that Sir James Smith, setting his arms on his side, did in a rude manner make through the crowd, and jostled several, and came to the table, where yet more hot discourses passed between him and Lord Cavendish, Mr. Sacheverell, and several others; Mr. Stockdale and some others setting their feet upon the mace, which lay below the table, in the usual place at grand committees. The disorder continuing near half an hour, the standers-by on the upper benches expected very fatal consequences might have followed, especially when the young gallants as Mr. Thynne, Mr. Newport, and several others leaped over the seats to join Lord Cavendish. But the Speaker [Sir Edward Seymour] very opportunely and prudently rising for his seat near the bar, in a resolute and slow pace, made his three respects through the crowd, and took the chair. The mace was still retained by the said gentlemen; but at last being forcibly laid upon the table, all the disorder ceased, and the gentlemen went to their places. The Speaker said that, to bring the House into order again, he took the chair, though not according to order. His act was generally approved. Sir Thomas Lee moved that there might be an engagement passed, on the honour of every member, standing up in his place, to proceed no further in anything that had happened."

The House Compared to a Menagerie.—Mr. James Grant remarks, respecting scenes which have occasionally occurred in later days, that Lord Brougham once compared the House to a menagerie, and the application of the term would have been most appropriate to a scene he himself witnessed in July, 1835. Had a blind person been that night conducted into the house, and not told what the place was, he would assuredly have supposed he was in some zoological establishment. The question before the House was the re-committal of the Municipal Corporations Bill; and a member (Mr. Hughes Hughes) rising to address the House was assailed with tremendous uproar. The *Morning Post* of the following day thus described the scene: "The most confused sounds, mysteriously blended, issued from all corners of the house. One honourable member near the bar repeatedly called out 'Read' (to the member endeavouring to address the House), in an exceedingly bass and hoarse voice. At repeated intervals a sort of drone-like humming, having almost the sound of a distant hand-organ or bagpipes, issued from the back benches;—coughing, sneezing, and ingeniously extended yawning blended with the other sounds, and produced a *tout ensemble* which we have never heard excelled in the house. A single voice from the ministerial benches imitated very accurately the yelp of a kennelled hound." The most graphic description (continues Mr. Grant) would fall short of the scene itself. One honourable member imitated the crowing of a cock so admirably, that you could not have distinguished it from the performance of a real chanticleer. Nor far from the same spot issued sounds marvellously resembling the bleating of a sheep, blended occasionally with the like imitation of the braying of an ass, by an honourable member a few yards distant. There were yelpings worthy of any canine animal, and excellent imitations of the sounds of sundry instruments not mentioned by the *Morning Post*. The deafening uproar was completed by the cries of "Chair, chair!" "Order!" groans, laughter, &c., which proceeded from all parts of the house. The House had determined on a division, and a division on the question had the effect of restoring order.

A Scene in the Commons in 1872.—On the 19th of March, 1872, Sir Charles Dilke rose in the House of Commons according to notice, "to call attention to the Civil List," and to move for certain returns. There was a very full house to hear him, much excitement having been produced by Sir Charles's lectures in various parts of the country on royal expenditure, &c. He was received with groans, but listened to attentively, and Mr. Gladstone followed him with a forcible reply. Mr. Auberon Herbert then rose to second Sir Charles's motion, and the pent-up wrath of the House was showered upon him. Groans, hisses, and other interruptions assailed him, but he persisted in the attempt to make himself heard, upon which hundreds of members rose and left their seats in a body, many remaining below the bar. Presently the honourable member was heard to avow himself an advocate of republican principles, and the declaration was received with a shout of indignation. As he went on, other tactics were adopted. A member moved that the House be counted, and the motion was repeated until that

ceremony had been performed three times in about ten minutes, but without the expected result. A young nobleman then declared he "espied strangers in the gallery," and the house was consequently cleared of the reporters, &c., but it happened that the occupants of the ladies' gallery were allowed to remain. The scene that ensued was described in the *Daily News*, from "a trustworthy source:"—"The interruptions which had taken place during the earlier portion of Mr. Herbert's speech were now redoubled. From the less prominent parts of the house, to which the Conservative members had retired, an incessant clamour arose. Cockcrowing in every variety, from the hoarse cry of the cochin to the shrill note of the bantam, and other farmyard sounds, together with repeated imitations of the rise and fall of Mr. Herbert's voice, prevented a single sentence of the speaker from reaching the ears of those who were assumed to be the auditors. When the clamour was at its height, Mr. Dodson (Chairman of Committees) made an earnest appeal to the Chair, asking whether the sounds which issued from behind the Speaker's chair and from below the bar were not gross violations of order. The Speaker, in reply, stated that the sounds were undoubtedly out of order in that house, and he could not refrain from expressing the extreme pain with which he had witnessed the scene that had taken place. In the slight lull which followed, Mr. Herbert announced that if the House would listen to him for five minutes he would undertake to finish his observations. Amid considerable interruptions, Mr. Herbert was allowed to proceed; but when, on the expiration of the five minutes, he manifested a desire to continue his speech, the clamour burst forth afresh. Mr. Herbert said that the interruptions had deprived him of a minute and a half of the time granted him, and that if the House would give him that minute and a half he would be content. The Speaker hereupon called Mr. Herbert to order, stating that it was irregular and improper to appeal to the House, and that he ought to address himself to the Chair. Mr. Herbert then resumed his seat amid the greatest excitement and confusion." Mr. Mundella followed him with a speech against the motion, and the galleries were re-opened after about an hour had elapsed. Eventually a division was taken on the motion, and there were found supporting it only Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Herbert, the numbers against them being 276.

Defying the House.—Lord Palmerston wrote to a relative, Feb. 27, 1810: "We had last night a most extraordinary display of folly, coarseness, and vulgarity from Fuller, who, because Sir John Anstruther, Chairman of the Committee, would not take notice of him, when he several times attempted to rise, in order to put some very gross and absurd questions to Lord Chatham, flew out into such a passion, and swore, and abused the Chairman and the House to such a degree that it became at last necessary to commit him to custody. As he went out he shook his fist at the Speaker, and said he was a d—— insignificant little puppy, and, snapping his fingers at him, said he did not care *that* for him or the House either. He is now amusing himself with the Serjeant-at-Arms, and I think was very lucky in not being sent to Newgate or the Tower."

The Plimsoll Episode.—On the 22nd of July, 1875, Mr. Disraeli, in announcing the intentions of the Government with respect to certain bills before the House, named the Merchant Shipping Bill as one that would be withdrawn. Mr. Plimsoll, member for Derby, who had long been zealous in the advocacy of a measure of the kind, and who had understood that the Government was pledged to proceed with the bill, spoke with an air of great agitation. "Sir," said he, "I earnestly entreat the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government not to consign some thousands of living human beings to a miserable death. . . . Continually, every winter, hundreds and hundreds of brave men are sent to death, and their wives are made widows and their children are made fatherless, so that a few speculative scoundrels, in whose hearts there is neither the love of God nor the fear of man, may make unhallowed gain. (Cheers.) There are shipowners in this country of ours who never build a ship and who never buy a new one, but are simply what are called 'ship-knackers,' and I heard an ex-Secretary of the Treasury, in the lobby, call one of my colleagues in this House a 'ship-knacker.'"—Called to order now by the Speaker for making observations on a bill not immediately before the House, the honourable gentleman gave notice that on a future evening he would ask whether a certain member (whom he named) was the owner of several vessels which had recently been abandoned at sea, and would put similar questions respecting other members also. "I am determined (added the honourable member in a loud voice, and raising his clenched fist) to unmask the villains who send these sailors to death."—The Speaker: The honourable member made use of the word "villain." I hope he did not use it with reference to any member of this House?—Mr. Plimsoll (in an excited tone, and advancing to the front of the table): I did, Sir, and I don't mean to withdraw it. (Loud cries of "Order.")—The Speaker: The observation of the honourable member is altogether unparliamentary, and I must again ask him whether he persists in using it.—Mr. Plimsoll: And I must again decline to retract.—The Speaker, after another ineffectual appeal, said he must leave the matter to the judgment of the House; and Mr. Plimsoll resumed his seat, still manifesting great excitement.—Mr. Disraeli thereupon rose, and, remarking that the member for Derby had conducted himself in a manner almost unparalleled, moved that the Speaker do reprimand him for his disorderly and violent conduct.—The Speaker: In accordance with the practice of the House, the honourable member for Derby will be heard in his place, and will then withdraw.—Mr. Plimsoll at once left the house, two or three of his friends trying to persuade him to offer an explanation. The question having been put from the chair, the Marquis of Hartington suggested that it would be better that action upon the matter should be postponed for a short time, in the hope that the honourable member might be induced to set himself right with the House. Several friends of Mr. Plimsoll spoke apologetically on his behalf, declaring that he had been over-wrought by his efforts in connection with the subject, and that he was, in fact, extremely ill; and the subject was then adjourned for a week. When it again came before the House, Mr.

Plimsoll read a carefully-written apology, withdrawing every expression contrary to parliamentary usage, but adding that he did not withdraw any statement of fact. The House was disposed to be generous, and readily accepted Mr. Disraeli's suggestion to treat the apology as satisfactory and complete. The order was consequently discharged.

A Parallel to the Plimsoll Case.—In 1778, an attack was made in the House of Commons on Lord North, in reference to a contract for rum. In the course of the debate a scene occurred which is thus described by Horace Walpole in his "Journal:"—"Lord George Gordon,* a younger brother of the duke, started up and said Lord North was the contractor for all contractors, and he could prove had attempted to make a villanous contract—he offered his brother the duke £1000 a year if he would get him, Lord George, out of Parliament, but the duke had rejected the villanous offer. Such unparliamentary language created great hubbub. Many tried to convince the young lord of the unparliamentary indecency of the term villanous. Lord North was exceedingly confounded, but did not deny the charge; he only pleaded that there was nothing *villanous* in the offer. Lord George was at last persuaded to retract the term, but he said the fact was true, and the House might call it by what name they pleased."

A Duel Prevented.—Horace Walpole writes, May 26, 1778:—General Burgoyne appeared in the House of Commons (to defend himself, on his return from America). . . Temple Luttrell compared the conduct of Burgoyne with that of Lord George Germain, who, he said, had been promoted for disobedience and timidity. Lord George started up in the most violent rage, and, clapping his hand on his sword, said, though he was an old man, he would not hear such an insult from a young man, who was an assassin and of the most wretched character. This produced the highest warmth and clamour. Luttrell went out of the house that they might not be prevented fighting; but they forced him back by order of the House, when he would not retract a syllable, said he had said nothing but what was on record, and declared he would be sent to prison rather than retract. Lord North said a few faint words for Lord George, though he owned he had been disorderly. Mr. Buller was for committing Luttrell, but most condemning Lord George; the latter made apologies, and called Luttrell his noble friend, which the latter rejected with great indignation. The confusion lasted above two hours, when Luttrell was forced to disclaim any further resentment.

Duel between Lord George Germain and Governor Johnstone.—On December 14th, 1770, Lord George Germain moved, in the House of Commons, "That the Speaker do write to such eldest sons and heirs apparent of peers, King's serjeants, and masters in Chancery, as are members of this House, and to the Attorney and Solicitor General, and to request them to attend in their places every day, at two of the clock, and to assist in carrying bills to the Lords." The honour of the nation, he said, was concerned in this.—Governor Johnstone won-

* The Lord George of the Gordon Riots.

dered that the noble lord should interest himself so deeply in the honour of the nation, when he had been hitherto so regardless of his own.—These words occasioned a duel, the particulars of which are given in the "Parliamentary History." On the 17th, while Governor Johnstone was attending a committee, he received a message from Lord George, when it was arranged that they should meet in the Ring, in Hyde Park, an hour afterwards—the weapons to be pistols, as the governor was suffering from a wound in his arm. The antagonists having prepared their pistols, Lord George called on the governor to fire, which the governor refused, saying that, as his lordship brought him there, he must fire first. Shots were then exchanged, neither of which took effect. Lord George then fired his second pistol, and as he was taking down his arm, the governor's second ball hit his lordship's pistol, broke some part of it, and one of the splinters grazed his hand. The seconds immediately interposed, and the affair was ended.

Political Duelling Clubs.—A singular story is told by Sir Jonah Barrington, of the duelling clubs proposed respectively by the Unionists and their opponents, during the debates in the Irish Parliament in 1799. Sir Jonah describes a dinner given by Lord Castlereagh, at his house in Merrion-street, at which were entertained above eighty of his most staunch friends, consisting of "tried men," and men of "fighting families," who might feel an individual pride in resenting every personality of the Opposition, and in identifying their own honour with that of the Government. When the wine had been sufficiently circulated, the great question of the evening was skilfully introduced by Sir John Blaquiere (afterwards Lord Blaquiere), who of all men was best calculated to promote a gentlemanly, convivial, fighting conspiracy. Having sent round many loyal, mingled with joyous and exhilarating toasts, he stated that he understood the Opposition were disposed to personal unkindness, or even incivilities, towards his Majesty's best friends—the Unionists of Ireland. He was determined that no man should advance upon him, by degrading the party he had adopted and the measure he was pledged to support. A full bumper proved his sincerity; the subject was discussed with great glee, and some of the company began to feel zeal for "active service." It was also proposed, before they broke up, that there should be a dinner for twenty or thirty every day in one of the committee chambers, where they could be always at hand to make up a House, or for any *emergency* which should call for an unexpected reinforcement during any part of the discussion. The novel idea of such a detachment of legislators was considered whimsical and humorous, and, of course, was not rejected. After much wit, and many flashes of convivial bravery, the meeting separated after midnight, fully resolved to eat, drink, speak, and fight for Lord Castlereagh. They so far kept their word that the supporters of the Union indisputably showed more personal spirit than their opponents during the session. Sir Jonah professes to have had this story on the morning after the dinner, from one of the company, and he goes on to describe the opposition meeting which was held at Charlemont House on the following day. He assures us that when the plan reported

to have been resolved on by the Castle party was explained, it was hotly contended by some that the partisans of Government should be taken at their word, and that the measure of the legislative Union should be submitted to the ordeal of battle, and discussed, not in speeches in the Parliament House, but with pistols in the "fifteen acres"—a name given to a portion of the Phœnix Park, near Dublin, a favourite resort of duellists.

Amenities of the Irish Parliament.—The personalities which took place in the Irish Parliament, frequently leading to duels, far eclipsed anything of a similar kind recorded of the English House of Commons. Two or three examples may be given, in addition to those which are to be found in other portions of this volume. In the passage which occurred between Fitzgibbon (Attorney-General) and Curran in 1789, the former remarked, "A mountebank with but one half the honourable gentleman's theatrical talent for rant would undoubtedly make his fortune. However, I am somewhat surprised he should entertain such a particular asperity against me, as I never did him any favour. But perhaps the honourable gentleman imagines he may talk himself into consequence; if so, I should be sorry to obstruct his promotion; he is heartily welcome to attack me. One thing, however, I will assure him, that I hold him in so small a degree of estimation, either as a man or a lawyer, that I shall never hereafter deign to make him any answer." Curran replying in similar terms, a challenge from Fitzgibbon followed (p. 186).—Mr. George Ponsonby (afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland) was for a time leader of the Opposition in the Irish House, and was once thus answered by Toler (Lord Norbury): "What! was it come to this—that in the Irish House of Commons they should listen to one of their own members degrading the character of an Irish gentleman by language that was but fit for hallooing on a mob? Had he heard a man out of doors using such language as that by which the honourable gentleman had violated the decorum of Parliament, he would have seized the ruffian by the throat and dragged him to the dust."—But the most striking specimen of this class of oratory was once given by Mr. Martin of Galway. Ponsonby's sister was seated with other ladies in the gallery of the house, when Martin thus broke forth: "These Ponsonbys are the curse of my country. They are prostitutes, personally and politically—from that toothless old hag who is now grinning in the gallery, to the white-livered scoundrel who is now shivering on the floor."

Short Temper and Long Sword.—Hutchinson, having taken offence at something said by Lucas in the Irish Parliament, concluded a severe reply by saying of him, "Ready to wound, but yet afraid to strike; a shattered understanding, a warm head, and a cold heart." Lucas could not gain self-possession enough to answer this, and he had recourse to fighting instead. He selected as his second Mr. Adderly, who had no idea of danger, and was determined that Lucas should have none either. Accordingly, he kept Lucas with him, and would not allow him to return to his wife. Lucas, however, who had lost the use of his legs, determined to fight with a very long sword, which he chose for the occasion. Mr.

Adderly also provided him with a case of pistols, and thus doubly prepared him for the encounter. The matter, however, was adjusted by the seconds, to the satisfaction of all parties.—*Grattan's Life and Times.*

Swearing the Peace against a Member.—A story is told of a member of the Irish Parliament, who regularly commenced the session by swearing the peace against General A——. The friendly magistrate before whom this was usually done having died, a stranger succeeded, who, after the ceremony had been gone through as usual, thought it only equal justice to bind over the civilian also. "Sir, I have no bail here," observed the latter. "Oh! don't lock him up," said the general; "I'll be his bail that he'll never break the peace to myself or any other of his Majesty's subjects."

Members and the Mob.—Mr. Bramston, the son of the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, relates what he saw on the 27th December, 1641, as members were entering the house. "I was witness to a lane," he says, "made in both the Palace Yards, and no man could pass but whom the rabble gave leave to, crying, *A good lord!* or *A good man! Let him pass!* I did see the Bishop of Lincoln's gown torne as he passed from the stair-head into the entry that leads to the Lords' house."

Hissing a Minister.—The division on the first reading of Conway's motion for the repeal of the Stamp Act took place February 22, 1766, when it was carried by a majority of 275 against 167. Conway, as he left the house, was greeted by three loud cheers. On the other hand, hisses and revilings assailed Grenville. Horace Walpole, in his "Memoirs," says: "The crowd pressed on Grenville with scorn and hisses. He, swelling with rage and mortification, seized the nearest man to him by the collar. Providentially the fellow had more humour than spleen. 'Well, if I may not hiss,' said he, 'at least I may laugh'—and laughed in Grenville's face. The jest caught—had the fellow been surly and resisted, a tragedy had probably ensued."

A Mob in the Irish House of Parliament.—Mr. O'Flanagan describes the popular ferment that broke out in Dublin, December 3, 1759, when the rumour got abroad of a contemplated union between Great Britain and Ireland. Having beset the passages of the Houses of Parliament, the mob proceeded to all the lengths that vulgar and depraved tastes could suggest. To show their contempt for the House, they brought a feeble old woman and seated her on the throne, where, like King Artaxemanes in "Bombastes Furioso," they placed a pipe in her mouth, and insisted on her smoking. They made a sudden irruption into the House of Commons, and were about to make a bonfire of the Journals, when, by way of diversion, they proposed to hang Rigby, who on November 21 previously had been made Master of the Rolls. Rigby most likely got a hint of these lawless proceedings, and he prudently went into the country, so that when they went to his house with the determination of executing him on a gallows which they prepared for his use, he was not to be found.

Exclusion of Scotch Judges from the Commons.—Dr. King relates:—I knew Mr. Erskine, my Lord Marr's brother; he was one of

the judges in Scotland. However, he was by no means satisfied with this office, and determined to get a seat in the House of Common, though to effect this he was previously obliged to resign his judgeship. For the Duke of Argyle, as soon as he was informed that my Lord Grange (Erskine's official title) had taken his measures so well as to be sure of being elected into Parliament, brought a bill into the House of Lords, which easily passed both Houses, to disqualify any judge of Scotland to sit in the House of Commons.

A Qualification for Office.—Lord Sidmouth used occasionally to amuse his friends with stories of a well-known humorist, Mr. Ferguson of Pitfour, who held a seat in the House when his lordship was Speaker. That gentleman used to insist that the Government ought always to select a tall man to fill the office of Lord Advocate. "We Scotch members," he said, "always vote with the Lord Advocate, and we require, therefore, to see him in a division. Now, I can see Mr. Pitt, and I can see Mr. Addington; but I cannot see the Lord Advocate."

Buried in Office.—On one occasion in the Irish Parliament, Mr. Denis Daly attacked Hussey Burgh, who had voted against a motion condemning the Embargo, having on a former occasion opposed it. Burgh at that time held office, and, alluding to him, Daly said, "The Treasury bench resembles the grave; it levels all distinctions."

A "Broad-bottomed" Administration.—On the formation of a Cabinet by Pulteney in 1742, discontent was excited by the omission of some of the leaders in the combination of the Whig and Tory parties which had overthrown Walpole, and a meeting was held on the subject at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, at which the Duke of Argyle made the observation that the Administration should be founded upon the broad bottom of both parties. Horace Walpole wrote to Mann, "One now hears of nothing but the *broad bottom*; it is the reigning cant word, and means the taking of all parties and people indifferently into the Ministry."

Ministerial Profligacy in the last Century.—The open profligacy which the public tolerated on the part of its leading statesmen, in the earlier years of George III., is thus referred to by Mr. Massey: "The Duke of Grafton, some time at the head of his Majesty's Government, was in the habit of appearing in public with his mistress, a common woman of the town. Lord Sandwich and Sir Francis Dashwood—the one successively Secretary of State and First Lord of the Admiralty, the other Chancellor of the Exchequer—were the most notoriously profligate men of their day. They were the founders of the Franciscan Club, an association of a few audacious men of fashion, for the purpose of celebrating a blasphemous burlesque upon the monastic system and the rites of the Church of Rome. They took a ruinous building in Buckinghamshire, called Medmenham Abbey, which, as its name implies, had once been a religious house; here they fitted up cells, assumed the habit of the order of St. Francis, and with grave mockery performed the ceremonies and observances of the conventual service. I need not describe the quality of the nuns who were admitted to participation in these solem-

nities, nor of the choruses which were chanted, nor of the images which represented the Virgin and the saints. Nor was this the passing freak of a few thoughtless young men of wit and fashion. The Franciscan Club was for some time the wonder and scandal of the town. It assembled several times, and comprised, besides Sandwich and Dashwood, such men as Wilkes, Potter, and Selwyn, most of whom were men of mature age."

Ministers in their Cups.—The deep drinking which was a social custom in the time of the younger Pitt had its influence occasionally on the minister, whose habit it was to indulge liberally with his friends, when free from the occupations of state. An epigram of the time gave the following dialogue between Pitt and his colleague and boon companion Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville :—

PITT.—"I cannot see the Speaker, Hal; can you?"
DUNDAS.—"Not see the Speaker, Billy? I see two!"

Spoiling a Patriot.—Scott, the Irish Attorney-General (afterwards Earl of Clonmel), at one of the early college elections had taken a very active part on the popular side; but after the accession of George III. he went round to the Government, and yielded to the solicitations of Lord Townshend, to whom he observed, with much humour and little regret, "My lord, you have spoiled a good patriot."—*Grattan's "Life and Times."*

Jackdaws after Cheese.—Lord Treasurer Danby said of those who received Government pay, in the Pensionary Parliament of Charles II., that "they came about him like so many jackdaws for cheese, at the end of every session."

A Cheap Supporter.—The following is given in "Anecdotes of the Earl of Chatham":—Towards the end of the session 1767, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bradshaw, one day accosted Mr. Lowndes, member for Bucks, with, "Sir, you have voted with us all the winter; some return is usually expected on these occasions; and, as we are much obliged to you for your constant support, if you choose to accept of two hundred lottery tickets, at ten pounds each, they are at your service." Mr. Lowndes bowed, expressed his great friendship for the secretary, and accepted the offer; adding only that as the session was just at a close, he should, as soon as it was finished, go into the country on his private affairs, and begged the tickets might be sent to such a one, his banker; which the secretary having promised to comply with, they parted. Mr. Lowndes, hearing nothing of the tickets, wrote to his banker, who returned for answer that he had not received nor heard of any. Mr. Lowndes next wrote to Mr. Bradshaw, who, in his answer, "begged a thousand pardons; the matter had quite slipped his memory; and the tickets were all disposed of except five-and-twenty, which were at his service." Mr. Lowndes accepted the twenty-five, and they were sent to his banker's. By these tickets he probably cleared about one hundred pounds.

A Charge of Corruption against Ministers.—In the course of a debate in committee on the 5th of May, 1853, the subject being the extension of the income tax to Ireland, Mr. Gavan Duffy opposed the

measure, and said, "No doubt some few Irish members have voted conscientiously. But, short as my experience in this House has been, I must say I do not believe that in the worst days of Walpole or the Pelhams, more scandalous corruption existed than I have seen practised under my own eyes upon Irish members." This announcement produced great uproar, and Mr. J. Ball moved "that the words be taken down."—Lord John Russell observed that if Mr. Duffy meant to refer to any members he ought to name them; to which Mr. Duffy replied that he would if the chairman of the committee called on him to do so.—Lord Palmerston, however, suggested that the honourable member should withdraw the words, which were uttered in the heat of debate; a proposal which Mr. Duffy declined to adopt, stating that he had spoken the truth, and would not unsay it. An exciting debate followed, after which the words were taken down, and the chairman being ordered to report progress, the House resumed, when the occurrence was reported to the Speaker, who asked Mr. Duffy whether he had any explanation to offer, or would retract.—Mr. Duffy declined either alternative, but said that if the House would give him a committee, he would lay before them the facts upon which his conclusions were founded. He then withdrew.—Lord John Russell thought that, under the circumstances, ulterior proceedings ought not to be suggested by a member of the Government, whereupon Mr. Disraeli proposed that Mr. Duffy should be called in and desired to state the names of the members upon whom he considered the Government had acted in a corrupt manner.—On the motion of Mr. Wortley the debate was adjourned till next day. The House was then crowded by persons anxious to witness the sequel of the affair. The Speaker having called on Mr. Duffy to explain his words, the honourable member said that he did not wish to avoid the responsibility of proving them; that he had not intended to convey the meaning of money having been paid, but that certain Irish members had been induced to abandon solemn and circumstantial pledges in order to accept place. This he considered had been done for their own personal advantage, and he could only regard it as political corruption. If he had broken the rules of the House he regretted it.—Lord John Russell thought that as Mr. Gavan Duffy did not mean to impute *pecuniary* corruption, there was no reason to induce the House to carry the matter further, and so the affair dropped.

Secret Service Money to Members.—In a discussion in the House of Lords on a bill for the extension of Owens College, Manchester (March 8, 1870), Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, made some remarks on the legislation of Parliament on private bills, which he thought was very unsatisfactory. "A great objection to private legislation was that it only assisted those who could produce a very large sum of money—for he did not believe any private bill, if opposed, could pass at a less expense than 1000*l*. These were judicial functions, and should be treated as such; but no body of persons were so incompetent to perform judicial functions properly as committees of the House of Commons. He might mention a very serious fact that had come under his consideration. Shortly after he had the honour of a seat on the bench, an eminent railway company having

got into a dispute with one of its directors, he had to take the accounts between them in the Court of Chancery. In going over these accounts he found the item of 10,000*l.* for secret service money paid to members of Parliament. The director stated in his affidavit that the money had been paid; he disbelieved him, and he disallowed the item; and he only mentioned the circumstance then in order to show the scandal that arose from the present system of private legislation."

The Ballot Question brought Home.—On going into committee on the Ballot Bill in February, 1872, Mr. C. Bentinck moved that it be an instruction to the committee that they had power to provide that votes in divisions of the House of Commons be taken by ballot. He argued that it would protect members from the dictation of the Treasury Bench, as well as of the constituencies; and said there were precedents for his motion in the occasional practice of foreign Assemblies. Mr. Forster, on behalf of the Government, said the honourable gentleman had been amusing the House with a political *jeu d'esprit*, while it had serious business before it; but Mr. G. Bentinck came to the defence of his relative with the assertion that "more corruption, more bribery, and more intimidation were practised within the walls of that House than in all the constituencies of England put together." The Speaker, in response to the cries of the House, called on him to withdraw the statement; when Mr. Bentinck said that if he had used an unparliamentary expression he begged to withdraw it, but he begged to repeat (laughter) that there had been habitually practised within the walls of every other House of Commons except the present (laughter) intimidation and corruption. He regretted the House had not the courage to discuss the proposition.—The motion was then put and negatived.

A Bashful Member.—Sir Simonds D'Ewes relates that a bill was brought in "to avoid double payment of debts," and to this bill Mr. Zacharias Locke began to speak, "but for very fear shook so that he could not proceed, but stood still a while, and at length sat down."

A First and Last Speech.—Lord North's son, Frederick, afterwards Lord Guilford, said, "I once attempted to speak in Parliament, and it was not unnatural when I rose that my family name should at once fix every eye upon me. I brought out two or three sentences, when a mist seemed to rise before my eyes; I then lost my recollection, and could see nothing but the Speaker's wig, which swelled, and swelled, and swelled till it covered the whole House. I then sank back on my seat, and never attempted another speech, but quickly accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, assured that Parliament was not my vocation."

Turning a Failure to Account.—The third Earl of Shaftesbury (author of the "Characteristics") sat in the House of Commons as Lord Ashley at the end of the seventeeth century. Speaking there on a bill for granting counsel to prisoners in cases of high treason, he broke down, and we are told in the "Parliamentary History":—"The House, after giving him a little time to recover his confusion, called loudly upon him to go on, when he proceeded to this effect: 'If, sir (addressing himself to the Speaker), I, who rise only to give my opinion on the bill now

depending, am so confounded that I am unable to express the least of what I proposed to say, what must the condition of that man be, who, without any assistance, is pleading for his life, and under apprehension of being deprived of it?'"

The Inspiration of Claret.—On a debate in the House of Lords on the impeachment of Lord Treasurer Danby, in 1678, the Earl of Carnarvon made what is recorded as "a very peculiar speech." (Parliamentary Debates, 1668–1741.) "He is said never to have spoken before in that House; but having been heated with wine, and more excited to display his abilities by the Duke of Buckingham (who meant no favour to the Treasurer, but only ridicule), was resolved before he went up to speak upon any subject that would offer itself. Accordingly he stood up, and delivered himself to this effect:—'My lords, I understand but little of Latin, but a good deal of English, and not a little of the English history; from which I have learnt the mischiefs of such kind of prosecutions as these, and the ill fate of the prosecutors. I could bring many instances, and those very ancient; but, my lords, I shall go no further back than the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign: At which time the Earl of Essex was run down by Sir Walter Rawleigh, and your lordships very well know what became of Sir Walter Rawleigh. My Lord Bacon, he ran down Sir Walter Rawleigh, and your lordships know what became of my Lord Bacon. The Duke of Buckingham, he ran down my Lord Bacon, and your lordships know what happened to the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, ran down the Duke of Buckingham, and you all know what became of him. Sir Harry Vane, he ran down the Earl of Strafford, and your lordships know what became of Sir Harry Vane. Chancellor Hyde, he ran down Sir Harry Vane, and your lordships known what became of the Chancellor. Sir Thomas Osbourn, now Earl of Danby, ran down Chancellor Hyde; but what will become of the Earl of Danby your lordships best can tell. But let me see that man that dare run the Earl of Danby down, and we shall soon see what will become of him.'—This (says the report) being pronounced with a remarkable humour and tone, the Duke of Buckingham, both surprised and disappointed, after his way cried out, 'The man is inspired! and claret has done the business.'"

Deep Waters.—In the old days (remarks Townsend) long intervals of silence were not unusual. In the ancient reports we meet with these passages frequently: "*Alter silentium*, a long while."—"A pause for two or three minutes."—"The House sat looking at each other."—"We are," said an old county member, "like deep waters, the deeper the silenter."

A Twice-told Tale.—An amusing instance of loquacity is mentioned by the Rev. G. Garrard, in writing in 1633 to Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford, who was at that time the lord deputy in Ireland. "I'll end," he says, "fearing I have now, at the month's end, run into the same error which I condemned in old Sir George Moore in time of Parliament, who, as your lordship may remember, would about eleven of the clock rise up, and make repetition of all that had been spoken that day."

Long-winded Oratory.—Mr. Townsend mentions that an interminable orator, haranguing to empty benches, whispered to a friend, "I am speaking to posterity." "If you go on at this rate," replied his friend, "you will see your audience before you."—When Hartley, the most prosaic of orators (p. 451), had all but cleared the House, and wished some clause of the Riot Act to be read, "You have read it already," exclaimed Burke; "the mob is dispersed!"

A Long Speech Cut Short.—Mr. Greville relates the following: A certain bishop in the House of Lords rose to speak, and announced that he should divide what he had to say into twelve parts, when the Duke of Wharton interrupted him, and begged he might be indulged for a few minutes, as he had a story to tell which he could only introduce at that moment. A drunken fellow was passing by St. Paul's at night, and heard the clock slowly chiming twelve. He counted the strokes, and when it had finished looked towards the clock, and said, "D—— you, why couldn't you give us all that at once?" There was an end of the bishop's story.

Two Words.—Malone relates that Sir William Baker, an alderman of London, had a strong attack made upon him either by Pitt or some other eminent member of the House, who charged him with having made an immense sum by a fraudulent contract. Baker got up very quietly, and gained the House to his side by this short reply: "The honourable gentleman is a great orator, and has made a long and serious charge against me. I am no orator, and therefore shall only answer him in two words—Prove it." Having thus spoken, he sat down; but there was something in his manner and tone that satisfied the House the charge was a calumny.

A Talkative Member.—Of a member of Parliament who, after having harangued for some hours in the House of Commons, came into a company where Dr. Johnson was, and endeavoured to talk him down, the doctor said, "This man has a pulse in his tongue."

A Terrible Threat.—Mr. Peter Borthwick, addressing the House on one occasion amid great interruption, told them that if they did not allow him to finish his speech in his own way, he would not leave off at all. The House was so amused at this notion that the honourable member was permitted to go on, and bring his remarks to a conclusion.

Limitation of Speeches.—In July, 1880, Mr. Biddell (member for West Suffolk) asked whether, having regard to the little business done and the much talking there had been in the House, the Prime Minister would consider the propriety of limiting speeches to ten minutes; such rule not to apply to members of the Government or of the late Government, or to members making motions, and to be adopted for that session only.—Mr. Gladstone, referring to the substitution of ten minutes for seven in the question, remarked that the merciful qualities of the honourable member led him to progressive modifications. The honourable member would be prepared to hear that the Government was not prepared to make any such recommendation. At the same time, he did not think that that was quite an adequate answer to the question. He regarded the question

as an indication of a growing sentiment in the House (cheers) that there were obstacles, not to free discussion, but to the transaction of the business of the House, some of them of a general and some of them of a special and rather formidable character, and that matter, growing to greater aggravation, might be one that might call for serious attention. (Cheers.)

An Artist on a Canvass.—Dr. Doran, in a note to his edition of Walpole's "Journals," relates the following *mot* of George Selwyn's: A report was circulated to the effect that Sir Joshua Reynolds was to stand for Plympton on the next occasion of an election. The maccaronies, club-men, and "gentlemen" generally, laughed at the idea of an artist, or of a literary man, presuming or having a chance to get into the House of Commons. "He is not to be laughed at, however," said Selwyn; "he may very well succeed in being elected, for Sir Joshua is the ablest man I know on a canvas."

Southey Vacating his Seat.—A singular method of vacating a seat (says Sir T. E. May) was that of Mr. Southey, who in 1826 had been elected for Downton, during his absence on the Continent. His return was not questioned, but he addressed a letter to the Speaker, in which he stated he had not the qualification of estate required by law. The House waited until after the expiration of the time limited for presenting election petitions, and then issued a new writ for the borough. The property qualification was abolished in 1858.

"Once a Carrier."—Burnet says, Colonel Birch, who sat in the House of Commons in 1675, had a coarse but ready wit, with which he retorted without distinction on all assailants. A reflection having been made in the House upon his former occupation of a carrier, Birch replied, with justifiable contempt, "It is very true, as that gentleman says, I *once* was a carrier; and let me tell that gentleman it is very fortunate for him that he never was a carrier; for if he had, he would have been a carrier *still*."

A Disreputable Representative. — In the pension-list of Charles II. (writes Oldfield) the following paragraph appeared: "Sir John Holmes, Sir Robert's brother, and member for Newton (Isle of Wight), a cowardly, baffled sea-captain, twice boxed and once whipped with a dog-whip, was chosen in the night without the head-officer of the town, and but one burgess present; yet voted this last election, and will be re-elected."

"Avoiding Death" and Avoiding Arrest.—A Mr. Asgill was expelled in 1707 for having published a "Treatise on the Possibility of Avoiding Death," the same fate, on the same ground, having previously befallen him in the Irish Parliament. He had been an attorney, and was bequeathed a considerable sum of money by Dr. Barbon (who built the New Square of Lincoln's Inn) on condition that he would pay none of the testator's debts. He called the creditors together in Lincoln's Inn Hall read the will, and told them "he would religiously fulfil the wishes of the dead." Barbon had purchased the borough of Bramber, consisting of a single street, and Asgill availed himself of this property to secure a seat in the House of Commons, and with it the privilege of freedom from

arrest. Officers were in waiting to take him when his expulsion occurred, but he managed to make his escape.

An Illiterate Member.—Lord William Poulet, though often chairman of committees of the House of Commons, was a great dunce, and could scarcely read. Having to read a bill for naturalising Jemima, Duchess of Kent, he called her Jeremiah, Duchess of Kent.—*Walpoliana.*

Slow Perception.—Mr. Clayton, the husband of the Queen's favourite (*temp.* George II.), got into Parliament and made himself useful to the Ministry, for which he received ample recompense. He became one of the Lords of the Treasury, and, though remarkable for nothing but dulness, was eventually created an Irish baron, with the title of Sundon. Bubb Doddington was once reproved by a brother Commissioner of the Treasury for not doing justice to Lord Sundon's quickness of perception, as he had laughed at something Doddington had just uttered. "No, no," exclaimed Doddington, "my Lord Sundon is now only appreciating a jest I made last Treasury day."

The Geese and the Oats.—Henry, youngest son of the second Viscount Falkland, was so thoughtlessly extravagant, that he sold his father's admirable library for a horse and a mare. He was not, however, without parts, as the following anecdote will show. Being brought early into the House of Commons, as member for Oxfordshire, and a grave senator objecting to his youth, and to his not looking as if he had sowed his wild oats, he replied, "Then I am come to the properest place, where are so many geese to pick them up."

The Mystery of the Hat.—Mr. John O'Connell relates the following: One of the Irish members, a man of considerable wealth, was singularly negligent in his dress; wearing habiliments, and especially a hat, of very ancient date. This gentleman had occasion several times to call at the Irish Office, and had always been received with the courtesy that marked the noble lord (Morpeth, afterwards Earl of Carlisle) then at the head of that office. About the middle of 1835, Mr. R. (the member in question) called, and after the usual courtesies Lord Morpeth looked inquiringly at his visitor. "I am come to thank your lordship," said the latter, answering the look; "I am greatly obliged to your lordship!" "Oh-h-h! Mr. R.," said Lord Morpeth, not recollecting what he was thanked for, but supposing it must be some attention to one of Mr. R.'s recommendations, "I shall be always happy to be of any service in my power." "I am much obliged to your lordship; I did not mistake your motive for a moment; and I shall always be obliged to your lordship for such communications." The mystified secretary stared a little, but seeing that his visitor appeared thoroughly in earnest, he made the best of it by again bowing, and expressing his desire always to give similar satisfaction. "I am quite sure of it, and I am, I beg again to say, greatly obliged to your lordship; and here, my lord, is—my hat." "Your hat, Mr. R.!" "Yes, my lord. I hope your lordship approves of it." "Oh-h! Certainly, Mr. R., it is a very nice hat indeed—*very*—but——" "I am glad your lordship likes it. I assure you I took great pains to get one which you would consider unobjectionable, and to prove what a value I

place upon your advice." "My advice, Mr. R.!" (looking aghast, and half inclined to ring the bell)—"My advice!" "Yes, my lord, according to your own note here." And to Lord Morpeth's amazement he was handed a note, addressed as from himself to Mr. R., representing in the kindest manner that such was the writer's solicitude for the proper estimation of the Irish M.P.'s, that he was induced to step beyond the limits, not only of his office, but of the privileges of ordinary acquaintance, to suggest in strict confidence to Mr. R. "that his hat was not exactly what a gentleman of his position and wealth ought to wear!"

An Apple-stall Question in Parliament.—In July, 1851, Mr. Bernal Osborne put a question to Lord Seymour, the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, respecting the eviction of Ann Hicks from Hyde Park, to which the noble lord replied in substance as follows:—In 1843, Ann Hicks had a little stall where she sold apples and ginger beer in the Park; subsequently, on application to the Commissioners, she obtained permission to erect a wooden stand in which to lock up her commodities. Step by step, and in accordance with successive concessions made to the pertinacity of Mrs. Hicks, the stand of wood became a stand of brick—the stand of brick a small hut five feet in height—the roof of the hut, under pretence of repairing a leak, acquired further elevation, and was surmounted by a chimney. A bit of garden ground seems to have been the next object of Ann's cupidity, and this she took upon herself to appropriate, enclosing it with hurdles. The hurdles were continually advancing and encroaching upon the Park, in proportion to the forbearance of the authorities and the acquisitiveness of Mrs. Ann Hicks. Such a state of things could not, of course, be permitted to continue. The Duke of Wellington, as Ranger of the Park, the Crown solicitors, and the Commissioners had to bring into exercise their combined powers, and a small sum of money had to be paid by way of compensation, before the intruder could be ejected. The woman, it appeared, made some pretence of holding a house in the Park by the gift of George II., but this had no further foundation than her own delusion or invention.

Women in Parliament.*—The ladies of birth and quality sat in council (says Gurdon) with the Saxon Witas. In Wightred's great council at Becconceld, A.D. 694, the Abbesses sat and deliberated, and five of them signed the decrees of that council, along with the King, bishops, and nobles. In Henry III. and Edward I.'s time four Abbesses were summoned to Parliament, viz., of Shaftesbury, Berking, St. Mary of Winchester, and of Wilton. In the 35th of Edward III. were summoned by writ to Parliament, to appear there by their proxies, Countess of Norfolk, Countess of Ormond, Countess of March, Countess of Pembroke, Countess of Oxford, and Countess of Athol. These ladies were called "*ad colloquium et tractatum* by their proxies."

Women as Witnesses.—On the 12th of February, 1620 (Hatsell relates), Mr. Lovell complains that one Dayrell had threatened his person. He is brought to the bar, and denies the words charged against him. He

* As to "Women and the Franchise," see page 343

is ordered to attend next day with his witnesses, one of whom proved to be a woman. Mr Crewe and Sir Edward Coke gravely opposed her being called in to be examined; objecting, on the authority of St. Bernard, "That a woman ought not to speak in the congregation." A committee was therefore appointed to go out and examine her at the door.

Women Petitioners.—The "Parliamentary History" records that on the 4th of February, 1641, a singular petition was presented to the Commons, from several gentlewomen and tradesmen's wives in the City. On the last day of sitting these female zealots were observed to crowd much about the door of the Commons, and Sergeant-major Skippon, the commander of the guard, had applied to the House to know what to do with them, the women telling him, That where there was one now, there would be five hundred the next day; and that it was as good for them to die there as at home. The House advised him to speak them fair and send them home again. But this day they were as good as their word; they came down in great numbers and presented a petition to the Commons, which was received and read. The prayer of the petition was for the "putting down of Popery and Idolatry."* The petition was presented by Mrs. Anne Stagg, a gentlewoman and brewer's wife. Mr. Pym came to the door and thanked them for the petition, promising that it would receive due attention, and requested the petitioners to return home.

Extension of the Electoral Principle.—In the India Bill (No. 2) brought in by Mr. Disraeli in 1858, there was a proposal that a proportion of the new Indian Council should be elected by the constituencies of five great commercial towns—Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, and Belfast. This novel idea excited much opposition, to which Lord Palmerston gave the most effective point. He said that whenever he met a friend in the street he found him in an uncontrollable fit of laughter, and as soon as was able to speak and explain himself, it was always found that he was laughing at India Bill No. 2, and this particular proviso.

"Burning Questions."—This phrase, although not originated in Parliament, is so frequently in use as applied to Parliamentary affairs that it requires mention. It was first employed (in a letter to political friends) by Mr. Edward Miall, the well-known promoter of the "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control"—an unwieldy title which it has since been found convenient to modify into the curtness of "Liberation Society." (Mr. Miall had represented both Rochdale and Bradford, after having been repeatedly defeated in other constituencies.) Mr. Disraeli took up the phrase in a speech in the House in March, 1873. He said: "We are now emerging from a fiscal period in which almost all the public men of this generation have been brought up. All the questions of trade and navigation, of the incidence of taxation and

* Butler alludes, most probably, to this circumstance in the following couplet:—

> "The oyster-women locked their fish up,
> And trudged away to cry, No bishop!"

of public economy, are settled. But there are other questions not less important, and of deeper and higher reach and range, which must engage the attention of a Constitutional Minister. There is the question whether the aristocratic principle should be recognised in our Constitution, and if so, in what form; whether the Commons of England shall remain an estate of the realm, numerous, but privileged and qualified, or whether they should degenerate into an indiscriminate multitude; whether a National Church shall be maintained, and if so, what shall be its rights and duties; the functions of corporations, the sacredness of endowments, the tenure of landed property, the free disposal and even the existence of any kind of property. All these institutions and all these principles, which have made this country free and famous, and conspicuous for its union of order with liberty, are now impugned, and in due time will become great and 'burning' questions."

A Laudable Ambition.—In reference to his friend Mr. Thrale's seeking a seat in Parliament, Dr. Johnson said: "It would be with great discontent that I should see Mr. Thrale decline the representation of the borough. To sit in Parliament for Southwark is the highest honour that his station permits him to attain; and his ambition to attain it is rational and laudable. I will not say that for an honest man to struggle for a vote in the legislature, at a time when honest votes are so much wanted, is absolutely a duty; but it is surely an act of virtue. The expense, if it were more, I should wish him to despise. Money is made for such purposes as this."

What the House of Commons Loves.—Sir T. F. Buxton wrote as follows to a friend (Mr. North) whom he wished to induce to enter the House of Commons: "I do not wonder why so many distinguished men have failed in it. The speaking required is of a very peculiar kind: the House loves *good sense and joking*, and nothing else; and the object of its utter aversion is that species of eloquence which is called Philippian. There are not three men from whom a fine simile or sentiment would be tolerated. All attempts of the kind are punished with general laughter. An easy flow of sterling plain sense is indispensable; and this, combined with great powers of sarcasm, gives Brougham his station. Canning is an exception to this rule; his reasoning is seldom above mediocrity; but then it is recommended by language so wonderfully happy, by a manner so exquisitely elegant, and by wit so clear, so pungent, and so unpremeditated, that he contrives to beguile the House of its austerity. Tierney has never exerted himself much in my hearing. Wilberforce has more native eloquence than any of them; but he takes no pains, and allows himself to wander from his subject: he holds a very high rank in the estimation of the House. And now let me tell you a secret. These great creatures turn out, when viewed closely, to be but men, and men with whom *you* need not fear competition."

Influence of Character in Parliament.—On the death of Sir Robert Harry Inglis, who for a long period had represented the University of Oxford, the following tribute was paid to his memory by the *Times*:—"Sir R. H. Inglis has been for a whole generation one of the most con-

spicuous and honourable personages in the great council of the nation. Much more than any other living man, he illustrates the force of what English people are proud to call 'character.' People may or may not have valued his opinions, or respected his reasoning powers; they may or may not have followed the lead of one who scarcely ever assumed to guide; but all respected, admired, and even loved the honest, hearty, genial, courteous gentleman, who spoke the whole truth, as he held it, from his whole soul, with no respect either of persons or of circumstances, and apparently with no other object than to record a clear testimony and quiet his own conscience. Hence, while it would be difficult to say what Sir R. H. Inglis has done, what vote he has carried, what measure he has forwarded or delayed, he has undoubtedly possessed a great, though indefinite, weight in the Legislature. No one who ever heard him speak could fail to understand how it was that he won the respect and affections of men who, nevertheless, declined to acquiesce in his conclusions."

"Great Wisdom" in Parliament.—Old Thomas Fuller, writing the character of the "true gentleman," says: "If chosen a member of Parliament, he is willing to do his country service. If he be no rhetorician, to raise affections (yea, Mercury was a greater speaker than Jupiter himself!), he counts it great wisdom to be the good manager of 'Yea' and 'Nay.'"

APPENDIX.

(A.) THE PARLIAMENTS OF ENGLAND AND OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The following list, to the reign of Anne, is from Returns compiled by order of the House of Commons, and published in 1879:—

Years of Reign.	A.D.
15 John	1213
10 Henry III.	1226
38 Ditto	1254
45 Ditto	1261
49 Ditto	1264–5
3 Edward I.	1275
11 Ditto	1282–3
11 Ditto	1283
18 Ditto	1290
22 Ditto	1294
23 Ditto	1295
24 Ditto	1296
25 Ditto	1297
26 Ditto	1298
28 Ditto	1299–1300
28 Ditto	1300
29 Ditto	1300–1
30 Ditto	1302
33 Ditto	1304–5
34 Ditto	1306
35 Ditto	1306–7
1 Edward II.	1307
1 Ditto	1307–8
2 Ditto	1309
5 Ditto	1311
5 Ditto	1311
5 Ditto	1311–12
6 Ditto	1312
6 Ditto	1312–13
7 Ditto	1313
7 Ditto	1313
7 Ditto	1314
8 Ditto	1314
8 Ditto	1314–15
9 Ditto	1315–16
9 Ditto	1316
10 Edward II.	1316
11 Ditto	1318
12 Ditto	1318
12 Ditto	1319
14 Ditto	1320
15 Ditto	1321
15 Ditto	1322
16 Ditto	1322
17 Ditto	1323–4
18 Ditto	1324
19 Ditto	1325
20 Ditto	1326–7
1 Edward III.	1327
2 Ditto	1327–8
2 Ditto	1328
2 Ditto	1328
2 and 3 Ditto	1328–9
4 Ditto	1329–30
4 Ditto	1330
5 Ditto	1331
5 Ditto	1331
6 Ditto	1331–2
6 Ditto	1332
6 Ditto	1332
8 Ditto	1333–4
8 Ditto	1334
9 Ditto	1335
10 Ditto	1335–6
10 Ditto	1336
10 Ditto	1336–7
11 Ditto	1336–7
11 Ditto	1337
12 Ditto	1337–8
12 Ditto	1338
12 and 13 Ditto	1338–9
13 Ditto	1339

Years of Reign.	A.D.
13 Edward III.	1339–40
14 Ditto	1340
14 Ditto	1340
15 Ditto	1341
16 Ditto	1342
17 Ditto	1343
18 Ditto	1344
20 Ditto	1346
21 Ditto	1347–8
22 Ditto	1348
22 Ditto	1348–9
25 Ditto	1350–1
25 Ditto	1351–2
26 Ditto	1352
27 Ditto	1353
28 Ditto	1354
29 Ditto	1355
31 Ditto	1357
32 Ditto	1357–8
34 Ditto	1360
34 Ditto	1360–1
36 Ditto	1362
37 Ditto	1363
38 Ditto	1364–5
40 Ditto	1366
42 Ditto	1368
43 Ditto	1369
45 Ditto	1370–1
45 Ditto	1371
46 Ditto	1372
47 Ditto	1373
50 Ditto	1375–6
51 Ditto	1376–7
1 Richard II.	1377
2 Ditto	1378
2 Ditto	1379
3 Ditto	1379–80
4 Ditto	1380
5 Ditto	1381
5 Ditto	1382
6 Ditto	1382
6 Ditto	1382–3
7 Ditto	1383
7 Ditto	1384
8 Ditto	1384
9 Ditto	1385
10 Ditto	1386
11 Ditto	1387–8
12 Ditto	1388
13 Ditto	1389–90
14 Ditto	1390
15 Ditto	1391
16 Ditto	1392
16 Ditto	1392–3
17 Ditto	1393–4
18 Ditto	1394–5
20 Ditto	1396–7
21 Ditto	1397–8
23 Ditto	1399

Years of Reign.	A.D.
1 Henry IV.	1399
2 Ditto	1400–1
3 Ditto	1401–2
3 Ditto	1402
5 Ditto	1403
6 Ditto	1404
7 Ditto	1405–6
9 Ditto	1407
11 Ditto	1409–10
13 Ditto	1411
14 Ditto	1412–13
1 Henry V.	1413
2 Ditto	1413–14
2 Ditto	1414
3 Ditto	1415
3 Ditto	1415–16
4 Ditto	1416
5 Ditto	1417
7 Ditto	1419
8 Ditto	1420
9 Ditto	1421
9 Ditto	1421
1 Henry VI.	1422
2 Ditto	1423
3 Ditto	1425
4 Ditto	1425–6
6 Ditto	1427
8 Ditto	1429
9 Ditto	1430–1
10 Ditto	1432
11 Ditto	1433
14 Ditto	1435
15 Ditto	1436–7
18 Ditto	1439
20 Ditto	1441–2
23 Ditto	1444–5
25 Ditto	1446–7
27 Ditto	1448–9
28 Ditto	1449
29 Ditto	1450
31 Ditto	1452–3
33 Ditto	1455
38 Ditto	1459
39 Ditto	1460
1 Edward IV.	1461
3 Ditto	1462–3
7 Ditto	1467
9 Ditto	1469
10 Ditto	1470
12 Ditto	1472
17 Ditto	1477–8
22 Ditto	1482–3
1 Richard III.	1483–4
1 Henry VII.	1485
3 Ditto	1487
7 Ditto	1491
11 Ditto	1495
12 Ditto	1496–7
1 Henry VIII.	1509–10

Years of Reign.	A.D.
3 Henry VIII.	1511–12
6 Ditto	1514–15
14 Ditto	1523
21 Ditto	1529
28 Ditto	1536
31 Ditto	1539
33 Ditto	1541–2
37 Ditto	1545
1 Edward VI.	1547
7 Ditto	1552–3
1 Mary	1553
1 Ditto	1554
1 and 2 Philip and Mary	1554
2 and 3 Ditto	1555
4 and 5 Ditto	1557–8
1 Elizabeth	1558–9
5 Ditto	1562–3
14 Ditto	1572
27 Ditto	1584
28 Ditto	1586
30 and 31 Ditto	1588–9
35 Ditto	1592–3
39 Ditto	1597
43 Ditto	1601
1 James I.	1603–4
12 Ditto	1614
18 James I.	1620–1
21 Ditto	1623–4
1 Charles I.	1625
1 Ditto	1625–6
3 Ditto	1627–8
16 Ditto	1640
16 Ditto (Long Parliament)	1640
Interregnum	1653
Ditto	1654
Ditto	1656
Ditto	1658–9
Ditto	1659
12 Charles II.*	1660
13 Ditto (The Long or Pensionary Parliament)	1661
31 Ditto	1678–9
31 Ditto	1679
33 Ditto	1680–1
1 James II.	1685
Convention	1688–90
2 William and Mary	1689–90
7 William III.	1695
10 Ditto	1698
12 Ditto	1700–1
13 Ditto	1701
1 Anne	1702

* This official return preserves the theory that Charles II. began to reign on his father's decease.

The official return published in 1879 ends with the first Parliament of Anne. The following are the later dates:—

Years of Reign.	A.D.
4 Anne*	1705
7 Ditto	1708
9 Ditto	1710
12 Ditto	1713
1 George I.	1715
8 Ditto	1722
1 George II.	1727
8 Ditto	1734
15 Ditto	1741
21 Ditto	1747
27 Ditto	1754
1 George III.	1761
8 Ditto	1768
15 Ditto	1774
21 Ditto	1780
24 Ditto	1784
30 Ditto	1790
36 Ditto†	1796
42 Ditto	1802
47 Ditto	1806
47 George III.	1807
53 Ditto	1812
58 Ditto	1818
1 George IV.	1820
7 Ditto	1826
1 William IV.	1830
1 Ditto	1831
3 Ditto	1833
5 Ditto	1835
1 Victoria	1837
5 Ditto	1841
11 Ditto	1847
16 Ditto	1852
20 Ditto	1857
22 Ditto	1859
29 Ditto	1866
32 Ditto	1868
37 Ditto	1874
43 Ditto	1880

* With this Parliament the Scottish was amalgamated, the first Parliament of Great Britain meeting Oct. 23, 1707.

† The first Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was opened Jan. 22, 1801.

(B.) SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The following list, down to the reign of Charles I., is on the authority of Hakewel's collection from the records and Journals of Parliament (1670). The subsequent names are chiefly from Dod's "Manual of Dignities." The dates, as compared with the regnal years, are supplied throughout from Sir Harris Nicolas's "Chronology of History." Re-elections are not specified, unless another individual had succeeded to the chair for a time:—

A.D.	SPEAKERS.	REIGNS.
1260	Peter de Montfort	44 Henry III.
1332	— Scrope	6 Edward III.
1339	William Trussel	13 Edward III.
1376	Sir Peter de la Mare	49 Edward III.
1377	Sir Thomas Hungerford*	51 Edward III.
1377	Sir Peter de la Mare	1 Richard II.
1378	Sir James Pickering	2 Richard II.
1379	Sir John Goldesborough	3 Richard II.
1381	Sir Richard Walgrave	5 Richard II.
1382	Sir James Pickering	6 Richard II.
1393	Sir John Bushey	17 Richard II.
1399	Sir John Cheyney	1 Henry IV.
1400	John Dorwood	1 Henry IV.
1401	Sir Arnold Savage	2 Henry IV.
1403	Sir Henry de Redeford	4 Henry IV.
1404	Sir Arnold Savage	5 Henry IV.
1405	Sir William Sturmy	6 Henry IV.
1405	Sir John Cheyney	6 Henry IV.
1406	Sir John Tiptoft (Tibetot)	7 Henry IV.
1408	Thomas Chaucer	9 Henry IV.
1413	William Stourton	1 Henry V.
1413	John Dorwood	1 Henry V.
1414	Walter Hungerford	2 Henry V.
1415	Thomas Chaucer	3 Henry V.
1415	Richard Redman	3 Henry V.
1415	Sir Walter Beauchamp	3 Henry V.
1416	Roger Flower	4 Henry V.
1421	Richard Baynard	9 Henry V.
1422	Roger Flower	1 Henry VI.
1423	John Russel	2 Henry VI.
1424	Sir Thomas Wauton	3 Henry VI.
1425	Richard Vernon	4 Henry VI.
1427	John Tirell	6 Henry VI.
1429	William Allington	8 Henry VI.
1430	John Tirell	9 Henry VI.

* The first to receive the title of Speaker, although others had in a measure performed the office before.

A.D.	Speakers.	Reigns.
1431	John Russel	10 Henry VI.
1432	Roger Hurst	11 Henry VI.
1435	John Bowes	14 Henry VI.
1436	Sir John Tirell	15 Henry VI.
1438	William Burley	17 Henry VI.
* 1439	William Tresham	18 Henry VI.
1444	William Burley	23 Henry VI.
1446	William Tresham	25 Henry VI.
1448	John Day	27 Henry VI.
1449	Sir John Popham	28 Henry VI.
1449	William Tresham	28 Henry VI.
1450	Sir William Oldham	29 Henry VI.
1452	Thomas Thorp	31 Henry VI.
1452	Sir Thomas Charlton	31 Henry VI.
1454	Sir John Wenlock	33 Henry VI.
1459	Thomas Tresham	38 Henry VI.
1460	John Green	39 Henry VI.
1461	Sir James Strangwaies	1 Edward IV.
1467	John Say	7 Edward IV.
1472	William Allington	12 Edward IV.
1482	John Wood	22 Edward IV.
1483	William Catesby	1 Richard III.
1485	Thomas Lovel	1 Henry VII.
1487	John Mordant	3 Henry VII.
1488	Sir Thomas Fitzwilliams	4 Henry VII.
1491	Richard Empson	7 Henry VII.
1495	Sir Reginald Bray	11 Henry VII.
1495	Robert Drury	11 Henry VII.
1496	Thomas Inglefield	12 Henry VII.
1503	Edmond Dudley	19 Henry VII.
1509	Sir Thomas Inglefield	1 Henry VIII.
1511	Sir Robert Sheffield	3 Henry VIII.
1514	Sir Thomas Nevill	6 Henry VIII.
1522	Sir Thomas More	14 Henry VIII.
1529	Thomas Audley	21 Henry VIII.
1536	Richard Rich	28 Henry VIII.
1539	Sir Nicholas Hare	31 Henry VIII.
1542	Thomas Moyle	34 Henry VIII.
1547	Sir John Baker	1 Edward VI.
1553	Sir James Dyer	7 Edward VI.
1553	John Pollard	1 Mary.
1554	Clement Higham	1 P. and M.
1555	John Pollard	2 P. and M.
1558	William Cordal	5 P. and M.
1558	Sir Thomas Gargrave	1 Elizabeth.
1562	Thomas Williams	5 Elizabeth.
1565	Richard Onsloe	8 Elizabeth.
1570	Christopher Wray	13 Elizabeth.
1571	Robert Bell	14 Elizabeth.
1580	John Popham	23 Elizabeth.

A.D.	Speakers.	Reigns.
1584	Mr. Serjeant Puckering	27 Elizabeth.
1588	Mr. Serjeant Snag	31 Elizabeth.
1592	Edward Cook (Coke)	35 Elizabeth.
1596	Mr. Serjeant Yelverton	39 Elizabeth.
1600	Mr. Serjeant Crook	43 Elizabeth.
1603	Mr. Serjeant Phelips	1 James I.
1614	Sir Randolph Crew	12 James I.
1620	Sir Thomas Richardson	18 James I.
1623	Sir Thomas Crew	21 James I.
1625	Sir Heneage Finch	1 Charles I.
1627	Sir John Finch	3 Charles I.
1640	John Glanvile	16 Charles I.
1640	William Lenthal	16 Charles I.
1653	Francis Rous	Commonwealth.
1654	William Lenthal	
1656	Sir Thomas Widdrington	
1659	Chaloner Chute	
1659	Thomas Bampfield	
1660	Sir Harbottle Grimston	12 Charles II.
1661	Sir Edward Turner	13 Charles II.
1673	Sir Job Charlton	25 Charles II.
1673	Edward Seymour	25 Charles II.
1678	Sir Robert Sawyer	30 Charles II.
1678	Edward Seymour	30 Charles II.
1679	Mr. Serjeant Gregory	31 Charles II.
1680	William Williams	32 Charles II.
1685	Sir John Trevor	1 James II.
1688	Henry Powle	4 James II.
1689	Sir John Trevor	1 Wm. and Mary.
1694	Paul Foley	6 Wm. and Mary.
1698	Sir Thomas Lyttelton	10 William III.
1700	Robert Harley	12 William III.
1702	John Smith	1 Anne.
1708	Sir Richard Onslow	7 Anne.
1710	William Bromley	9 Anne.
1713	Sir Thomas Hanmer	12 Anne.
1715	Hon. Spencer Compton	1 Geo. I.
1727	Arthur Onslow	1 Geo. II.
1761	Sir John Cust	1 Geo. III.
1770	Sir Fletcher Norton	11 Geo. III.
1780	Charles Wolfran Cornwall	21 Geo. III.
1789	Hon. William Grenville	30 Geo. III.
1789	Henry Addington	30 Geo. III.
1801	Sir John Mitford	42 Geo. III.
1802	Charles Abbot	43 Geo. III.
1817	Charles Manners Sutton	58 Geo. III.
1835	James Abercromby	6 Will. IV.
1839	Charles Shaw Lefevre	2 Victoria.
1857	John Evelyn Denison	20 Victoria.
1872	Henry Bouverie Brand	35 Victoria.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SPEAKERS.

Abbot 1802
Abercromby 1835
Addington 1789
Allington, William 1429
Allington, William 1472
Audley..... 1529
Baker 1547
Bampfield 1659
Baynard 1421
Beauchamp..... 1415
Bell 1571
Bowes 1435
Brand 1872
Bray 1495
Bromley 1710
Burley.....1438, 1444
Bushey 1393
Catesby 1483
Charlton, Sir Job 1673
Charlton, Sir Thos. 1452
Chaucer 1408, 1415
Cheyney.....1399, 1405
Chute 1659
Compton 1715
Cook (Coke) 1592
Cordal 1558
Cornwall 1780
Crew..... 1614
Crook 1600
Cust..... 1761
Day 1448
De la Mare...1376, 1377
De Montford, P.... 1260
Denison 1857
Dorwood.....1400, 1413
Drury 1495
Dudley..... 1503
Dyer 1553
Empson 1491
Finch, Heneage ... 1625
Finch, John 1627
Fitzwilliams 1488
Flower 1416, 1422
Foley 1694
Gargrave..... 1558
Glanvile 1640
Goldesborough ... 1379, 1382
Green 1460
Gregory 1679
Grenville..... 1789
Grimston..... 1660
Hanmer 1713
Hare 1539
Harley..... 1700
Higham 1554
Hungerford, Thos. 1377
Hungerford, W. ... 1414
Hurst 1432
Inglefield ...1496, 1509
Lefevre 1839
Lenthal 1640, 1654
Lovel 1485
Lyttelton..... 1698
Mitford 1801
Mordant 1487
More 1522
Moyle 1542
Nevill 1514
Norton 1770
Oldham 1450
Onsloe, Richard ... 1565
Onslow, Arthur ... 1727
Onslow, Richard... 1708
Phelips 1603
Pickering..... 1378
Pollard 1553, 1555
Popham, John..... 1580
Popham, Sir John 1449
Powle 1688
Puckering 1584
Redeford..... 1403
Redman 1415
Rich..... 1536
Rous 1653
Russel 1423, 1431
Savage 1401, 1404
Sawyer..... 1678
Say 1467
Scrope 1332
Seymour.....1673, 1678
Sheffield 1511
Snag..... 1588
Smith, John..... 1702
Stourton 1413
Strangwaies 1461
Sturmy 1405
Sutton..... 1817
Thorp 1452
Tiptoft (Tibetot)... 1406
Tirell 1427, 1430, 1436
Tresham, Thomas 1459
Tresham, William 1439, 1446, 1449
Trevor 1685, 1689
Trussel 1339
Turner..... 1661
Vernon 1425
Walgrave 1381
Wauton 1424
Wenlock 1454
Widdrington 1656
Williams, Thomas 1562
Williams, William 1680
Wood 1482
Wray 1570
Yelverton 1596

(C.) PRIME MINISTERS, CHANCELLORS, FROM 1715

(*) The Prime Ministers have not always been First Lords of the Treasury. The Secretaries of State formerly acted conjointly. The duties were

	PRIME MINISTERS.*	CHANCELLORS OF THE EXCHEQUER.	LORD CHANCELLORS.
1715	Robert Walpole	Robert Walpole	Lord Cowper
1717	James (Earl) Stanhope	James Stanhope	Lord Cowper
1718	Earl of Sunderland	John Aislabie	Earl Cowper Lord Parker
1721	Sir Robert Walpole	Sir Robert Walpole	Lord Parker Lord King Lord Talbot Lord Hardwicke
1742	Earl of Wilmington	Samuel Sandys	Lord Hardwicke
1743	Henry Pelham	Henry Pelham	Lord Hardwicke
1754	Duke of Newcastle	Henry Bilson Legge Sir G. Lyttelton	Earl of Hardwicke
1756	Duke of Devonshire	Henry Bilson Legge	Commission
1757	Duke of Newcastle	Henry Bilson Legge Viscount Barrington	Lord Henley
1762	Earl of Bute	Sir Francis Dashwood	Lord Henley
1763	George Grenville	George Grenville	Lord Henley (Earl of Northington)
1765	Marquis of Rockingham	William Dowdeswell	Earl of Northington
1766	Earl of Chatham	Charles Townshend	Lord Camden

AND SECRETARIES OF STATE,

TO 1880.

Earl of Chatham, when Premier, held the office of Lord Privy Seal. (†) Two divided between Home and Foreign departments about 1765.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.†		THE COLONIES AND WAR.
Earl Stanhope Paul Methuen	Viscount Townshend	(The office of Secretary for the Colonies originated in 1768, but was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1782. It was revived, and united with the new Secretaryship for War, in 1801; and the offices were divided into distinct Secretaryships in 1854.)
Earl of Sunderland	Joseph Addison	
Earl Stanhope	James Craggs	
Viscount Townshend Lord Harrington	Lord Carteret Duke of Newcastle	
Lord Carteret	Duke of Newcastle	
Lord Harrington Earl of Chesterfield Duke of Bedford Earl of Holdernesse	Duke of Newcastle	
Earl of Holdernesse	Sir Thomas Robinson Henry Fox (Lord Holland)	
Earl of Holdernesse	William Pitt	
Earl of Holdernesse Earl of Bute	William Pitt Earl of Egremont	
George Grenville Earl of Halifax	Earl of Egremont	
Earl of Halifax	Earl of Egremont Earl of Sandwich	
HOME SECRETARIES.	**FOREIGN SECRETARIES.**	
Duke of Grafton	Gen. Conway	
Earl of Shelburne	Gen. Conway	

	PRIME MINISTERS.	CHANCELLORS OF THE EXCHEQUER.	LORD CHANCELLORS.
1767	Duke of Grafton	Lord North	Lord Camden
1770	Lord North	Lord North	Commission Lord Apsley Lord Thurlow
1782	Marquis of Rockingham	Lord John Cavendish	Lord Thurlow
1782	Earl of Shelburne	William Pitt	Lord Thurlow
1783	Duke of Portland	Lord John Cavendish	Commission
1783	William Pitt	William Pitt	Lord Thurlow Lord Loughborough
1801	Henry Addington	Henry Addington	Lord Eldon
1804	William Pitt	William Pitt	Lord Eldon
1806	Lord Grenville	Lord Henry Petty	Lord Erskine
1807	Duke of Portland	Spencer Perceval	Lord Eldon
1809	Spencer Perceval	Spencer Perceval	Lord Eldon
1812	Earl of Liverpool	Nicholas Vansittart Frederick John Robinson	Lord Eldon
1827	George Canning	George Canning	Lord Lyndhurst
1827	Viscount Goderich	John Charles Herries	Lord Lyndhurst
1828	Duke of Wellington	Henry Goulburn	Lord Lyndhurst
1830	Earl Grey	Viscount Althorp	Lord Brougham
1834	Viscount Melbourne	Viscount Althorp	Lord Brougham
1834	Sir Robert Peel	Sir Robert Peel	Lord Lyndhurst
1835	Viscount Melbourne	Thomas Spring Rice Francis Thornhill Baring	Commission Lord Cottenham

HOME SECRETARIES.	FOREIGN SECRETARIES.	COLONIAL SECRETARIES.	WAR SECRETARIES.
Viscount Weymouth	Earl of Rochford	Earl of Hillsborough, 1768	
Viscount Weymouth Earl of Rochford Viscount Weymouth Earl of Hillsborough	Earl of Rochford Earl of Sandwich Earl of Halifax Earl of Suffolk	Earl of Dartmouth Lord G. Germaine Welbore Ellis	
Earl of Shelburne	Charles James Fox		
Lord Grantham	Thomas Townshend		
Lord North	Charles James Fox		
Marquis Carmarthen William Wyndham Grenville Henry Dundas Duke of Portland	Ear]Temple T. Townshend (Lord Sydney) Lord Grenville		Henry Dundas (Viscount Melville), 1794
Lord Pelham Charles Philip Yorke	Lord Hawkesbury	Lord Hobart	
Lord Hawkesbury	Lord Harrowby Lord Mulgrave	Marquis Camden Viscount Castlereagh	
Earl Spencer	Charles James Fox Viscount Howick	William Wyndham	
Lord Hawkesbury	George Canning	Viscount Castlereagh	
Richard Ryder	Earl Bathurst Marquis Wellesley	Earl of Liverpool	
Viscount Sidmouth Robert Peel	Viscount Castlereagh George Canning	Earl Bathurst	
William Sturges Bourne Marquis of Lansdowne	Earl Dudley	Viscount Goderich	
Marquis of Lansdowne	Earl Dudley	William Huskisson	
Sir Robert Peel	Earl Dudley Earl of Aberdeen	Sir George Murray	
Viscount Melbourne	Viscount Palmerston	Viscount Goderich Edward Geoffrey Stanley	
Viscount Duncannon	Viscount Palmerston	Thomas Spring Rice	
Henry Goulburn	Duke of Wellington	Earl of Aberdeen	
Lord John Russell Marquis of Normanby	Viscount Palmerston	Charles Grant Marquis of Normanby Lord John Russell	

	PRIME MINISTERS.	CHANCELLORS OF THE EXCHEQUER.	LORD CHANCELLORS.
1841	Sir Robert Peel	Henry Goulburn	Lord Lyndhurst
1846	Lord John Russell	Sir Charles Wood	Lord Cottenham Lord Truro
1852	Earl of Derby	Benjamin Disraeli	Lord St. Leonards
1852	Earl of Aberdeen	William Ewart Gladstone	Lord Cranworth
1855	Viscount Palmerston	William Ewart Gladstone Sir George Cornwall Lewis	Lord Cranworth
1858	Earl of Derby	Benjamin Disraeli	Lord Chelmsford
1859	Viscount Palmerston	William Ewart Gladstone	Lord Campbell Lord Westbury Lord Cranworth
1865	Earl Russell	William Ewart Gladstone	Lord Cranworth
1866	Earl of Derby	Benjamin Disraeli	Lord Cairns
1868	Benjamin Disraeli	George Ward Hunt	Lord Cairns
1868	William Ewart Gladstone	Robert Lowe William Ewart Gladstone	Lord Hatherley Lord Selborne
1874	Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield)	Sir Stafford Northcote	Lord (Earl) Cairns
1880	William Ewart Gladstone	William Ewart Gladstone	Lord Selborne

HOME SECRETARIES.	FOREIGN SECRETARIES.	COLONIAL SECRETARIES.	WAR SECRETARIES.
Sir James Graham	Earl of Aberdeen	Lord Stanley William Ewart Gladstone	
Sir George Grey	Viscount Palmerston Earl Granville	Earl Grey	
Spencer Horatio Walpole	Earl of Malmesbury	Sir John Pakington	
Viscount Palmerston	Lord John Russell Earl of Clarendon	Duke of Newcastle Sir George Grey	Duke of Newcastle
Sir George Grey	Earl of Clarendon	Sidney Herbert Lord John Russell Sir W. Molesworth Henry Labouchere	Lord Panmure
Spencer H. Walpole Sotheron Estcourt	Earl of Malmesbury	Lord Stanley Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton	Colonel Peel
Sir George C. Lewis Sir George Grey	Lord John Russell	Duke of Newcastle Edward Cardwell	Sidney Herbert Sir George C. Lewis Earl De Grey
Sir George Grey	Earl of Clarendon	Edward Cardwell	Earl De Grey Marquis of Hartington
Spencer H. Walpole Gathorne Hardy	Lord Stanley	Earl of Carnarvon Duke of Buckingham	General Peel Sir John Pakington
Gathorne Hardy	Lord Stanley	Duke of Buckingham	Sir John Pakington
Henry Austin Bruce	Earl of Clarendon Earl Granville	Earl Granville Earl of Kimberley	Edward Cardwell
Richard Assheton Cross	Earl of Derby Marquis of Salisbury	Earl of Carnarvon Sir Michael Hicks Beach	Gathorne Hardy Col. F. A. Stanley
Sir William Vernon Harcourt	Earl Granville	Earl of Kimberley	Hugh C. E. Childers

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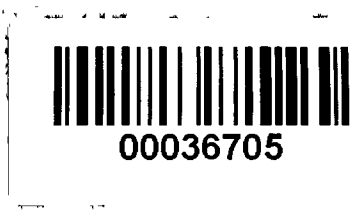
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